

JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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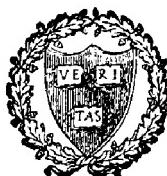
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IN NINE VOLUMES

V

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, BOOKS V-VIII



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JOSEPHUS

V

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PREFACE

Josephus, published under the auspices of the Kohut Foundation of the Jewish Institute of Religion. The first fascicle of this Lexicon appeared some time after Dr. Thackeray's death, and a second fascicle, completed by the writer, is expected to appear shortly.

Beside the earlier versions of the *Antiquities* made by Hudson, Weill and Whiston-Shilleto, two recent works have been consulted in preparing the latter part of this volume; these are *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus* by Salomo Rappaport, Vienna, 1930, and *Legends of the Jews* by Louis Ginzberg (six volumes), Philadelphia, 1909–1928 (abbr. Ginzberg in the footnotes); the latter is an invaluable collection of rabbinic material illustrating the amplification of scriptural narratives and furnishing many instructive parallels to Josephus's treatment of his biblical text. The writer has, in addition, independently examined the text of the Targum (the Aramaic translation of the Bible, used in the early synagogue) and the mediaeval Hebrew commentaries reprinted in the Rabbinic Bible. For the identification of many of the Biblical place-names the writer is indebted to the researches of Professor W. F. Albright and other scholars, whose results have appeared in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.

With regard to the Greek text, the writer, like Dr. Thackeray, has attempted to furnish a critical edition on the basis of the apparatus in Niese's *editio maior*, not (as some reviewers of the earlier volumes by Dr. Thackeray have described it) an edition based solely on Niese's text. Whether the text here given is as satisfactory as the excellent

PREFACE

ones furnished by Niese and by Naber in the Teubner series must be left to the critics to decide. The problems of Josephus's text in these books are very complex, partly because of the twofold ms. tradition, partly because of the use made by the author of a Greek version of Scripture, and the corrections made by Christian copyists in the interest of conformity to the biblical text known to them, and partly because of the apparent revisions made by Josephus's Greek assistants. These difficulties are illustrated by the inconsistent spelling of biblical names of persons and places in the same ms. and the variants in the two families of mss. No editor may reasonably hope to have established, in every case, the forms used by Josephus himself.

The writer has been similarly inconsistent in his rendering of these biblical names. The most commonly known names, such as Hebron, Absalom, etc., are given in the form familiar to English readers, whether or not they accurately reproduce the Greek spelling of Josephus's text; where the name is not quite so well known and where the Greek form differs only slightly from that found in the Authorized Version of Scripture, it is rendered approximately, e.g. Abisai (for Abisaios ; bibl. Abishai), Achab (for Achabos ; bibl. Ahab) ; in all other cases the hellenized form is simply transliterated, e.g. Jebosthos (bibl. Ish-bosheth), Adraazaros (bibl. Hadadezer).

For a discussion of Josephus's use of the Hebrew original of Scripture and of the Greek version known as the Septuagint (abbr. LXX in the footnotes), the reader may consult Dr. Thackeray's *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (Stroock Lectures at the Jewish Institute of Religion), N.Y., 1929, Lecture IV. It

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ε

1 (i. 1) Μωυσέος δὲ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων ἀπογεγονότος Ἰησοῦς, ἀπάντων ἥδη
τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ νενομισμένων τέλος ἔχοντων καὶ τοῦ
πένθους λελωφηκότος, παρήγγειλεν ἐπὶ στρατείαν
2 ἔτοιμον εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος, πέμπει τε κατασκόπους
εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα τὴν τε δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ τίνα
διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν αὐτοὶ γνωσμένους,¹ αὐτὸς δὲ
ἐξήταξε τὸν στρατὸν ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν διαβησόμενος
3 τὸν Ἰόρδανον. ἀνακαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ρου-
βηλίδος φυλῆς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς τῆς Γάδιδος καὶ
Μανασσῆτιδος προεστῶτας, ἐξ ἡμισείας γὰρ καὶ
τῆδε τῇ φυλῇ τὴν Ἀμορίαν κατοικεῖν ἐπετέτραπτο
4 τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς ἔβδομον οὖσαν μέρος, ὑπεμί-
μησκεν ἃ ὑπέσχοντο Μωυσεῖ, καὶ παρεκάλει
χαριζομένους τῇ τε ἐκείνου προνοίᾳ, μηδ’ ὅτε
ἀπέθησκε περὶ αὐτοὺς καμούσῃ, τῷ τε κοινῷ
συμφέροντι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα
προθύμους. τῶν δ’ ἐπομένων ὁπλίταις πεντακισ-

¹ ex Lat.: γνωσόμενος codd.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES
BOOK V

(i. 1) Moses having in the aforesaid manner been Joshua
rapt away from men, Joshua, when all the customary
rites had now been accomplished in his honour and
the mourning had abated, directed the people to
make ready for a campaign. He also sent scouts to
Jericho to reconnoitre the strength and the disposi-
tion of the inhabitants, while he himself reviewed
his army, intending at the first opportunity to cross
the Jordan. Having, moreover, called up the princes ^{i. 12, 13.}
of the tribe of Rubel ^a and the chiefs of the tribes of
Gad and of Manasseh—for one half of this tribe too
had been permitted to settle in the Amorite country,
which forms a seventh part ^b of the land of Canaan
—he reminded them of their promises to Moses and
exhort ed them, out of respect alike for that fore-
thought of his on their behalf which even in his dying
moments had never flagged, and for the common
weal, to respond to his orders with alacrity. These
duly following him, he with fifty thousand ^c men-

^a Reuben.

^b The Amorites were one of the “seven nations” that inhabited Canaan (Deut. vii. 1, Jos. iii. 10; cf. §§ 88 f. below). From this apparently, as M. Weill suggests, Josephus infers that they occupied a seventh part of the whole country.

^c 40,000 according to Jos. iv. 13 (Heb. and LXX).

μυρίοις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβέλης¹ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἔξηει
σταδίους ἔξήκοντα.

5 (2) Καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος εὐθὺς οἱ κατάσκοποι παρῆσαν μηδὲν ἀγνοήσαντες τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις· λαθόντες² γὰρ τὸ πρώτον ἅπασαν ἐπ’ ἀδείας αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν κατενόησαν, τῶν τε τειχῶν ὅσα καρτερὰ καὶ ὅσα μὴ τοῦτον ἔχει³ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τῶν πυλίδων αἱ πρὸς εἰσοδον 6 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δι’ ἀσθένειαν συνέφερον. ἡμέλουν δὲ θεωμένων οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες καθ’ ἱστορίαν ξένοις προσήκουσαν ἀκριβῶς ἔκαστα πολυπραγμονεῦν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει νομίζοντες, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ διανοίᾳ πολεμίων. 7 ὡς δὲ γενομένης ὄψίας ὑποχωροῦσιν εἰς τι καταγάγιον τοῦ τείχους πλησίον, εἰς δὲ καὶ προήχθησαν 8 δειπνοποιησόμενοι⁴ καὶ περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτοῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ φροντὶς ἦν, μηνύονται τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ δεῖπνον ὅντι κατασκεψόμενοί τινες τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἐβραίων στρατοπέδου παρεῖναι καὶ ὅντες ἐν τῷ τῆς Ραάβης καταγάγιώ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς τοῦ λανθάνειν προνοίας ὑπάρχειν. ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς πέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς⁵ ἐκέλευσεν ἀγαγεῖν συλλαβόντας, ἵνα βασανίσας μάθῃ, τί καὶ βουλόμενοι 9 παρεῖνεν. ὡς δὲ ἔγνω τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἡ Ραάβη, λίνου γὰρ ἀγκαλίδας ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους⁶ ἔψυχε, τοὺς μὲν κατασκόπους εἰς ταύτας ἀποκρύπτει, τοῖς δὲ πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλεγεν, ὡς ξένοι

¹ RO: Ἀβίλης etc. rell.

² codd. Lat.: ἐλθόντες E edd.

³ έχοι SP.

⁴ ex Lat.: -ποιησάμενοι codd.

⁵ fort. αὐτὸν legendum.

⁶ E: τείχους codd.

^a Or Abile (bibl. Abel-shittim): A. iv. 176 note.

at-arms set out from Abele^a and advanced sixty stades towards the Jordan.

(2) Scarce had he pitched his camp when the ^{The spies and Rahab.} scouts reappeared, in nothing ignorant of the condition of the Canaanites. For, undetected at the first, they had surveyed their entire city unmolested, noting where the ramparts were strong and where they offered a less secure protection to the inhabitants, and which of the gates through weakness would facilitate entrance for the army. Those who met them had disregarded their inspection, attributing to a curiosity natural to strangers this busy study of every detail in the city, and in no wise to any hostile intent. But when, at fall of even, they retired to an inn^b hard by the ramparts, to which they had proceeded^c for supper, and were now only thinking of departure, word was brought to the king as he supped that certain persons had come from the camp of the Hebrews to spy upon the city and were now in Rahab's inn, mightily anxious to escape detection. And he straightway sent men after them, with orders to arrest and bring them up, that he might discover by torture to what intent they were come. But when Rahab learnt of their approach, being then engaged in drying some bundles of flax upon the roof,^d she concealed the spies therein, and told the king's messengers that some unknown

^a The Bible speaks of Rahab the "harlot" (Heb. *zonah*, LXX *πόρνη*). Josephus follows the Palestinian interpretation found in the Targum on Jos. ii. 1, where the noun is translated *pundekita* = Gr. *πανδοκεύτρια* or *πανδόκισσα*, "inn-keeper." Cf. A. iii. 276 note.

^b Or "been conducted" or "directed."

^c Or, according to most mss., "the wall." Jos. ii. 6 has "the roof" (LXX *δῶμα*).

τινὲς¹ ἀγνῶτες ὀλίγω πρότερον ἡ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον παρ' αὐτῇ δειπνήσαντες ἀπαλλαγεῖεν, οὓς εἰ φοβεροὶ τῇ πόλει δοκοῦσιν, ἡ κύνδυνον τῷ βασιλεῖ φέροντες ἥκον, ἀπόνως εἶναι λαβεῖν διωχθέντας.
 10 οἱ δέ, τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτως αὐτοὺς ὑπελθούσης, οὐδένα ὑπονοήσαντες δόλον ἀπῆλθον οὐδ' ἐρευνήσαντες τὸ καταγάγιον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὅρμήσαντες καθ' ἦς ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῶν ὄδῶν ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας οὐδενὶ γνωρίσματι περιετύγχανον, παύονται τοῦ πονεῦν.
 11 τοῦ δὲ θορύβου σταλέντος ἡ Ῥαάβη καταγαγοῦσα τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὸν κύνδυνον εἰποῦσα, δν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπέλθοι σωτηρίας, ἀλοῦσαν γὰρ ἀποκρύπτουσαν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀν διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ πανοικὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς,
 12 παρακαλέσασα διὰ μημῆς ἔχειν, ὅταν ἐγκρατεῖς τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς καταστάντες ἀμοιβὴν ἔκτισαι δύνωνται τῆς ἄρτι σωτηρίας, χωρεῦν ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ὁμόσαντας ἡ μὴν σώσειν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς, ὅταν τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντες φθείρωσι πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ ψήφισμα τὸ παρ' αὐτοὺς γενόμενον· ταῦτα γὰρ εἰδέναι σημείοις τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διδαχθεῖσαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ² τῶν παρόντων αὐτῇ χάριν ἔχειν ὡμολόγουν καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐθις ὡμνοῦν ἐργα τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποδώσειν· ἥνικα δ' ἀν αἰσθητας μελλούσης ἀλίσκεσθαι τῆς πόλεως, συνεβούλευον κτῆσίν τε τὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπαντας εἰς τὸ καταγάγιον ἀποθεμένην ἐγκαθεῖρξαι, πρὸ τῶν

¹ P² edd.: τινὲς εἰεν rell. codd.² om. M.

^a Jos. ii. 9 f. speaks of Rahab's having heard that the Israelites' God will again aid them as in the past. Perhaps

strangers had shortly before sundown supped with her and gone their way; but, were it thought that the city had cause to fear them or were their coming fraught with peril to the king, they could be caught without difficulty if pursued. The messengers, thus cajoled by the woman and suspecting no guile, departed without even searching the inn; but when, after speeding along the roads by which they thought it most likely that the men had fled, including all those leading to the river, they found no trace of them, they ceased to trouble themselves further. The tumult having subsided, Rahab brought the men down and, having told them of the risk which she had run for their salvation—for, had she been caught concealing them, she would not have escaped the vengeance of the king but she and all her house would have perished miserably—she besought them to bear this in mind when, once masters of the land of the Canaanites, they should be in a position to recompense her for their present salvation; and she bade them depart to their own place, after swearing that they would verily save her and all that was hers when, on taking the city, they should destroy all its inhabitants, a. had been decreed by their people, for of this (she said) she knew through certain signs^a which God had given her. In reply they expressed their gratitude to her for present favours and swore to repay her in future by recompence in act; but they counselled her, when she should see that the city was on the point of being taken, to secure her chattels and all her household within the inn and to shut them in, and to extend

σημεῖα here, as elsewhere in Josephus, means the "miracles" alluded to in the Scriptural passage.

θυρῶν ἀνατείνασαν φοινικίδας, ὅπως εἰδὼς τὴν οἰκίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς φυλάττηται κακῶς ποιεῖν·

14 “μηνύσομεν¹ γὰρ αὐτῷ,” ἔφασαν, “διὰ τὸ σὸν σώζεσθαι πρόθυμον. εἰ δέ τις ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πέσοι τῶν σῶν, σύ τε οὐκ ἀνήμην ἐπενέγκοις αἴτιαν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὃν ὀμωμόκαμεν παραιτούμεθα μηδὲν ὡς 15 ἐπὶ παραβαίνουσι τοὺς ὄρκους δυσχερᾶναι.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἔχώρουν διὰ τοῦ τείχους καθιμήσαντες ἑαυτούς, καὶ διασωθέντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐδήλωσαν ὅσα πράξαντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἦκον. Ἰησοῦς δὲ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἐλεαζάρῳ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ φράζει τὰ τοῖς σκοποῖς ὀμοθέντα πρὸς τὴν Ῥαάβην· οἱ δ' ἐπεκύρουν τὸν ὄρκον.

16 (3) Δεδιότος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ² τὴν διάβασιν, μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς τῷ ρεύματι καὶ οὔτε γεφύραις πορευτός, οὐ γὰρ ἔζευκτο τὸ³ πρότερον, βουλομένους τε γεφυροῦν οὐχ ἔξειν σχολὴν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπελάμβανον πορθμείων τε μὴ τυγχανόντων, διαβατὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται ποιήσειν τὸν 17 ποταμὸν μειώσας αὐτοῦ τὸ πλήθος. καὶ δύο ἐπισχὼν ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦς διεβίβαζε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν πληθὺν ἀπασαν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ· προῃέσαν μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἔχοντες, ἕπειτα οἱ Λευῖται τὴν τε σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τὰς θυσίας σκεύη κομίζοντες, εἶποντο δὲ τοῖς Λευῖταις κατὰ φυλὰς ὁ πᾶς ὄμιλος μέσους ἔχων παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, δεδιώς περὶ αὐτῶν μὴ βιασθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ

¹ RO: μηνύσειν rell.² SP: στρατηγοῦ rell.³ RO: πω rell.^a Jos. ii. 18, “Thou shalt bind this line of scarlet thread in the window which thou didst let us down by.”^b Josephus, *more suo*, lessens the supernatural character

red flags before her doors,^a in order that their general, recognizing the house, might refrain from doing it injury. “For,” said they, “we shall report to him that it is to thy zeal that we owe our lives. But, should any of thy kinsmen fall in the battle, thou must not lay that to our charge, and we implore the God by whom we have sworn to be in no wise indignant at us, as though we had transgressed our oaths.” So having made this compact, they departed, letting themselves down the wall by a rope and, when safely restored to their friends, they recounted their adventures in the city. Joshua thereupon reported to Eleazar the high priest and to the council of elders what the spies had sworn to Rahab; and they ratified the oath.

(3) Now since the army was afraid to cross the river, which had a strong current and could not be crossed by bridges—for it had not been spanned by any hitherto, and, should they wish to lay them now, the enemy would not, they imagined, afford them the leisure, and they had no ferry-boats—God promised to render the stream passable for them by diminishing its volume.^b So Joshua, having waited two days,^c proceeded to transport the army with the whole multitude in the following fashion. At the head went the priests bearing the ark, next the Levites carrying the tabernacle and the vessels for the ministry of the sacrifices, and, after the Levites, followed, tribe by tribe, the whole throng, with the children and women in the centre, for fear of their being swept away by the force of the current.

of the miracle: the waters are not “wholly cut off” as in Joshua (iii. 13, 16).

^c “After three days,” Jos. iii. 2.

Crossing of
the Jordan

Jos. iii. 2.

18 ῥεύματος. ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρώτοις ἐμβᾶσι πορευτὸς ἔδοξεν ὁ ποταμός, τοῦ μὲν βάθους ἐπεσχημένου, τοῦ δὲ κάχληκος, τῷ μὴ πολὺν εἶναι μηδ' ὀξὺν τὸν ρόῦν ὅσθ' ὑποφέρειν αὐτὸν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀντ' ἐδάφους κειμένου, πάντες ἥδη θαρσαλέως ἐπεραιοῦντο τὸν ποταμόν, οἷον αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς 19 προεῖπε ποιήσειν τοιοῦτον κατανοοῦντες. ἔστησαν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἕως οὗ διαβαίη τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τάσφαλούς ἀψάμενον τύχοι.¹ πάντων δὲ διαβάντων ἐξῆσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐλεύθερον ἀφέντες ἥδη τὸ ρέῦμα χωρεῖν κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς εὐθὺς ἐκβάντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἐβραίων ἤζετο καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀπελάμβανε μέγεθος.

20 (4) Οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα προελθόντες στάδια βάλλονται στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ δέκα σταδίων τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος, Ἰησοῦς δὲ τόν τε² βωμὸν ἐκ τῶν λίθων ὃν ἔκαστος ἀνείλετο τῶν φυλάρχων ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος ἰδρυσάμενος, τεκμήριον γενησόμενον τῆς ἀνακοπῆς τοῦ ρέύματος, ἔθυεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν φάσκα ἑώραταζον ἐν 21 ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, πάντων ὃν αὐτοῖς πρότερον συνέβαινε σπανίζειν τότε ῥάδίως εὐποροῦντες· τόν τε γὰρ σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα ἥδη τῶν Χαναναίων ἐθέριζον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λείαν ἥγον· τότε γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ τῆς μάννας ἐπελεοίπει τροφὴ χρησαμένους ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

22 (5) Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ποιούντων τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὐκ ἐπεξῆσαν οἱ Χαναναῖοι τειχήρεις δ' ἡσύχαζον,

¹ Dindorf: τύχη codd. ² τε RO: om. τὸν τε SPE (Lat.).

^a Literally “touched safety”: the phrase recalls Thuc. ii. 22 πρὶν . . . τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντιλάβοιντο (the escape from Plataea).

When the priests, who were the first to enter, found the river fordable—the depth having diminished and the shingle, which the current was neither full nor rapid enough to force from under their feet, lying as a solid floor—all thereupon confidently traversed the stream, perceiving it to be even as God had foretold that He would make it. But the priests stood still in the midst until the multitude had crossed and reached the firm ground.^a Then, when all had crossed, the priests emerged, leaving the stream free to resume its accustomed course. And the river, so soon as the Hebrews had quitted it, swelled and recovered its natural magnitude.

iii. 17,
iv. 17 f.

(4) These, having advanced fifty stades, pitched their camp at a distance of ten stades^b from Jericho. And Joshua, with the stones which each of the tribal leaders had, by the prophet's orders, taken up from the river-bed, erected that altar that was to serve as a token of the stoppage of the stream, and sacrificed thereon to God.^c They also kept the v. 10 feast of the Passover at that spot, being now readily and amply provided with all that they had lacked before; for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, now at its prime, and took any other booty they could. It was then too that the supply of manna ceased which had served them for forty years.

Erection of
an altar and
celebration
of Passover.
Jos. iv. 1.

(5) Since, notwithstanding these actions of the Israelites, the Canaanites did not sally out against them but remained motionless behind their walls,^d

Encompass-
ing of the
walls of
Jericho.
Jos. vi. 1.

^b These distances are unscriptural. The Gilgal of the camp (Jos. v. 10) is usually identified with a site more than ten stades distant (S.E.) from Jericho.

^c Josephus here omits the renewal at Gilgal of the rite of circumcision which had been neglected in the wilderness (Jos. v. 2 ff.).

πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς ἔγνω. καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ
τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὴν κιβωτὸν οἱ ἱερεῖς φέροντες,
περὶ δ' αὐτὴν ἐν κύκλῳ μέρος τι τῶν ὄπλιτῶν
23 φυλάττον ἦν, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ¹ προήσαν ἐπτὰ κέρασιν
αὐτῶν σαλπίζοντες παρεκάλουν τὸν στρατὸν εἰς
ἀλκήν, περιώδευόν τε τὸ τεῖχος ἐπομένης τῆς
γερουσίας, καὶ σαλπισάντων μόνον τῶν ἱερέων,
τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν περισσότερον, ἀνέζευξαν
24 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἔξ
ποιησάντων τῇ ἔβδομῃ τὸ ὄπλιτικὸν Ἰησοῦς συν-
αγαγὼν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα, τὴν ἄλωσιν αὐτοῖς
τῆς πόλεως εὐηγγελίζετο,² ὡς κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν
ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτην παρέξοντος, αὐτο-
μάτως καὶ δίχα τοῦ πόνου τοῦ σφετέρου τῶν τειχῶν
25 κατενεχθησομένων. κτείνειν μέντοι³ πάνθ' ὄντιν-
οῦν εἰ λάβοιεν παρεκελεύετο καὶ μήτε κάμνοντας
ἀποστῆναι τοῦ φόνου τῶν πολεμίων, μήτ' ἐλέω
παραχωρήσαντας φείσασθαι⁴ μήτε περὶ ἄρπαγὴν
26 γινομένους περιορᾶν φεύγοντας τοὺς ἔχθρούς· ἀλλὰ
τὰ μὲν ζῶα πάντα διαφθείρειν μηδὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς
ἰδίαν ὥφελειαν λαμβάνοντας, ὅσα δ' ἂν ἄργυρος ἢ
καὶ χρυσός, ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε συγκομίζοντας ἀπαρχὴν
ἔξαρετον τῶν κατωρθωμένων τῷ θεῷ τηρεῖν ἐκ
τῆς πρώτον ἀλισκομένης πόλεως εἰληφότας· σώζειν
δὲ μόνην Ῥαάβην καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτῆς διὰ τοὺς
γενομένους πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῖς κατασκόποις ὄρκους.

¹ After Lat. (aliique sacerdotes): οἱ καὶ codd.

² RO: εὐηγγελισατο rell. ³ + γε SPL.

⁴ SPL: om. rell. ⁵ δοσος RO: δι M.

^a i.e. of the Passover just mentioned; this date has no support in Scripture or, according to M. Weill, in tradition.
12

Joshua resolved to besiege them. And, on the first day of the feast,^a the priests bearing the ark—which was surrounded by a party of armed men to protect it, while seven other priests marched in advance, sounding their horns—exhorted the army to valiance and made the circuit of the walls, followed by the council of elders. After merely those blasts from the priests—for beyond that they did nothing—they returned to the camp. For six days this was repeated, and on the seventh Joshua, having assembled the troops and all the people, announced to them the good news of the impending capture of the city, to wit that on that day God would deliver it to them and that, spontaneously and without effort on their part, the walls would collapse. Howbeit he charged them to slay all, whomsoever they caught, and neither through weariness, nor yielding to pity to desist from the slaughter of their enemies, nor yet while engaged in pillage to suffer the foe to escape. Nay, they were to destroy every living creature without taking aught to themselves for their private profit; but whatsoever there might be of silver or gold,^b that he commanded them to amass and reserve for God as choice first-fruits of their success, won from the first captured city. They were to spare only Rahab and her family in virtue of the oaths which had been made to her by the spies.

Josephus has traced a connexion between the seven days of blowing of trumpets, mentioned in Scripture, and the duration of the feast. Perhaps, however, he has used a text which, like the LXX Jos. vi. 12, read “on the second day, Joshua rose early, and the priests bore the ark, etc.,” and taken it to mean the day after the eve of Passover, or the first full day of the festival.

^b Jos. vi. 19 adds “or brass or iron”; cf. § 32.

- 27 (6) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ διατάξας τὸν στρατὸν προσ-
ηγεν¹ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· περιήσαν δὲ πάλιν τὴν
πόλιν ἡγουμένης τῆς κιβωτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἵερέων τοῖς
κέρασιν ἔξοτρυνόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον.
καὶ περιελθόντων ἑπτάκις καὶ πρὸς ὄλγον ἡρε-
μησάντων κατέπεσε τὸ τείχος μήτε μηχανῆς μήτε
ἄλλης βίᾳς αὐτῷ προσενεχθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐβραιών.
- 28 (7) Οἱ δὲ εἰσελθόντες εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα πάντας
ἔκτεινον, τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν παράδοξον τοῦ
τείχους ἀνατροπὴν καταπεπληγότων καὶ τοῦ φρο-
νήματος αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἄμυναν ἀχρείου γεγονότος·
ἀνηροῦντο δὲ οὖν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀποσφαττόμενοι
29 καὶ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπικαταλαμβανόμενοι. παρ-
ητεῖτο δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπώλλυντο
ἄχρι γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων, καὶ νεκρῶν ἡ πόλις
ἡν ἀνάπλεως καὶ διέφυγεν οὐδέν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν
30 ἐνέπρησαν ἀπασαν καὶ τὴν χώραν. καὶ τὴν
Ῥαάβην σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον συμ-
φυγοῦσαν ἔσωσαν οἱ κατάσκοποι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν
‘Ιησοῦς ἀχθείση χάριν ἔχειν ὡμολόγει τῆς σωτηρίας
τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ μὴν² τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης
ἔλεγεν ἐν ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς οὐχ ἡττονα φαμήσεσθαι.
δωρεῖται δὲ αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἀγροῖς καὶ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχε
τῆς πάσης.
- 31 (8) Τῆς δὲ πόλεως εἰ καὶ τι παρέλθοι τὸ πῦρ
κατέσκαπτε καὶ κατὰ τῶν οἰκισόντων,³ εἴ τις
πορθηθεῖσαν ἀνεγείρειν ἐθελήσειεν, ἀρᾶς ἐθετο,
ὅπως θεμελίους μὲν τειχῶν βαλλόμενος⁴ στερηθῇ
τοῦ πρώτου παιδός, τελειώσας δὲ τὸν νεώτατον
τῶν παιδῶν ἀποβάλῃ. τῆς δὲ ἀρᾶς τὸ θεῖον οὐκ
- ¹ προστήγαγεν RO. ² M: μηδὲν rell.
³ L: οἰκησόντων rell. ⁴ βαλόμενος RO.

(6) Having spoken thus, he marshalled his army ^{Fall of Jericho.} and led it towards the city. Again they compassed ^{Jos. vi. 15.} the city, the ark leading and the priests with the sounding of their horns inciting the troops to action. And when they had compassed it seven times and had halted for a while, the wall fell down, without either engine or force of any other kind having been applied to it by the Hebrews.

(7) And they, having entered Jericho, slew every ^{Massacre of the inhabitants excepting Rahab.} soul, the inhabitants being dumbfounded at the miraculous overthrow of the ramparts and deprived of all effectual spirit for defence. At all events they perished, slaughtered in the streets or surprised in the houses. Nothing could exempt them; all were destroyed down to the women and children, and the city was choked with corpses and nothing escaped. The city itself they burnt entire and the surrounding region. Rahab, who with her kinsfolk had all taken refuge in the inn, was saved by the spies; and Joshua, on her being brought before him, acknowledged his gratitude to her for her protection of the spies and assured her that in recompensing her he would not be found to fall short of such a benefaction. Indeed he presented her with lands forthwith and showed her every consideration.

(8) As for the city, whatever of it the fire had spared he demolished, and upon those who would settle there should any be fain to re-erect it from its ruins, he pronounced imprecations, that if he laid foundations of walls he should be bereft of his first-born and if he completed the walls he should lose the youngest of his sons. Nor was this curse un-

^{Destruction of the town and imprecation of Joshua.}
Jos. vi. 26.

ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὑστέροις ἀπαγγελοῦμεν τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος γενόμενον.

32 (9) "Απειρον δέ τι πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως συναθροίζεται ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ προσέτι χαλκοῦ, μηδενὸς παραβάντος τὰ δεδογμένα μηδ' εἰς ἴδιαν ὡφέλειαν αὐτὰ διαρπασμένων, ἀλλ' ἀποσχομένων ὡς ἥδη τῷ θεῷ καθιερωμένων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς ἵερεῦσιν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς παραδίδωσι καταθέσθαι. καὶ Ἰεριχοῦς μὲν τοῦτον ἀπώλετο τὸν τρόπον.

33 (10) "Αχαρος δέ τις Ζεβεδαίον παῖς ὢν ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς εὑρὼν χλαμύδα βασιλειον ἐκ χρυσοῦ μὲν πᾶσαν ὑφασμένην, μᾶζαν δὲ χρυσοῦ σταθμὸν ἔλκουσαν σίκλων διακοσίων καὶ δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος δικινδυνεύσας ηὔρατο κέρδος, τοῦτο τῆς ἴδιας χρείας ἀφελόμενος³ δοῦναι φέρων τῷ θεῷ καὶ μὴ δεομένῳ, ὅρυγμα βαθὺ ποιήσας ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ σκηνῇ κατώρυξεν εἰς τοῦτο, λήσειν³ νομίζων ὡς τοὺς συστρατιώτας οὗτως καὶ τὸν θεόν.

34 (11) Ἐκλήθη δὲ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ στρατόπεδον ἐβάλετο Ἰησοῦς Γάλγαλα· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο ἐλευθέριον ὄνομα· διαβάντες γὰρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλευθέρους ἐαυτοὺς ἥδη ἀπό τε τῶν Αἴγυπτίων καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταλαιπωρίας ἐγίνωσκον.

¹ Ernesti: εἰ δὲ ML: εἰς δὲ RO.

² Niese suspects a lacuna after ἀφελόμενος.

³ ME: λήσεσθαι rell.

^a In the reign of Ahab, 1 Kings xvi. 34. Josephus, however, in the sequel forgets to recount the incident; the verse which records it being apparently absent from the Greek Bible which he was then following (A. viii. 318 note).

^b Heb. "Achan, son of Carmi, son of Zabdi": the form Achar appears here in the LXX, as also in the Heb. in 1 Chron.

regarded by the Deity, but in the sequel we shall recount the calamity which it entailed.^a

(9) An immense quantity of silver and gold, as ^{Consecration of the} also of brass, was amassed from the captured town, ^{booty} none having violated the decrees nor looted these ^{to God.} things for his private profit: nay, they abstained therefrom as from objects already consecrated to God. And Joshua delivered them to the priests to lay up in the treasuries. Such, then, was the end of Jericho.

(10) But a certain Achar, son of Zebedee,^b of the tribe of Judah, having found a royal mantle all woven of gold and a mass of gold of the weight of two hundred shekels,^c and thinking it cruel that he should deprive himself of the enjoyment of lucre, which he had won at his own peril, and bring and offer it to God, who had no need of it, dug a deep hole in his tent and buried his treasure therein, thinking to elude alike his comrades in arms and withal the eye of God.

(11) The place where Joshua had established his camp was called Gilgal.^d This name signifies "freedom"^e; for, having crossed the river, they felt themselves henceforth free both from the Egyptians and from their miseries in the desert.

ii. 7. Moreover the etymological word-play in the Hebrew of Jos. vii. 25 presupposes the form Achar ('Ahar).

^c Heb. "a mantle of Shinar (i.e. Babylonia) and 200 shekels of silver and a wedge of gold of 50 shekels weight" (Jos. vii. 21).

^d So LXX: Heb. Gilgal.
^e One of the historian's "free" etymologies, but perhaps taken over from others (Weill quotes the translation ἐλευθερία in Theodoret i. p. 199). Scripture derives the name Gilgal from the verb *galal* ("to roll") and adds the explanation "This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you" (by the reinstitution of the practice of circumcision).

35 (12) Μετὰ δ' ὅλιγας ἡμέρας τῆς Ἱεριχοῦντος συμφορᾶς πέμπει τρισχιλίους ὄπλιτας Ἰησοῦς εἰς¹ Ναιὰν² πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἱεριχοῦντος κειμένην αἱρήσοντας, οἱ συμβαλόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Ναιητῶν τραπέντες ἀποβάλλουσιν ἄνδρας ἔξι καὶ τριάκοντα.

36 τοῦτ' ἀγγελθὲν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις λύπην τε μεγάλην καὶ δεινὴν ἐποίησεν ἀθυμίαν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ οἴκειον τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καίτοι γε πάντων ἄνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίων διεφθαρμένων, ἀλλὰ

37 κατὰ ἀπόγυνωσιν· πιστεύοντες γὰρ ἥδη τῆς γῆς ἔγκρατεῖς εἶναι καὶ σῶν ἔξειν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοῦ στρατὸν οὕτως τοῦ θεοῦ προϋπεσχημένου, τεθαρρηκότας παραδόξως ἐώρων τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ σάκκους ἐπενδύντες ταῖς στολαῖς δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐν δακρύοις ἥσαν καὶ πένθει, τροφῆς οὐδεμίαν ἐπιζήτησιν ποιούμενοι, μειζόνως δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς εἶχον ἀχθόμενοι.

38 (13) Βλέπων δὲ οὕτως ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν τε στρατιὰν καταπεπληγίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄλων πονηρὰν ἥδη τὴν ἐλπίδα λαμβάνουσαν παρρησίαν λαμβάνει πρὸς

39 τὸν θεόν· “ἡμεῖς” γὰρ εἶπεν “οὐχ ὑπ’ αὐθαδείας προήχθημεν ὥστε ταύτην ὑπάγεσθαι τοὺς ὄπλους τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ Μωυσέος τοῦ σοῦ δούλου πρὸς τοῦθ’ ἡμᾶς ἔξεγείραντος, ὡς διὰ πολλῶν τεκμηρίων ἐπηγγέλλου κτήσασθαι παρέξειν ἡμῖν τήνδε τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἡμῶν ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων

40 ποιήσειν τοὺς ὄπλους κρείττονα. τινὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἡμῖν ἀπήντησε τὰς σάς, νῦν δὲ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπταικότες καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τινὰς ἀποβαλόντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς οὐ βεβαίων τῶν παρὰ

¹ om. Ernesti.² 'Αταν E Lat.: v.l. 'Αν(ν)αν.^a Heb. Ai ('Ai), LXX Γαλ. The form Ναιά has arisen out of

(12) A few days after the downfall of Jericho, ^{A defeat at Naia (Ai).} Joshua sent three thousand men-at-arms to the city ^{Jos. vii. 2.} of Naia,^a situated above Jericho, to capture it. These, being opposed by the Naietans, were routed and lost six-and-thirty men. The announcement of this news to the Israelites caused them great grief and dire despondency, not so much because of their kinship to the fallen, albeit they were all valiant and worthy men ^b who had perished, as from utter despair. For, believing themselves already masters of the country and that they would keep their army unscathed in the combats, even as God had promised heretofore, they now beheld their enemies unexpectedly emboldened. And so, putting sackcloth upon their apparel, they passed a whole day in tears and lamentation, without one thought for food, and in their vexation unduly magnified what had befallen.

(13) Seeing his army thus cast down and a prey ^{Joshua's prayer.} to gloomy forebodings concerning the whole campaign, ^{Jos. vii. 7.} Joshua frankly appealed to God. “It was,” he said, “from no confidence in ourselves that we were induced to subjugate this land by arms : nay, it was Moses, thy servant, who incited us thereto, he to whom by many tokens thou didst promise to vouchsafe to us to win this land, and ever to ensure to our army superiority in battle over our foes. And indeed some things have befallen in accordance with thy promises ; but now, having suffered unlooked-for defeat, having lost some of our force, we are distressed at these things, which make thy 'Αια—attested by the Latin version and perhaps original—through duplication of the ν in the accusative—τὴν (Ν)αῖαν ; modern Greek supplies many parallels, e.g. Νίδα = 'Ιδα.

^b Amplification, for which there is Rabbinical authority (Weill).

**σοῦ καὶ ὅν προεῖπε Μωυσῆς ἀχθόμεθα, καὶ χεῖρον
ἡ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπὶς ἡμᾶς ἀνιὰ τῇ πρώτῃ πείρᾳ
τοιαύτη συντυχόντας.** ἀλλὰ σύ, δέσποτα, δύναμις
γάρ σοι τούτων ἵστων εὐρεῖν, τό τε παρὸν ἡμῶν
λυπηρὸν νίκην παρασχόμενος καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν
αὖθις δύσελπι διακείμενον οὕτως τῆς διανοίας
ἔξελε.”

**42 (14) Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ στόμα πεσὼν ἡρώτα
τὸν θεόν· χρηματίσαντος δὲ ἀνίστασθαι τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ καθαίρειν τὸν στρατὸν μιάσματος ἐν αὐτῷ
γεγονότος κλοπῆς τε τῶν καθιερωμένων αὐτῷ
χρημάτων τετολμημένης, διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα τὴν νῦν
αὐτοῖς ἥτταν συμπεσεῖν, ἀναζητηθέντος δὲ τοῦ
δράσαντος καὶ κολασθέντος νίκην αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ περι-
έσεσθαι¹ τῶν πολεμίων, φράζει ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν
43 λαὸν Ἰησοῦς, καὶ καλέσας Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα
καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει κατὰ φυλὴν ἐκλήρου. τούτου δὲ
τὸ τετολμημένον ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς δηλοῦντος
κατὰ φατρίας πάλιν ταύτης προτίθησι τὸν κλῆρον.
τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τοῦ κακουργήματος περὶ τὴν Ἀχάρον
44 συγγένειαν ηύρισκετο. κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ τῆς ἔξετά-
σεως γινομένης λαμβάνουσι τὸν Ἀχαρον· ὁ δ' οὐκ
ἔχων ἔξαρνος εἶναι, τοῦ θεοῦ δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἐκ-
πειελθόντος, ὡμολόγει τε τὴν κλοπὴν καὶ τὰ
φώρια παρῆγεν εἰς μέσον. καὶ οὗτος μὲν εὐθὺς
ἀναιρεθεὶς ἐν νυκτὶ ταφῆς ἀτίμου καὶ καταδίκω
πρεπούσης τυγχάνει.**

¹ conj. Niese: περισώζεσθαι RO: πορίζεσθαι rell.: proveniret Lat.

^a Jos. vii. 25, “And all Israel stoned him with stones [and they burned them with fire and (Targum ‘after that they had’) stoned them with stones].” The bracketed words, absent from the LXX, are confused and the addition of later

promises and those predictions of Moses appear unsure ; and yet more sorely are we pained at the thought of what the future holds in store, having met with such issue to our first assault. But do thou, Lord, since thou hast power to find healing for these ills, dispel our present affliction by vouchsafing us victory and thus banish from our mind our deep despondency concerning the future.”

(14) Thus did Joshua, prostrated upon his face, <sup>Discovery
and death
of the
sinner
Achar.
Jos. vii. 6,
10 ff.</sup> make petition to God. And the response came from God, that he should arise and purge the army of the pollution that had been wrought therein and of a daring theft of objects consecrated to Him, since that was the cause of their recent defeat ; but were the culprit sought out and punished, they would for ever be assured of victory over their enemies. All this Joshua repeated to the people and, summoning Eleazar the high priest and the magistrates, he proceeded to draw lots for the several tribes. And when this revealed that the sacrilege issued from the tribe of Judah, he again had lots drawn for its several clans ; and the true story of the crime was found to rest with the family of Achar. The inquiry being pursued further man by man, they caught Achar. And he, unable to make denial, being thus shrewdly circumvented by God, avowed his theft and produced the stolen goods before all. He was straightway put to death and at nightfall was given the ignominious burial proper to the condemned.^a

editors. As M. Weill points out, Josephus doubtless adds the burial, unrecorded in Scripture, to indicate that the Mosaic law on stoning, which he has previously reported (iv. 202), was exactly followed ; but he may already have found here some addition in his Biblical text which he interpreted as an allusion to burial.

45 (15) Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἀγνίσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναιὰν αὐτοὺς¹ καὶ νυκτὸς τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδραις προλοχίσας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις. τῶν δὲ μετὰ θάρσους² αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν προτέραν νίκην ἐπιόντων ὑποχωρεῖν προσποιησάμενος ἔλκει τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ μακρὰν αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως διώκειν οἰομένους καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη καταφρονοῦντας. ἐπειτ’ ἀναστρέψας τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς ποιεῖ, σημειά τε δοὺς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις συνετέτακτο κάκείνους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξανίστησιν. οἱ δ’ εἰσεπήδων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἔνδον περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ὅντων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ πρὸς θέαν τῶν ἔξω τὴν γνώμην περισπωμένων. 47 καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἤρουν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐντυχάνοντας ἔκτεινον, Ἰησοῦς δὲ τοὺς προσελθόντας εἰς χεῖρας βιασάμενος φυγεῖν τρέπεται, συνελαυνόμενοι δὲ ὡς εἰς ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν ἐπεὶ καὶ ταύτην ἔχομένην³ ἔώρων καὶ καταπιμπραμένην ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις κατέλαβον, διὰ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἥσαν⁴ σκεδασθέντες⁵ ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ μονώσεως 48 οὐ δυνάμενοι. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς Ναιτιανοὺς καταλαβούσης, παῖδων τε ὅχλος ἔάλω καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ θεραπέας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποσκευῆς ἀπειρόν τι πλῆθος, ἀγέλας τε βοσκημάτων ἔλαβον οἱ Ἐβραῖοι καὶ χρήματα πολλά, καὶ γὰρ πλούσιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τοὺς στρατιώτας Ἰησοῦς διένειμεν ἐν Γαλγάλοις γενόμενος.

49 (16) Γαβαωνῖται δὲ κατοικοῦντες ἔγγιστα τοῖς

¹ ed. pr.: αὐτὸς codd.: om. E Lat. ² θράσους ME.
³ οἰχομένην ROE. ⁴ ἥσαν M: ἥσαν SPL: om. rell.
⁵ + καὶ ROE.

(15) Joshua, having purified his army, now led Conquest of Naia, and, after posting ambus- Jos. viii. 3. cades during the night all about the town,^a at day-break joined battle with the enemy. And when these advanced against them with an assurance begotten of their former victory, Joshua, feigning a retreat, drew them in this way to a distance from the town, they imagining themselves in pursuit of a beaten foe and being disdainful of them in anticipation of victory. Then, turning his forces about, he made them face their pursuers and, giving the prearranged signals to those in ambush, roused them also to the fight. These flung themselves into the town, the occupants of which were around the ramparts, some wholly engrossed in watching their friends outside.^b So while they took the town and slew all whom they encountered, Joshua broke the ranks of his adversaries and forced them to flee. Driven in a body to the town which they supposed to be intact, when they saw that it too was taken and found that it was in flames, along with their wives and children, they scattered throughout the country, incapable through their isolation of offering resistance. Such being the fate that befell the Naietans, a crowd of children, women and slaves was taken, beside an immense mass of material. The Hebrews captured moreover herds of cattle and money in abundance, for the region was rich, and all this Joshua distributed to his soldiers, while he was at Galgala.

(16) Now the Gabaonites,^c who lived quite close

^a The Greek is modelled on Thuc. ii. 81.

^b Amplification; according to Jos. viii. 17 not a man had been left in the town.

^c So LXX (Γαβαῶν): Heb. "Gibeon."

Ιεροσολύμοις τά τε τοῖς Ἱεριχουντίοις συμβεβηκότα πάθη καὶ τὰ τοῖς Ναϊτίνοις ὄρωντες καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς μεταβήσεσθαι τὸ δεινὸν ὑπονοοῦντες,
 Ἰησοῦν μὲν παρακαλεῖν οὐ διέγνωσαν· οὐδὲ^¹ γὰρ τεύξεσθαι τινος τῶν μετρίων ὑπελάμβανον ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ Χαναναίων ἔθνους παντὸς πολεμοῦντος
 50 αὐτούς· Κεφηρίτας δὲ καὶ Καριαθιαριμίτας γείτονας ὅντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν παρεκάλουν, οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον λέγοντες, εἰ φθάσαιεν αὐτοὶ ληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, συνασπίσαντας δὲ αὐτοῖς διέγνωσαν^² διαδρᾶντα τὴν
 51 δύναμιν αὐτῶν. προσδεξαμένων δὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν πέμπουσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἰησοῦν φιλίαν σπεισομένους οὓς μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐδοκίμαζον
 52 ἵκανοὺς πρᾶξαι τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ πλήθει. οἱ δὲ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς Χαναναίους ἐπισφαλὲς ἥγούμενοι, διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν διὰ τοῦτο κίνδυνον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εἰ λέγοιεν αὐτοὺς μὴ προσήκειν κατὰ μηδὲν Χαναναίοις ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτω τούτων κατοικεῖν, ἥκειν τε κατὰ πύστιν^³ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἀνύσαντες ὅδὸν ἔφασκον καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦ λόγου
 53 τούτου τὸ σχῆμα ὑπεδείκνυν· τὰς γὰρ ἐσθῆτας καινὰς ὅτε ἐξήσαν οὖσας ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ὕδοιπορίας αὐτοὺς τετρῆφθαι· τρυχίνας γὰρ εἰς τὸ ταῦτα πιστοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπίτηδες ἔλαβον.
 54 στάντες οὖν εἰς μέσους ἔλεγον, ὡς πεμφθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Γαβωνιτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων πλεῖστον ἀπεχουσῶν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ποιησόμενοι

^¹ Dindorf: οὐτε codd.

^² possent Lat.: hence I should read ἀν (διέγνωσαν may have come into the text from § 49).

^³ Bekker: πίστιν codd.

to Jerusalem, seeing the disasters that had befallen the inhabitants of Jericho and of Naia and suspecting that they too would be visited by this dire fate, yet resolved not to implore mercy of Joshua; for they did not think to obtain any tolerable terms from a belligerent whose aim was the extermination of the whole race of the Canaanites. But they invited the Kephērites and the Kariathiarimites,^a their neighbours, to make alliance with them, telling them that neither would they escape this peril, should they themselves have first been conquered by the Israelites, whereas if they united their arms with theirs they might evade their violence.^b These overtures being accepted, the Gabaonites sent ambassadors to Joshua to make a league of amity, choosing those of their citizens whom they judged most capable of acting in the interests of the people. And these, deeming it hazardous to avow themselves Canaanites, and thinking to escape the peril of so doing by asserting that they had no connexion whatever with the Canaanites but lived very far away from them, declared that it was the tidings of his valour which had brought them thither, after accomplishing a long journey, and in proof of this statement they pointed to their apparel. Their garments, quite new when they set out, had (they said) been worn out by the length of their journey; for, to get them to believe this story, they had purposely clothed themselves in rags. So, standing amidst the host, they said that they had been sent by the Gabaonites and the neighbouring cities, very remote from that

^a Chephirah (LXX κεφειρά) and Kiriat-jearim (πόλεις Ἰαρεῖν) are mentioned in Jos. ix. 18 as allied with Gibeon, along with another city (Beeroth) ignored by Josephus.

^b Text doubtful.

πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ἔφ' αἷς πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ
συνθήκαις· μαθόντες γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς
τὴν Χαναναίων αὐτοῖς γῆν κτήσασθαι δεδόσθαι
τούτοις τ' ἔλεγον ἥδεσθαι καὶ πολίτας ἀξιοῦν
55 αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λέγοντες καὶ
ἐπιδεικνύντες τὰ τεκμήρια τῆς ὁδοιπορίας παρ-
εκάλουν ἐπὶ συνθήκας καὶ φιλίαν τοὺς Ἐβραίους.
Ἴησοῦς δὲ πιστεύσας οἰς ἔλεγον, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοῦ
Χαναναίων ἔθνους, ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν,
καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας
ὅμινυσιν ἔξειν τε φίλους καὶ συμμάχους καὶ μηδὲν
μοχλεύσεσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν ἄδικον, τοῖς ὅρκοις
50 ἐπισυναίνεσαντος τοῦ πλήθους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾧν
ἡθελον τυχόντες ἔξ ἀπάτης ἀπῆρεσαν πρὸς αὐτούς.
Ἴησοῦς δὲ τῆς Χαναναίας στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν
ὑπώρειον καὶ μαθὼν οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων
τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας κατωκημένους καὶ τοῦ γένους
55 τῶν Χαναναίων, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτῶν
τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει. τῶν δ'
οὐκ ἄλλην ἀφορμὴν σωτηρίας ἔχειν ἢ ταύτην προ-
φασιζομένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔξ ἀνάγκης
καταφυγεῖν συγκαλεῖ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ
τὴν γερουσίαν, καὶ δημοσίους αὐτοὺς δικαιούντων
ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παραβῆναι τὸν ὅρκον ἀποδείκνυσιν¹
εἶναι τοιούτους. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς καταλαβούσης
αὐτοὺς συμφοιοῦσι τοιαύτην φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν
εὗραντο.

58 (17) Τοῦ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέως χα-
λεπῶς φέροντος ἐπὶ τῷ μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τὸν

¹ ἀποδεικνύουσιν ROML.

* Or "engineer," "trump up" (literally "prise up").

present land, to make alliance with them on such terms as were customary with their fathers; for, having learnt that by the grace and bounty of God the land of the Canaanites had been granted them for their possession, they rejoiced thereat and craved to become their fellow-citizens. With these words, and withal displaying the tokens of their travel, they besought the Hebrews to make a covenant and league of amity with them. Thereupon Joshua, believing what they said, that they were not of the race of the Canaanites, made a league with them; and Eleazar the high priest, along with the council of elders, swore to hold them as friends and allies and to contrive^a no iniquity against them, and the people ratified the oaths. So the envoys, having attained their end by guile, returned to their own people; but Joshua, having marched into the foot-hills of Canaan and learnt that the Gabaonites lived not far from Jerusalem and were of the stock of the Canaanites, sent for their magistrates and upbraided them for this fraud. When these alleged that they had no other means of salvation save that, and that they had therefore perforce had recourse to it, Joshua convoked the high priest Eleazar and the council; and, acting upon their judgement that they should be made public slaves,^b so as to avoid violation of the oath, he appointed them to those functions. Thus did these people, when confronted with calamity, find protection and security for themselves.

(17) But the king of the Jerusalemites,^c indignant that the Gabaonites should have passed over to the

^b "Hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation," Jos. ix. 27.

^c Named Adonizedek, Jos. x. 1.

’Ιησοῦν τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας καὶ τοὺς τῶν πλησίον ἐθνῶν παρακαλέσαντος βασιλέας συνάρασθαι τῷ κατ’ αὐτῷ πολέμῳ, ὡς τούτους τε εἶδον παρόντας σὺν αὐτῷ, τέσσαρες δὲ ἦσαν, οἱ Γαβαωνίται καὶ στρατοπεδευσαμένους ἐπὶ τινι πηγῇ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἀπωθεν παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς πολιορκίαν,
 59 ἐπεκαλοῦντο σύμμαχον ’Ιησοῦν· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα, ὡς ὑπὸ μὲν τούτων¹ ἀπολεῖσθαι προσδοκᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπ’ ὄλεθρῳ τοῦ Χαναναίων γένους στρατευσάντων σωθήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν 60 γενομένην φιλίαν ὑπολαμβάνειν. καὶ ’Ιησοῦς πανστρατιὰ σπεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν καὶ δι’ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀνύσας ὅρθιος προσμίγνυσι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τραπεῖσιν εἰπετο διώκων διὰ χωρίων ἐπικλινῶν, Βήθωρα καλεῖται. ἔνθα καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἔμαθεν ἐπισημήναντος αὐτοῦ βρονταῖς τε καὶ κεραυνῶν ἀφέσει καὶ χαλάζης καταφορᾷ
 61 μείζονος τῆς συνήθους· ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐξῆθῆναι πλέον, ὡς ἂν μὴ καταλαβοῦσα νὺξ ἐπίσχῃ τὸ τῶν Ἐβραίων πρόθυμον, συνέπεσεν, ὥστε καὶ λαμβάνει τοὺς βασιλέας ’Ιησοῦς ἐν τινι κρυπτομένους σπηλαίῳ κατὰ Μακχίδα καὶ κολάζει πάντας. ὅτι δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπέδωκε τότε καὶ τοῦ συνήθους ἐπλεόνασε, δηλοῦται διὰ τῶν ἀνακειμένων ἐν τῷ ἵερῷ γραμμάτων.
 62 (18) Κατεστραμμένων δ’ οὕτως τῶν περὶ τοὺς βασιλέας, οἱ τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας πολεμήσοντες ἐστράτευσαν, ἐπανήσι πάλιν τῆς Χαναναίας ἐπὶ τὴν

¹ M: τῶν τοιούτων RO: τῶν οἰκετῶν SPL (Lat. suis).

* Bibl. Beth-horon; the pass was the scene of many later
 28

side of Joshua, called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join him in a campaign against them; whereat the Gabaonites, having seen these monarchs come with him, four in number, and encamp by a spring not far from their city, preparing to besiege them, appealed to Joshua for aid. For such was their case, that from their countrymen they could await but destruction, while from those who had taken the field for the extermination of the Canaanite race they looked for salvation, thanks to the alliance which had been concluded. Joshua, with his whole army, sped to their assistance and, marching all day and night, at early dawn fell upon the foe, routed them and followed in pursuit down the slopes of the region called Bēthōra.^a There too he was given to know of God's co-operation, manifested by thunder-claps, the discharge of thunderbolts and the descent of hail of more than ordinary magnitude. Aye and moreover it befell that the day was prolonged, to the end that night should not overtake them and check the Hebrews' ardour; insomuch that Joshua both captured the kings, who were hiding in a cave at Macchida,^b and punished all their host. That the length of the day was increased on that occasion and surpassed the customary measure, is attested by Scriptures that are laid up in the temple.^c

(18) Having thus overthrown that league of kings who had set out to war against the Gabaonites, Joshua remounted into the hill-country of Canaan; battles, notably of the rout of a Roman legion at the opening of the Jewish War (B.J. ii. 546).

^a Bibl. Makkedah (*Makkedah*), LXX Μαχηδά, Jos. x. 10, 16: perhaps *el-Mughar* ("the cavern") S.W. of Ekron.

^b Cf. iii. 38, iv. 303 with notes.

Defeat of
the league
of kings.
The
lengthened
day.
Jos. x. 1.

όρεινήν Ἰησοῦς καὶ πολὺν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φόνον
έργασάμενος καὶ λείαν λαβὼν παρῆν εἰς τὸ ἐν
63 Γαλγάλοις στρατόπεδον. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν
Ἐβραιῶν ἀρετῆς λόγου πολλοῦ φοιτῶντος εἰς τοὺς
περιοίκους κατάπληξις εἶχε τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ τῶν
ἀπολωλότων πλῆθος, καὶ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς
οἱ περὶ Λίβανον ὅρος βασιλεῖς ὄντες Χαναναῖοι καὶ
οἱ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τῶν Χαναναίων Παλαιοτίνους
προσλαβόντες στρατοπεδεύουσι¹ πρὸς Βηρώθη πόλει
Γαλιλαίας τῆς ἀνω Κεδέσης οὐ πόρρω· Γαλιλαίων
64 δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ
παντὸς ὄπλιτῶν μὲν ἥσαν μυριάδες τριάκοντα,
μύριοι δ’ ἵππεῖς καὶ ἄρματα δισμύρια. κατα-
πλήττει δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν τε
Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα
τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλαβεστέρως εἶχον δι’ ὑπερβολὴν
65 τοῦ δέους. τοῦ θεοῦ δ’ ἔξονειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς τὸν
φόβον καὶ τί² πλέον τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας
ποθοῦσιν, ὑποσχομένου τε νικήσεων τοὺς ἔχθροὺς
καὶ κελεύσαντος τούς τε ἵππους ἀχρήστους ποιῆσαι
καὶ τὰ ἄρματα πυρώσαι, θαρσαλέος πρὸς τὰς ὑπο-
σχέσεις τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενος ἔξωρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
66 πολεμίους, καὶ διὰ πέμπτης ἡμέρας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς
ἐλθὼν συνάπτει, καὶ καρτερὰ μάχη γίνεται καὶ
φόνος κρείττων πίστεως παρὰ τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.
διώκων δ’ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔξηλθε καὶ πᾶν τὸ στρά-

¹ veneruntque Lat.² ει MSPL Lat.

^a The Greek, here and throughout, has “Palestinians.”
^b Jos. xi. 5, “at the waters of Merom” (LXX Μερών), com-

there he made great carnage of the inhabitants and ^{Defeat of a} host of
captured booty, and so returned to the camp at ^{Canaanites} Galgala. The fame of the Hebrews’ valour being ^{and} now mightily noised abroad among the neighbouring ^{Philistines} peoples, consternation seized them on hearing of ^{in Galilee.} those multitudes of slain ; and there set off to war ^{Jos. x. 43;} against them the kings of the region of Mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and the Canaanites ^{xi. 1.} of the plains, joined by the Philistines,^a and established their camp at Berothe,^b a city of upper Galilee, not far from Kedese,^c another place within the Galilean area. Their entire army amounted to 300,000 men-at-arms, 10,000 horsemen, and 20,000 chariots.^d This host of enemies dismayed both Joshua himself and the Israelites, and in the excess of their fear they scarce durst hope for success. But God rebuked them for their terror and for crav- ^{xi. 6.} ing aught beyond His aid, promising them victory over their foes and bidding them put their horses out of action and to burn the chariots. Emboldened by these promises of God, Joshua set forth against the enemy, and on the fifth day ^e came upon them and engaged them : a fierce combat ensued and a carnage such that the tale of it would outrun belief. Advancing very far in pursuit, Joshua destroyed the monly but incorrectly (G. A. Smith) identified with the small lake *Huleh*, north of the Lake of Tiberias. The site of the battle is unknown ; Josephus seems to identify it with one of the towns which he fortified during the war with Rome and which he calls elsewhere *Mero(th)* or *Ameroth* (B.J. ii. 573, iii. 39, *Vita* 188).

^c Kedesh Naphtali, N.W. of the lake *Huleh*.^d The numbers are imaginary : Scripture speaks only of “much people, even as the sand that is upon the seashore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many.”^e Amplification.

τευμα τῶν ἔχθρων πλὴν ὀλίγων διέφθειρε, καὶ οἱ
67 βασιλεῖς πάντες ἔπεσον, ὥστε τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἔπιλελοιπότων πρὸς τὸ κτείνεσθαι τοὺς ἵππους
Ἰησοῦς αὐτῶν ἀνήρει καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ἐνεπίμπρα,
τὴν τε χώραν ἐπ' ἀδείας διεπορεύετο μηδενὸς
τολμῶντος εἰς μάχην ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολιορκίᾳ
τὰς πόλεις αἵρων καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι λάβοι φονεύων.

68 (19) Ἐτος δὲ πέμπτον ἥδη παρεληλύθει καὶ
Χαναναίων οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ὑπολέιπτο πλὴν εἰς μή
τινες ὄχυρότητι τειχῶν διέφυγον. Ἰησοῦς δ' ἐκ
τῶν Γαλγάλων ἀναστρατοπεδεύσας εἰς τὴν ὄρειον¹
ἴστῃ τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνὴν κατὰ Σιλοῦν πόλιν, ἐπιτή-
δειον γὰρ ἐδόκει τὸ χωρίον διὰ κάλλος, ἔως οἰκο-
δομεῖν ναὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα παράσχῃ.² καὶ
χωρῆσας ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Σικίμων σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ
βωμόν τε ἴστησιν ὃπου προεῖπε Μωυσῆς καὶ
νείμας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Γαριζεῖ ὄρει τὴν
ἡμίσειαν ἴστησιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἡβῆλῳ³ τὴν ἡμίσειαν,
ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ βωμός,⁴ καὶ τὸ Λευιτικὸν καὶ τοὺς
70 ἱερέας. θύσαντες δὲ καὶ ἀρὰς ποιησάμενοι καὶ
ταύτας ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ γεγραμμένας καταλιπόντες
εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν ἀνέζευξαν.

¹ ὄρειν ἥν SPE.

² παράσχοι Niese.

³ Ε: βωμός ἐστι (conj. ἐστη Niese) codd.

³ Γηβήλω ML.

^a Scripture makes no such exception: "they smote them until they left them none remaining" (Jos. xi. 8).

^b A calculation based apparently on Jos. xiv. 7 and 10, where Caleb declares that he was 40 years old when sent out as a spy and that he is now 85. Allowing 40 years for the wanderings, this gives 5 years for the wars of Joshua. Tradition, based on that same passage (together, it would

whole of the enemy's army, save for a few^a—the kings all fell—in such wise that, when there were no more men to be killed, he slew their horses and burnt the chariots. He then overran the country unmolested, none daring to come out to give him battle; the cities too he captured by siege and massacred every creature that he caught.

(19) A fifth year had now passed away^b and there was no longer any Canaanite left, save for such as had escaped through the solidity of their walls. So Joshua moved his camp up from Galgala into the hill country and set up the holy tabernacle at the city of Silo,^c since that spot, by its beauty, seemed meet for it, until circumstances should permit them to build a temple. Proceeding thence to Sikima,^d with all the people, he erected an altar at the spot foreordained by Moses,^e and, dividing his army, posted one half of it on mount Garizin and the other half on Hēbēl,^f whereon also stood the altar, along with the Levites and the priests. After sacrificing and pronouncing imprecations,^g which they also left graven upon the altar, they returned to Silo.

seem, with Deut. ii. 14, which restricts the wanderings to 38 years) assigned 7 years to the conquest (Weill).

^c Greek "Silous": Heb. Shiloh, LXX Σηλὼ.

^d Bibl. Shechem, LXX Σίκιμα or Σύχεμ, mod. *Nablus*. Scripture places this episode earlier, immediately after the conquest of Ai—unnaturally, because northern Palestine had not then been conquered. Shechem is not mentioned in the Biblical account and there is reason to think that "in order to oppose Samaritan claims, the whole scene of the ceremony has (there) been transported from Shechem to Gilgal" (G. A. Cooke, *Camb. Bible*, on Jos. viii. 30).

^e A. iv. 305.

^f Bibl. Ebal, LXX Γαιβάλ: in A. iv. l.c. Βουλή.

^g Prescribed in Deut. xxvii. ff. (A. iv. l.c.).

Erection
of the
tabernacle
at Shiloh
and
ceremonies
at Shechem
Jos. xviii. 1

viii. 30
(LXX ix. 3).

71 (20) Ἰησοῦς δ' ἥδη γηραιὸς ὡν καὶ τὰς τῶν Χαναναίων πόλεις ὄρῶν οὐκ εὐαλώτους ὑπό τε τῆς τῶν χωρίων ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ὀχυρότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἰσχύος, ἢ τῇ φυσικῇ τῶν πόλεων πλεονεξίᾳ προσπειβαλλόμενοι¹ προσεδόκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφέξεσθαι πολιορκίας δι' ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ 72 λαβεῖν, καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ ἑαυτῶν οἱ Χαναναῖοι μαθόντες τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ποιησαμένους τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Αἴγυπτον πρὸς τῷ τὰς πόλεις καρτερὰς ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἅπαντ' ἦσαν τὸν χρόνον, συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν ἐκκλησίαν παρήγγειλε. 73 καὶ σπουδῇ συνδραμόντων τά τε ἥδη κατωρθωμένα καὶ τὰς γεγενημένας πράξεις, ὡς εἰσὶν ἄρισται καὶ τοῦ θείου τοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτὰς ἄξιαι καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νόμων οἷς κατακολουθοῦσιν ἔλεγε, βασιλεὺς τε τριάκοντα καὶ ἓνα τολμήσαντας αὐτοῖς εἰς χείρας ἐλθεῖν κεκρατήσθαι δηλῶν, καὶ στρατιὰν ὅση ποτὲ κατελπίσασα τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως εἰς μάχην συνῆψεν ἅπασαν διαφθαρεῖσαν, ὡς μηδὲ 74 γενεὰν αὐτοῖς ὑπολειεῖθαι. τῶν δὲ πόλεων ἐπειδήπερ αἱ μὲν ἑαλώκεσαν, πρὸς ἃς δὲ δεῖ χρόνου καὶ μεγάλης πολιορκίας διὰ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῶν οἰκητόρων πεποίθησιν, ἡξίου τοὺς ἐκ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἰορδάνου συνεξορμήσαντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κινδύνων συναραμένους ὅντας συγγενεῖς ἀπολύειν ἥδη πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα, χάριν αὐτοῖς ὡν συνέκαμον διμο- 75 λογοῦντας, ἕνα τε κατὰ φυλὴν ἀρετῇ προύχειν μαρτυρηθέντα πέμπειν, οἱ τὴν γῆν ἐκμετρησάμενοι

¹ προσπειβαλλόμενοι ROE.

^a Or perhaps "over-confident of (defeating) their forces."
^b "Three men for each tribe," Jos. l.c.

(20) Joshua, being now old and seeing that the cities of the Canaanites were not lightly to be taken, by reason both of the strength of the sites on which they stood and of the solidity of the walls with which the inhabitants had crowned the natural advantages of their towns, reckoning that their enemies would refrain from besieging what they despaired of capturing—for the Canaanites, since they heard that it was for their destruction that the Israelites had made their exodus from Egypt, had spent all that time in fortifying their cities—Joshua, I say, called his people together to Silo and summoned an assembly. Thither they sped with alacrity, and he spoke to them of the successes already achieved and the exploits accomplished, saying how fine they were and worthy of the Deity who had vouchsafed them and of the excellence of those laws which they were following: he recalled how one and thirty kings who had dared to close with them had been defeated, and how that vast army which once, over-confident in its strength,^a had joined battle with them, had been entirely destroyed, insomuch that not one family of theirs had survived. Of the cities too some had been taken, but seeing that for the capture of others there was need of time and great siege-works, owing to the strength of their ramparts and the confidence which this inspired in their inhabitants, he deemed it right that those from beyond Jordan who had come to take part in their campaign and had shared their dangers as kinsmen, should now be dismissed to their homes with an expression of thanks for their aid in the task. "Furthermore," said he, "we should send, one from each tribe,^b men of approved virtue, to measure out the land faith-

πιστῶς καὶ μηδὲν κακουργήσαντες¹ δηλώσουσιν
ἡμῖν ἀδόλως αὐτῆς τὸ μέγεθος.

- 76 (21) Καὶ Ἰησοῦς μὲν τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους συγκάταινον ἔσχε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκμετρησομένους τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξέπεμψε παραδοὺς αὐτοῖς τινας γεωμετρίας ἐπιστήμονας, οὓς τάληθὲς οὐκ ἔμελλε λήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τέχνην, ἐντολὰς δοὺς ἀποτιμήσασθαι τῆς τε εὐδαίμονος ἴδιᾳ 77 τὸ μέτρον γῆς καὶ τῆς ἥσσον ἀγαθῆς. ἡ γὰρ φύσις τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς τοιαύτη τίς ἔστιν, ὡς ἵδοι τις ἀν πεδία μεγάλα καὶ καρποὺς φέρειν ἰκανώτατα καὶ συγκρινόμενα μὲν ἐτέρᾳ γῇ πανευδαίμονα νομισθησόμενα, τοῖς δὲ Ἱεριχονυτίων χωρίοις παραβαλλόμενα καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὸ μηδὲν 78 ἀναφανησόμενα· καίτοι παντελῶς ὀλίγην αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν γῆν συμβέβηκε καὶ ταύτης ὁρεινὴν τὴν πολλήν, ἀλλ’ ὑπερβολὴν εἰς καρπῶν ἐκτροφήν τε καὶ κάλλος οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν ἐτέρᾳ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμητοὺς μᾶλλον ἡ μετρητοὺς τοὺς κλήρους εἶναι δεῖν ὑπέλαβε, πολλάκις ἐνὸς πλέθρουν κἄντιαν 79 ἀνταξίου γενομένου. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ πεμφθέντες, δέκα δὲ ἡσαν, περιοδεύσαντες καὶ τιμησάμενοι τὴν γῆν ἐν ἔβδομῷ μηνὶ παρῆσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Σιλοῦντα πόλιν, ἔνθα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐστάκεσαν.

¹ Niese: ἐκμετρησόμενοι . . . κακουργήσοντες codd.

^a The representatives of the tribes (§ 75), excluding the two (Reuben and Gad) for which complete provision had already been made on the east of Jordan. In this account of the division of the land Josephus departs from Scripture and presents a simpler, possibly an older, narrative. In Joshua, after a review of the allotment of land to the 2½ tribes beyond Jordan (chap. xiii.), we are given a preliminary allotment at Gilgal (xiv. 6) to Judah, Ephraim and the rest

fully and without fraudulence and honestly to report to us what are its dimensions."

(21) Having delivered this speech and won the assent of the people thereto, Joshua sent out men to measure the country, attaching to them certain expert surveyors, from whom by reason of their skill the truth would not be hid, instructions being given them to assess separately the extent of the favoured land and of that which was less fertile. For the nature of the land of Canaan is such that one may see plains, of great area, fully fitted for bearing crops, and which compared with another district might be deemed altogether blest, yet when set beside the regions of the people of Jericho and Jerusalem would appear as naught. Aye, though the territory of these folk happens to be quite diminutive and for the most part mountainous, yet for its extraordinary productiveness of crops and for beauty it yields to no other. And that was why Joshua held that the allotments should be fixed rather by valuation than by measurement, a single acre being often worth as much as a thousand. So ^b xviii. 9. the men who had been sent, ten ^a in number, having compassed the land and valued it, in the seventh month ^b returned to him to the city of Silo, where the tabernacle had been set up.

of Manasseh (xv.-xvii.); then from Shiloh emissaries are sent out (3 from each tribe or 21 in all) to measure out the land for the remaining *seven* tribes, and the allotment for these tribes follows (xviii.-xx.). In Josephus there is no preliminary allotment at Gilgal: the apportionment for the 9½ tribes all takes place at Shiloh.

^b Not in Scripture, which instead has a reference to the "seven portions" into which the land was divided by the emissaries (see last note).

80 (22) Καὶ Ἰησοῦς Ἐλεάζαρόν τε καὶ τὴν γερου-
σίαν σὺν τοῖς φυλάρχοις παραλαβὼν νέμει ταῖς
ἐννέᾳ φυλαῖς καὶ τῶν Μανασσητῶν τοῖς ἡμίσεσι,
κατὰ μέγεθος ἐκάστης τῶν φυλῶν τὴν μέτρησιν
81 ποιησάμενος. κληρώσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μὲν Ἰουδαία
λαχοῦσα πᾶσαν αἴρεῖται τὴν καθύπερθεν Ἰδουμαίαν
παρατείνουσαν μὲν ἄχρι τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τὸ δ'
εὖρος ἔως τῆς Σοδομίτιδος λίμνης καθήκουσαν· ἐν
δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ τούτῳ πόλεις ἥσαν Ἀσκάλων καὶ
82 Γάζα. Σεμεωνὶς δέ, δευτέρα γὰρ ἦν, ἔλαχε τῆς
Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ
πρόσορον οὖσαν. Βενιαμῖται δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου
ποταμοῦ ἔλαχον ἄχρι θαλάσσης μὲν τὸ μῆκος, τὸ
δὲ πλάτος Ἱεροσολύμοις ὅριζομένην καὶ Βεθῆλοις.
στενώτατος¹ δὲ ὁ κλῆρος οὗτος ἦν διὰ τὴν τῆς
γῆς ἀρετήν· Ἱεριχοῦντα γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσο-
83 λυμιτῶν πόλιν ἔλαβον. ἡ δ' Ἐφραίμον² φυλὴ τὴν
ἄχρι Γαζάρων ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ μηκυνο-
μένην ἔλαχεν, εὐρεῖαν δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ Βεθῆλων εἰς
τὸ μέγα τελευτὴν πεδίον, τῆς τε³ Μανασσῆτιδος οἱ
ἡμίσεις ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰορδάνου μέχρι Δώρων πόλεως,
84 πλάτος δὲ ἐπὶ Βηθησάνων, ἡ νῦν Σκυθόπολις

¹ στενώτατος codd.² Ἐφράν R.³ δὲ Bernard (Lat. vers.).

^a It is difficult to see what part the lot played in the matter beyond determining the order of conferment of territories already allocated in advance proportionate to the size of the various tribes; there can have been no choice on the part of the tribes. In rabbinical tradition the Urim and Thummim are said to have been used for the purpose.

^b "Length" and "breadth" in this description indicate the longer and shorter dimensions of the lots, regardless of their orientation.

^c The lower end of the Dead Sea.

(22) Then Joshua, taking to him Eleazar and the council of elders, along with the tribal chiefs, distributed all between the nine tribes and the half-tribe of Manasseh, making his measurements proportional to the magnitude of each tribe. When, then, he had cast lots,^a that of Judah obtained for its lot the whole of upper Idumaea, extending (in length) to Jerusalem and in breadth^b reaching down to the lake of Sodom^c; within this allotment were the cities of Ascalon and Gaza. That of Simeon, being the second, obtained the portion of Idumaea bordering on Egypt and Arabia. The Benjamites obtained the region which in length stretches from the river Jordan to the sea^d and in breadth is bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel. This lot was the narrowest of all by reason of the excellence of the soil, for Jericho and the city of the Jerusalemites fell to their portion. The tribe of Ephraim obtained the land reaching in length from the river Jordan to Gazara^e and in breadth from Bethel right up to the great plain.^f The half-tribe of Manasseh had from the Jordan to the city of Dora^g and in breadth as far as Bēthēsana,^h now called Scythopolis. After

^a Jos. xviii. 12 "westward" (literally "sea-ward"; LXX ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν); the western border actually lay well inland.

^b So Jos. xvi. 5 LXX (not in Heb. text). Gazara is the Greek form of the Heb. Gezer (Jos. ib. 10), now identified as Tell Jezar, some 18 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, on the Philistine border.

^c The plain of Esdraelon.

^d Heb. Dor (LXX Δώρ), Jos. xvii. 11; a maritime town 16 miles S. of Carmel (mod. Tanturah).

^e Heb. Beth-shean (LXX Βαιθσάν, mod. Beisan, midway between Mt. Gilboa and the Jordan; of the real or supposed Scythian invasion which gave it its other name nothing is known.

καλεῖται, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ἰσαχαρὶς Κάρμηλόν τε τὸ ὄρος καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦ μήκους ποιησαμένη τέρμονα,¹ τὸ δὲ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος τοῦ πλάτους. Ζαβουλωνῖται δὲ τὴν μέχρι Γενησαρίδος, καθήκουσαν δὲ περὶ Κάρμηλον καὶ θάλασσαν ἔλαχον.
 85 τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καρμήλου κοιλάδα προσαγορευομένην, διὰ τὸ καὶ τοιαύτην εἶναι, Ἀσηρῖται φέρονται πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος τετραμμένην. Ἀρκη δὲ πόλις ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι ή καὶ
 86 Ἐκδείπους. τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένα μέχρι Δαμασκοῦ πόλεως καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας τὰ καθύπερθεν Νεφθαλῖται παρέλαβον ἕως τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πηγῶν, αἱ τὴν ὄρμὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἔχουσιν [ἐκ τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῖς ὄροις κατὰ τὰ βόρεια πόλεως Ἀρκης παροικούσης].²
 87 Δανῖται δὲ τῆς κοίλης ὅσα πρὸς δυόμενον τέτραπται τὸν ἥλιον λαγχάνουσιν Ἀξώτῳ καὶ Δώροις ὁρίζομενοι, Ἰάμνειάν τε πᾶσαν καὶ Γίτταν ἀπ' Ἀκκαρῶν ἕως τοῦ ὄρους, ἐξ οὐδὲν ή Ιούδα ἥρκτο φυλή.
 88 (23) Καὶ ἐξ μὲν ἔθνη τῶν νιέέων τοῦ Χαναναίου φέροντα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν διεῖλεν οὕτως Ἰησοῦς καὶ τὴν γῆν ταῖς ἐννέα καὶ τῇ ἡμισείᾳ φυλαῖς ἔδωκε
 89 νέμεσθαι· τὴν γὰρ Ἀμορῖτων καὶ αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀφ' ἐνὸς τῶν Χαναναίου παιδῶν καλουμένην Μωυσῆς ἥδη προειληφὼς νενεμήκει ταῖς δυσὶ φυλαῖς καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν.³

¹ ML: τέρματα rell.² om. Lat.³ Niese: δεδηλώκειμεν (-ώκει, -ώκειν) codd.^a Mount Tabor; the town of that name is mentioned among the borders of Issachar in Jos. xix. 22.^b The sea of Galilee.

these came Issachar, with mount Carmel and the river for its boundaries in length and mount Itabyrion^a as limit of its breadth. They of Zabulon^{xix. 10} obtained the land which reaches to the (lake of) Genesar^b and descends well-nigh to Carmel and the sea. The region beginning at Carmel, the Vale as xix. 24. it is called from its nature, was won by the men of Aser, all of it, that is to say, that faced towards Sidon; to their portion fell the city of Arce, also called Ecdipus.^c The territory to the eastward up xix. 32. to the city of Damascus, with upper Galilee, was occupied by the men of Nephthali, as far as mount Libanus and the sources of the Jordan, which spring from that mountain.^d The Danites obtained those xix. 40. parts of the valley which face the setting sun with Azotus^e and Dora for boundaries; they had all Jamnia,^f Gitta^g (and) from Akkaron^h to the mountain-range where the tribe of Judah began.

(23) Thus did Joshua divide six of the nations that Amoritis and bore the names of the sons of Canaan and gave their unassigned land to the nine and a half tribes for their possession; for Amoritis, likewise so called after one of the children of Canaan, had already of yore been taken and apportioned by Moses to the two and a half tribes, as we have previously related.ⁱ But the

^c Heb. Achzib (Jos. xix. 29), mod. *ez Zib*, called Ecdippa, B.J. i. 257, on the coast midway between Carmel and Tyre.^d The mss. add some unintelligible words, omitted by the Latin version and perhaps a gloss: (?) "from the part where it descends to the boundary to the north of the adjacent city of Arce."^e Heb. Ashdod.^f Heb. Jabneel (Jos. xv. 11) or Jabneh, mod. *Yebnah*, another city in the Philistine plain.^g Gath.^h Ekron.ⁱ iv. 166 ff.

τὰ δὲ περὶ Σιδῶνα καὶ Ἀρουκαίους καὶ Ἀμαθαίους
καὶ Ἀριδαίους¹ ἀδιακόσμητα ἦν.

- 90 (24) Ἰησοῦς δέ, τοῦ γήρως ἐμποδίζοντος ἥδη
πράττειν ὅσα καὶ νοήσειε, τῶν τε μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν
ἥγεμονίαν παραλαβόντων ἀμελῶς προστάντων τοῦ
κοινῆ συμφέροντος, παρήγγειλέ τε² φυλῇ ἐκάστη
τοῦ γένους τῶν Χαναναίων μηδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν ἐν τῇ
κατακεκληρωμένῃ γῇ· τὴν γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς
καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων ἔθων ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ
καὶ Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς εἶναι προειπεῖν καὶ τοῦτ' αὐ-
91 τὸς³ πεπεῖσθαι· καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις δὲ τὰς ὄκτα
καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἀποδιδόναι προειλήφεισαν
γὰρ ἥδη κατὰ τὴν Ἀμοραίαν τὰς δέκα. τούτων
τρεῖς ἀπονέμει τοῖς φυγάσιν οἰκεῦν ἐν αὐταῖς, πολλὴ
γὰρ ἦν πρόνοια τοῦ μηδὲν ὡν Μωυσῆς διέταξε
παραλιπεῖν, τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἰούδα φυλῆς Ἐβρωνα,
Σίκιμα δὲ τῆς Ἐφραίμ, τῆς Νεφθαλίτιδος δὲ
Κεδέσην· ἔστι δὲ τῆς καθύπερθεν Γαλιλαίας τοῦτο
92 τὸ χωρίον. νέμει δὲ καὶ τῆς λείας ὅσα ἦν ἔτι
λοιπά, πλείστη δ' ἔγεγόνει, καὶ μεγάλους πλούτους
περιεβέβληντο καὶ κοινῇ πάντες καὶ κατ' ἴδιαν
ἔκαστος χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐσθῆτων καὶ
τῆς ἄλλης ἐπισκευῆς ἔνεκα, τετραπόδων τε πλήθους
ὅσον οὐδὲ ἀριθμῷ μαθεῖν ἦν προσγενομένου.
- 93 (25) Μετὰ δέ⁴ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
τὸν στρατὸν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόρδανον κατὰ τὴν
Ἀμοραίαν ἰδρυμένοις, συνεστράτευον δ' αὐτοῖς

¹ Ἀραδαίους conj. Niese.

³ Naber: αὐτοῖς codd.

² om. τε Lat., ed. pr.

⁴ ROE: δὴ rell.

^a Cf. the list of the 11 sons of Canaan (Chanaaneus) previously given in A. i. 138 f., to which Josephus is here referring. The countries of 7 of these have now been assigned:

regions about Sidon, with those of the Arucaeans, Amathaeans and Aridaeans, remained unassigned.^a

(24) Joshua, now that age impeded him from carrying out his own designs and also because those who after him took over the command showed themselves careless guardians of the common weal, straitly charged each tribe to leave no remnant of the race of the Canaanites within their allotted territory, since their security and the maintenance of their ancestral institutions hung upon that alone: this Moses had already told them^b and of this he was himself persuaded. They were also to render^{xxi. 1.} up to the Levites those eight and thirty cities—for these had already received the other ten in the Amorite country.^c Of these cities, he assigned^{xx. 1.} three for fugitives to dwell in—for he took strict care to neglect none of the ordinances of Moses—to wit Hebron belonging to the tribe of Judah, Sikima^d to Ephraim and Kedese^e to Nephthali, this last being a place in upper Galilee. He also distributed what yet remained of the spoils, of which there was a vast mass; and all, collectively and individually, found themselves endowed with great riches, gold, silver, apparel and equipment of every kind, over and above such a multitude of cattle^f as was past numbering.

(25) Thereafter, having collected his army in assembly, he addressed to those who had their settlement beyond Jordan in Amorea—of whom 50,000

the 4 still outstanding are in Biblical nomenclature Zidon, Arkite, Hamathite and Arvadite (Gen. x. 15 ff.). Joshua (xiii. 2–6) also enumerates the unconquered territories, including that of the Philistines, not mentioned by Josephus.

^b iv. 191 f.

^c iv. 67, 172.

^d Shechem.

^e Kedesh.

^f lit. “four-footed (beasts).”

Cities of
Levites and
of refuge:
division of
spoils.
Jos. xxiii. 1.

Joshua's
farewell
address to
the 2½
tribes.

Jos. xxii. 1.

πεντακισμύριοι ὄπλιται, ἔλεξε τάδε· “ἐπεὶ δὲ θεός,¹
πατὴρ καὶ δεσπότης τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους, γῆν
τε κτήσασθαι ταύτην ἔδωκε καὶ κτηθεῖσαν εἰς
94 ἅπαν ἡμετέραν φυλάξειν ὑπέσχηται, συνεργίας δὲ
τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν κατ' ἐντολὴν τὴν ἐκείνου δεομένους
ἔαυτοὺς εἰς ἅπαντα προθύμους ἔδωκατε, δίκαιον
ὑμᾶς μηδενὸς ἔτι δυσκόλου περιμένοντος ἀνα-
παύσεως ἥδη τυχεῖν φειδοῖ τῆς προθυμίας ὑμῶν,
ἴν' εἰ καὶ πάλιν δεήσειεν ἡμῖν αὐτῆς ἀοκνον ἔχωμεν
εἰς τὰ κατεπείξοντα καὶ μὴ τοῖς νῦν καμούσαν
95 αὐθίς βραδυτέραν. χάριν τε οὖν ὑμῖν ὧν συνήρασθε
κινδύνων καὶ οὐχὶ νῦν μόνον ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαν οὕτως
ἔξομεν, ὅντες ἀγαθοὶ μεμνήσθαι τῶν φίλων καὶ
παρὰ τῇ διαινοίᾳ κρατεῖν ὅσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἡμῖν
ὑπῆρξεν, ὅτι τε τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀνεβάλεσθε καὶ πονήσαντες²
εἰς ἣ νῦν εὔνοίᾳ θεοῦ κατέστημεν ἐπειθ' οὕτως
96 ἐκρίνατε αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν. γέγονε δὲ πρὸς
τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐκ τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν πόνων
πλούτος ἀφθονος, λείαν τε πολλὴν ἐπαξομένους καὶ
χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, καὶ τὸ τούτων ἔτι πλεῖον, ἡ
παρ' ἡμῶν³ εὔνοια καὶ πρὸς ὅ τι βουληθείητε κατ'
ἀμοιβὴν πρόθυμον. οὔτε γάρ ὧν Μωυσῆς προεἶπεν
ἀπελείφθητε καταφρονήσαντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπ-
ελθόντος οὗτ' ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἐφ' ὃ μὴ χάριν ὑμῖν
97 οἴδαμεν. χαίροντας οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς κληρουχίας
ἀπολύομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν μηδένα τῆς πρὸς
ἡμᾶς συγγενείας ὄρον ὑπολαμβάνειν, μηδ' ὅτι
μεταξὺ ποταμὸς οὐτός ἔστιν ἐτέρους ἡμᾶς νομίσητε

¹ θεὸς καὶ MSPL.² ROL: συμπονήσαντες SP.
³ MSPLE: παρ' ἡμῖν RO: vester Lat.^a i.e. in cattle.

men-at-arms had taken part in their campaign—the following words : “ Seeing that God, the Father and Lord of the Hebrew race, has given us to win this land and, being won, has promised to preserve it to us for ever, and seeing that, when at His behest we besought your assistance, ye offered your ready services for all, it is but just, when no further arduous task awaits us, that ye should now obtain repose, husbanding your devotion, to the end that, should we again have need of it, we may find it alert to meet those future emergencies and not so worn by the toils of to-day as to respond more sluggishly hereafter. We therefore tender you our thanks for having shared those perils with us, and not to-day only but for ever shall we be grateful ; for we are apt to remember our friends and to keep in mind services which they have rendered to us, even how for our sakes ye deferred the enjoyment of your goodly possessions and resolved that, only after toiling for the end whereto by the grace of God we have now attained, would ye then at last partake of them. Yet, to add to those goods that ye possess, ye have by your labours with us won wealth in abundance : ye will take with you rich booty,^a gold and silver and, what is more than all, our goodwill and readiness to serve and requite you in whatsoever ye may desire. For ye have in nowise shirked those behests of Moses, nor disdained his authority now that he has passed away, nor is there aught for which we do not accord you gratitude. We therefore let you joyfully depart to your heritages, and we entreat you not to suppose that the kinship which unites us owns any boundary, nor, because this river runs between us, to regard us as strangers and not as

καὶ οὐχὶ Ἐβραίους. Ἀβράμον γὰρ ἀπαντέσ εἴσμεν
οἱ τ' ἐνθάδε κάκει κατοικοῦντες, θεός τε εῖς, ὃς
τούς τε ἡμετέρους προγόνους καὶ τοὺς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
98 παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον· οὐ τῆς θρησκείας ἐπι-
μελεῖσθε καὶ πολιτείας, ἦν αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος
διέταξε, φυλακὴν ἔχετε τὴν πᾶσαν, ὡς ἐμμενόντων
μὲν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παρέξοντος εὔνουν εἶναι
καὶ σύμμαχον ἑαυτόν, ἐκτραπέντων δὲ εἰς ἔτέρων
ἔθνων μίμησιν ἀποστραφησομένου τὸ γένος ὑμῶν.”

99 ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ καθ' ἕνα τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ κοινῇ
τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινε,
προύπεμπε δ' αὐτὸς ὁ λαὸς οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ καὶ
μόλις ἀλλήλων ἀπελύθησαν.

100 (26) Διαβᾶσα δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ὅτε Ῥουβηλὶς
φυλὴ καὶ Γαδὶς καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μανασσητῶν αὐτοῖς
συνείποντο βωμὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὥχθης ἰδρύονται τοῦ
Ἰορδάνου, μιημεῖον τοῦς ἔπειτα γενησομένοις,¹
σύμβολον² τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πέραν κατοικησομένους³
101 οἰκειότητος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ πέραν βωμὸν ἰδρύσ-
θαι τοὺς ἀπολυθέντας οὐ μεθ' ἣς ἐκεῖνοι γνώμης
ἀνέστησαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ καὶ ξενικῶν
εἰσαγωγῆ θεῶν, οὐκ ἥθελον ἀπιστεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ
τὴν θείαν⁴ θρησκείαν τὴν διαβολὴν πιθανὴν νομί-
ζοντες ἐν ὅπλοις ἥσαν, ὡς ἐπ' ἀμύνῃ τῶν τὸν
βωμὸν ἰδρυσαμένων περαιωσόμενοι τὸν ποταμὸν
καὶ κολάσοντες αὐτὸς τῆς παρατροπῆς τῶν πατρίων
102 ἔθων. οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτὸς λογί-
ζεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰληφότων,

¹ γενησόμενον Niese.

² σύμβολον before τῆς om. E Lat. (probably a gloss, cf.
§ 112).

³ κατωκημένους SPE.

⁴ θεῶν RO.

Hebrews. For we are all of Abraham's stock, whether living here or there, and it is one God who brought our forefathers and yours into existence. To the worship of Him pay ye heed, and of that polity, which He Himself has instituted through Moses, observe ye every precept, in the assurance that, while ye remain faithful to these, God also will show Himself your gracious ally, but if ye turn aside to xxii. 6. imitate other nations He will turn away from your race." Having thus spoken and bidden farewell, to the officers one by one, and to their whole company in general, he himself remained; but the people escorted them on their way not without tears, and hardly were they parted from one another.

(26) Having then crossed the river, the tribe of Rubel with that of Gad and all those of Manasseh who accompanied them erected an altar on the bank of the Jordan, as a memorial to future generations of their relationship to the inhabitants on the other side. But those beyond the river,^a having heard tell that the migrants had erected an altar, not with the purpose which had led them to set it up, but with designs of sedition and the introduction of strange gods, were loth to distrust the report; nay, deeming this calumny concerning divine worship credible, they sprang to arms, with intent to cross the river and be avenged on those that had erected the altar and to punish them for this perversion of the rites of their fathers. For they held that they should take no account of their kinship or of the rank of those thus incriminated, but of the

^a i.e. on the west; "beyond the river" from the point of view of those in trans-Jordania. In Scripture "beyond the river" invariably refers to the eastern side of the Jordan.

ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλητὸν καὶ ὁ τρόπω τιμώμενος
 103 χαίρει. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστράτευσαν ὑπ’ ὄργῆς, ἐπέσχε
 δ’ αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ
 ἡ γερουσία λόγοις συμβουλεύοντες ἀπόπειραν
 αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης λαβεῖν πρῶτον, ἔπειτ’ ἀν
 κακοήθη μάθωσι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν τότε τοῖς
 104 ὅπλοις χωρεῦν ἐπ’ αὐτούς. πέμπουσιν οὖν πρε-
 σβευτὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς Φινεέσην τὸν υἱὸν Ἐλεαζάρου
 καὶ δέκα σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐβραιοῖς
 μαθησομένους, τί καὶ φρονήσαντες τὸν βωμὸν ἐπὶ^{xxii. 18.}
 105 τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάντες ἔστησαν. ὡς
 δὲ περαιωσαμένων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικομένων
 ἐκκλησίᾳ συνελέγη, στὰς Φινεέσης μείζω μὲν
 αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτεῖν ἔλεγεν ἢ ὥστε λόγοις ἐπιτιμη-
 θέντας νενουθετῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα· πλὴν οὐ
 πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρανομίας ἀπιδόντας εὐθὺς
 ἐφ’ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἐκ χειρῶν τιμωρίαν ὅρμησαι,
 πρὸς δὲ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ τὸ τάχα καὶ λόγοις ἀν
 σωφρονῆσαι σκοπήσαντας οὕτω ποιήσασθαι τὴν
 106 πρεσβείαν, “ἴνα τὴν αἰτίαν μαθόντες ὑφ’ ἡς
 προήχθητε τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάσαι μήτε προπετεῖς
 δοκῶμεν ὅπλοις μετιόντες ὑμᾶς κατὰ λογισμὸν
 ὅσιον ποιησαμένους τὸν βωμόν, καὶ¹ δικαίως
 107 ἀμυνώμεθα τῆς διαβολῆς ἐλεγχθείσης ἀληθοῦς. οὐ
 γὰρ ἡξιούμεν οὐδὲν πείρα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης
 ἐντὸς γεγενημένους καὶ νόμων ὧν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν
 δέδωκεν ἀκροατὰς ὑπάρχοντας, διαζευχθέντας ἡμῶν
 καὶ παρόντας εἰς τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον, διν κατὰ χάριν
 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου περὶ ήμᾶς² προνοίας

¹ ed. pr.: κατί (καὶ ἔπι, etc.) codd.

² ήμᾶς edd.

will of God and the fashion in which He delights to be honoured. So, moved by indignation, they prepared to take the field; but Joshua and Eleazar the high priest and the elders restrained them, counselling them first to test their brethren's mind by a parley, and, should they find their intent mischievous, then and then only to proceed to hostilities. They sent therefore ambassadors to them, Phinees, son of Eleazar, and with him ten others highly esteemed among the Hebrews, to discover what they could have meant by erecting that altar on the river-bank after they had passed over. So, the embassy having crossed the river and reached these people, an assembly was convened, and Phinees arose and said that their sin was too grave to be met by a verbal reprimand and an admonition for the future; howbeit, they themselves had not wished to look at the enormity of the crime so as to rush instantly to arms and violent measures, but, looking rather to their kinship and to the possibility that words might suffice to bring them to reason, they had undertaken this embassy. "We are here," said he, "in order that, having learnt what reason induced you to build this altar, we may on the one hand not be deemed precipitate in bearing arms against you, should ye have had some pious motive in erecting it, and on the other that we may take righteous vengeance, should the accusation prove true. For we could not conceive that ye, with your experience of instruction in the will of God, ye who had been hearers of those laws which He Himself has given us, once parted from us and entering on your own heritage, which by the grace of God and His providential care for us has fallen to your lot, could have

έλάχετε, λήθην λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν καταλιπόντας καὶ βωμὸν ὃς ἡμῖν πάτριος ξεινοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς Χαναναίων 108 κακοῖς προσκεχωρηκότας. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖν δόξετε μετανοήσαντες καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω μανέντες, νόμων δὲ πατρίων αἰδῶ καὶ μνήμην λαβόντες. ἂν δ’ ἐπιμένητε τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις, οὐ περιστησόμεθα¹ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων πόνον, ἀλλὰ περαιωσάμενοι τὸν Ἰόρδανον τούτοις βοηθήσομεν καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν² τῷ θεῷ, μηδὲν ὑμᾶς Χαναναίων διαφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀλλ’ ὅμοίως ἔκείνοις διαφθείροντες. 109 μὴ γὰρ νομίσητε τῷ διαβεβηκέναι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ἔξω γεγονέναι πανταχοῦ δ’ ἐν τοῖς τούτου ἔστε καὶ ἀποδρᾶντι τὴν ἔξουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης δίκην ἀδύνατον. εἰ δ’ οἴεσθε τὴν ἐνθάδε παρουσίαν ὑμῖν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τοῦ σωφρονεῦν, οὐδὲν κωλύει πάλιν τὴν γῆν ἡμᾶς³ 110 ἀναδάσασθαι καὶ ταύτην ἀνεῖναι μηλόβοτον. ἀλλ’ εὖ ποιήσετε σωφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐπὶ νεαροῖς μετατιθέμενοι τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι. καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς πρὸς παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν μὴ παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκην ἀμύνασθαι. ὡς οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ὑμῖν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κειμένης οὕτω βουλεύεσθε, λόγοις ἥττηθῆναι συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἢ πεῖραν ἔργων καὶ πολέμου περιμένειν.”

111 (27) Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Φινεέσου διαλεχθέντος οἱ προεστῶτες τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸ πᾶν ἥρξαντο περὶ τῶν ἐγκεκλημένων αὐτοῖς ἀπολογεῖ-

¹ περαιτησόμεθα SPE.

² ante omnia Lat.: πρὸς (=προσέτι) αὐτῷ Hudson.

³ ὑμᾶς codd.

straightway forgotten Him and, abandoning the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of our fathers, introduced some strange gods and gone over to the vices of the Canaanites. Howbeit ye shall be in no wise held guilty, if ye repent and carry this madness no farther, but show that ye revere and are mindful of the laws of your fathers. Should ye, however, persist in your errors, we shall shun no toil in defence of those laws, but, crossing the Jordan, shall rally in support of them, aye and of God on their behalf,^a deeming you in no wise different from the Canaanites but destroying you in like manner with them. For think not that by crossing the river ye have also passed beyond God's power: nay, everywhere ye are within His domain and escape from His authority and His vengeance is impossible. But if ye regard your coming hither a hindrance to sober living, there is nothing to prevent us^b from making a redistribution of the land and abandoning this district to the grazing of sheep. Howbeit ye will do well to return to sanity and to change your ways while your sins are fresh. And we entreat you in the name of your children and wives not to constrain us to resort to force. Let, then, the thought that the salvation of your own selves and of them that are dearest to you hangs upon this assembly govern your deliberations, and reckon it more profitable to be defeated by words than to await the trial of deeds and of war.”

(27) After this discourse of Phinees, the presidents of the assembly and the whole multitude themselves began to disclaim the crimes wherewith they were

The tribes protest
their innocence.
Jos. xxii. 21.

“Text a little doubtful: perhaps “and, furthermore, of God himself.”

^b The mss. have “you.”

σθαι, καὶ μήτε συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπο-
στήσεσθαι¹ μήτε κατὰ νεωτερισμὸν ἀναστῆσαι τὸν
βωμὸν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ θεόν τε ἔνα γινώσκειν τὸν
Ἐβραίοις ἄπασι κοινὸν καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς
βωμὸν χάλκεον, ὃ τὰς θυσίας ποιήσειν τὸν μέντοι
γε νῦν ἀνασταθέντα, δι’ ὃν καὶ ὑποπτοι γεγόνασιν,
οὐ κατὰ θρησκείαν ἰδρυσθαι, “ σύμβολον δὲ ὅπως
εἴη καὶ τεκμήριον εἰς τὸν αἰώνα τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς
οἰκειότητος καὶ ἀνάγκη τοῦ σωφρονεῖν καὶ τοῖς
πατρίοις ἐμμένειν, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ παραβάσεως ἀρχήν,
113 ὡς ὑπονοεῖτε. μάρτυς δ’ ἡμῶν τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ τὸν
βωμὸν αἰτίᾳ κατασκευάσαι γένοιτο ὁ θεός ἀξιό-
χρεως, ὅθεν ἀμείνονα περὶ ἡμῶν ἔχοντες ὑπόληψιν
μηδὲν καταγινώσκετε τούτων, ἐφ’ οἷς ἔξωλεις
εἶναι δίκαιοι πάντες ὅσοι τοῦ Ἀβράμου γένους
οὗτες νεωτέροις ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἔθεσι καὶ τοῦ συνήθους
τρόπου παρηλλαγμένοις.”

114 (28) Ταῦτα εἰπόντας ἐπαινέσσας ὁ Φινεέσης
παρῆν πρὸς Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀνήγγειλε
τῷ λαῷ. ὁ δὲ χαίρων, ὅτι μηδεμίᾳ στρατολογεῖν
αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη μέλλει μηδ’ εἰς αἷμα² καὶ πόλεμον
ἔξαγαγεῖν κατὰ ἀνδρῶν συγγενῶν, χαριστηρίους
ὑπὲρ τούτων τῷ θεῷ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖ. καὶ διαλύσας
μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὰς ἴδιας κληρουχίας
Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς ἐν Σικίμοις διῆγεν. ἔτει δ’ ὕστερον
εἰκοστῷ ὑπέργηρως ὃν μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς ἐπ’
ἀξιώματος μάλιστα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς
καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν³ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ὅσον ἦν ἐφικτὸν

² ἀποστήσασθαι Weill.

³ τὰς γερουσίας ML.

¹ δπλα RO.

charged, saying that neither would they renounce^a their kinship to their brethren, nor had they erected the altar with revolutionary intent: nay, they recognized but the one God, owned by all Hebrews alike, and the brazen altar before the tabernacle whereon the sacrifices should be offered. As for that which they had now set up and which had brought suspicion upon them, they had not erected it for worship: “nay,” said they, “but as a symbol and token for eternity of our kinship with you, and an obligation to think soberly and to abide by the laws of our fathers, in no wise as a beginning of transgression, as ye suspect. And that such was our motive in building this altar be God our all-sufficient witness! Wherefore, have a better opinion of us and cease to accuse us of any of those crimes, for which all would justly deserve to be extirpated who, being of the stock of Abraham, embark on new-fangled ways that are perversions of our customary practice.”

(28) Phinees, having commended them for this Jos. xxii 30. speech, returned to Joshua and reported their answer to the people. And Joshua, rejoicing that there was to be no need to levy troops or to lead them to bloodshed and battle against kinsmen, offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for these mercies. Thereafter, having dismissed the multitude to their several provinces, Joshua himself abode xxiv. 1. Address of Joshua at Sikima. Twenty years later,^b in extreme old age, having sent for the chief notables of the cities, before his death. with their magistrates and elders, and assembled Jos. xxiii., as many of the people as could be collected, he, xxiv.

^a Perhaps read, “had they renounced.”

^b Jos. xxiii. 1 “after many days.”

αὐτῷ συναγαγών, ἐπεὶ παρῆσαν, τάς τε εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπάσας ἀνεμίμνησκεν αὐτούς, πολλαὶ δὲ ἥσαν τοῖς ἐκ ταπεινοῦ σχήματος εἰς τοῦτο δόξης 116 καὶ περιουσίας προελθοῦσι, φυλάττειν τε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαιρέσιν οὕτως ἔχουσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει καὶ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ¹ γε² μόνη φίλον αὐτοῖς διαμενεῖν³ τὸ θεῖον· αὐτῷ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχειν ἀπιέναι μέλλοντι τοῦ ζῆν παραίνεσιν αὐτοῖς τοιαύτην καταλιπεῖν κάκείνους ἡξίον διὰ μνήμης ποιήσασθαι τὴν παρακέλευσιν.

117 (29) Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας διαλεχθεὶς τελευτὴ βιοὺς ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ δέκα, ὃν Μωυσῆι μὲν ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν χρησίμων συνδιέτριψε τεσσαράκοντα, στρατηγὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἑκαίνου τελευτὴν γίνεται πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, ἀνὴρ μήτε συνέσεως ὃν ἐνδεής μήτε τοῦ τὰ νοηθέντα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σαφῶς ἔξενεγκεῖν ἄπειρος, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἄκρος, πρὸς τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους εὔψυχος καὶ μεγαλότολμος, πρυτανεῦσαί τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην δεξιώτατος καὶ πρὸς 119 ἄπαντα καιρὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡρμοσμένος. Θάπτεται δὲ ἐν πόλει Θαμνᾷ τῆς Ἐφραίμου φυλῆς. Θυήσκει δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Φινεέση τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην καταλιπών, καὶ

¹ Text doubtful: for καὶ τῇ εὐσ. SP read τιμῇ πάσῃ χρωμένους καὶ εὐσεβεῖς.

² L: om. ROSP: ἡ γε Niese.

³ Niese: διαμένειν cod.

^a Or perhaps “to observe God’s will, so benevolent towards them.”

on their coming, recalled to them all the benefactions of God—and many had they been to folk who from low estate had advanced to that pitch of glory and affluence—and exhorted them to keep God’s goodwill unchanged towards them,^a for by piety^b alone could they retain the friendship of the Deity. It behoved him, he said, on the eve of departure from life, to leave them such admonition, and he besought them to bear his exhortation in their memory.

(29) And so, after this address to the assembled company, he died, having lived one hundred and ten years; of which he had passed forty in the company of Moses receiving profitable instruction, and after his master’s death had been commander-in-chief for five-and-twenty.^c A man^d not wanting either in intelligence or in skill to expound his ideas to the multitude with lucidity, nay in both respects supreme, in action and perils he was stout-hearted and greatly daring, in peace-time a most dexterous director of affairs, adapting himself admirably to every occasion. He was buried in the city of Thamna^e of the tribe of Ephraim. About the same time died ^{xxiv. 33.} also Eleazar the high priest, leaving the priesthood

^b Text doubtful. Some mss. read “by showing Him every honour and that piety,” etc.

^c The duration of Joshua’s command is not stated in Scripture. But, according to M. Weill, the figure here given (25 years) is found also in the *Samaritan Chronicle*, while Rabbinical tradition (*Seder Olam Rabba* xii.) extends the period to 28 years.

^d Cf. the previous brief character-sketch in *A.* iii. 49.

^e Heb. Timnath-serah, identified by tradition with Thamna (mod. *Tibneh*) in mount Ephraim and the seat of a toparchy in Roman times (*B.J.* ii. 567, iii. 55).

Death of
Joshua and
of Eleazar.
Jos. xxiv.
29.

μνημεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ τάφος ἐν Γαβαθᾷ πόλει τυγχάνει.

- 120 (ii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτὴν Φινεέστης προφητεύει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν ἐπ’ ἔξι-
ωλείᾳ τοῦ Χαναναίων γένους τῇ Ἰουδᾷ φυλῇ παρα-
σχεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· καὶ γὰρ τῷ λαῷ διὰ σπουδῆς
ἥν μαθεῖν τί καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ· καὶ προσλαβοῦσα
τὴν Σεμεωνίδα, ἐφ⁵ ὅτε ἔξαιρεθέντων τῶν ἐκείνης
ὑποτελῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κληρουχίᾳ τοῦτο
ποιῶσιν * * *
- 121 (2) Χανανᾶιοι δ’ ἀκμαζόντων αὐτοῖς κατ’ ἐκεῖνον
τὸν καιρὸν τῶν πραγμάτων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ κατὰ
Ζεβέκην αὐτοὺς ὑπέμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ζεβε-
κηνῶν Ἀδωνιζεβέκῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαντες·
τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο σημαίνει Ζεβεκηνῶν κύριος·
ἀδωνὶ γὰρ τῇ Ἐβραίων διαλέκτῳ κύριος γίνεται².
ηλπιζόν τε κρατήσειν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν διὰ τὸ
122 τεθνάναι Ἰησοῦν. συμμίξαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰσραη-
λῖται ταῖς δυσὶ φυλαῖς αἰς προεῖπον ἐμαχέσαντο
λαμπρῶς καὶ κτείνουσι μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ μυρίους,
τρεψάμενοι δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ διώκοντες αἴρουσι
τὸν Ἀδωνιζέβεκον, ὃς ἀκρωτηριασθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν
123 φησιν, “ ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἄρα λήσεσθαι θεὸν
ἔμελλον, τάδε πεπονθὼς ἀ κατὰ δυοῦν καὶ ἐβδομῆ-

¹ Text of clause uncertain. Niese indicates a lacuna: Dindorf instead alters καὶ προσλαβοῦσα above to προσλαβούσῃ.
² λέγεται Ε.

^a Heb. “ in Gibeah (or ‘ the hill ’) of Phinehas his son ”: in the mss. of the LXX the name appears as Γαβαάθ, Γαβάθ, etc.: site unidentified.

^b Lacuna in the Greek.

to his son Phinees; his monument and tomb are in the city of Gabatha.^a

(ii. 1) Now after the death of these leaders, The tribe of Judah, with Simeon, takes the lead against the Canaanites. Jd. i. 1. Phinees prophetically announced, in accordance with the will of God, that, for the extermination of the Canaanite race, the tribe of Judah should be given the command; for the people were keenly desirous to learn what was God’s good pleasure. So this tribe, having enlisted the aid of Simeon, on the condition that, once the Canaanites tributary to Judah had been destroyed, they would do the same to those within the lot of Simeon (advanced to battle).^b

(2) But the Canaanites, who at that time were in a flourishing condition, awaited them with a large army at Zebekē,^c having entrusted the command to the king of the Zebekēnians, Adonizebek^d—this name signifies “ lord of the Zebekēnians,” for *adōni* in the speech of the Hebrews means “ lord ”—and they were hoping to defeat the Israelites, since Joshua was dead. However the Israelites of the two tribes which I mentioned, having joined battle with them, fought brilliantly, with the result that they slew of the enemy upwards of ten thousand, and having put the rest to rout pursued them and captured Adonizebek, who, with hands and feet mutilated by his captors, exclaimed: “ Nay then I was not destined for ever to escape God’s eye, having now suffered the fate which I scrupled not of yore

^c Heb. “ Bezek ”: site unidentified.

^d Heb. Adoni-bezek. The form is suspected and it is thought by some critics that we have in this story in Judges another version of the defeat of Adoni-zedek, King of Jerusalem, narrated in Joshua x., where, however, LXX has Adoni-bezek as here.

κοντα βασιλέων πρᾶξαι πρότερον οὐκ ἐνετράπην.”
 124 καὶ ζῶντα μὲν κομίζουσιν ἔως Ἱεροσολύμων, τελευτήσαντα δὲ γῇ θάπτουσι. καὶ διεξήεσαν αἴροντες τὰς πόλεις, πλείστας τε λαβόντες ἐπολιόρκουν Ἱεροσόλυμα· καὶ τὴν μὲν κάτω λαβόντες σὺν χρόνῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, χαλεπή δ' ἦν ἡ καθύπερθεν αὐτοῖς αἱρεθῆναι τειχῶν ὄχυρότητι καὶ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου.

125 (3) “Οθεν μετεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς Χεβρῶνα¹ καὶ ταύτην ἐλόντες κτείνουσι πάντας· ὑπελείπετο δὲ τῶν² γιγάντων ἔτι γένος, οἱ διὰ σωμάτων μεγέθη καὶ μορφὰς οὐδὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις παραπλησίας παράδοξον ἦσαν θέαμα καὶ δεινὸν ἄκουσμα. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τούτων ὄστα
 126 μηδὲν τοῖς ὑπὸ πύστιν³ ἐρχομένοις ἐοικότα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς Λευίταις ἔξαιρετον γέρας ἔδοσαν μετὰ καὶ τῶν δισχιλίων πηχῶν, τὴν δὲ γῆν Χαλέψω δωρεὰν ἔδοσαν κατὰ Μωυσέος ἐντολάς· οὗτος δ' ἦν τῶν κατασκόπων εἰς ὃν ἐπεμψε Μωυσῆς εἰς
 127 τὴν Χαναναίαν. διδόσαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰοθόρου τοῦ Μαδιανίτου ἀπογόνοις, Μωυσέος γὰρ ἦν γαμβρός, γῆν ἵνα νέμοιτο· τὴν γὰρ πατρίδα καταλιπόντες ἡκολουθήκεσαν⁴ ἐκείνοις καὶ συνῆσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου.

128 (4) ‘Η δὲ Ἰουδα φυλὴ καὶ Σεμεωνὶς τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁρεινὴν τῆς Χαναναίας πόλεις εἶλον, τῶν

¹ Νεβρῶνα RO.

³ Cocceii: πύστιν codd.

^a “70” according to Jd. i. 7, but some mss. of LXX read “72.”

^b The burial is not mentioned in Scripture.

^c According to Jd. i. 8 the whole city was captured and

to inflict on two and seventy^a kings.” They brought him yet alive to Jerusalem, and at his death gave him sepulture.^b Then they overran the district, taking the towns, and after capturing very many of them laid siege to Jerusalem. The lower town they mastered in time and slew all the inhabitants; but the upper town proved too difficult to carry through the solidity of its walls and the nature of the site.^c

(3) So they moved their camp to Hebron, took ^{Capture of} Hebron. ^{Jd. i. 10.} that town and massacred all therein. Howbeit there remained yet a race of giants,^d who, by reason of their huge frames and figures in no wise like to the rest of mankind, were an amazing spectacle and a tale of terror to the ear. Their bones are shown to this day, bearing no resemblance to any that have come within men’s ken. This town they gave to ^{i. 20.} the Levites as a choice boon, along with the tract of two thousand cubits^e; but of the rest of the land they made, in accordance with the behests of Moses, a present to Caleb, who was one of the spies whom Moses had sent into Canaan. They gave also to the ^{i. 16.} descendants of Jethro the Midianite, the father-in-law of Moses, territory for habitation; for, quitting their native country, they had followed the Hebrews and accompanied with them in the wilderness.

(4) The tribes of Judah and Simeon also captured the cities in the hill-country of Canaan, and among

destroyed—an incorrect statement contradicted by other passages of Scripture. The distinction drawn by Josephus between upper and lower town is an attempt to harmonize Jd. i. 8 with i. 21 and Jos. xv. 63.

^a The “sons of Anak” driven out by Caleb, Jd. i. 20; for their stature cf. the description given by the spies in Numb. xiii. 33 (A. iii. 305).

^b As prescribed by Moses, A. iv. 67

δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ πρὸς θαλάσσην Ἀσκάλωνά τε καὶ Ἀζωτον. διαφένυει δ' αὐτοὺς Γάζα καὶ Ἀκκάρων πεδίων γὰρ ὅντων καὶ πολλῆς ἀρμάτων εὐπορίας κακῶς ἐποίουν τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. καὶ αἰδε μὲν αἱ φυλαὶ μεγάλως ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν εὑδαιμονήσασαι ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις καὶ κατατίθενται τὰ ὅπλα.

129 (5) Βενιαμῖται δέ, τούτων γὰρ ἦν Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν αὐτῶν συνεχώρησαν φόρους τελεῖν. καὶ οὕτως παυσάμενοι πάντες οἱ μὲν τοῦ κτείνειν οἱ δὲ κινδυνεύειν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν εὐσχόλουν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ φυλαὶ τὴν Βενιαμῖτιν μιμησάμεναι ἐποίουν καὶ τοῖς τελουμένοις ἀρκούμενοι φόροις ἐπέτρεπον τοῖς Χαναναίοις ἀπολέμοις εἶναι.

130 (6) Ἡ δ' Ἐφραίμου¹ πολιορκοῦσα Βήθηλα τέλος οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν πόνων ηὗρισκε τῆς πολιορκίας, οἱ δὲ καίπερ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ καθέδρᾳ 131 προσεκαρτέρουν. ἔπειτα συλλαβόντες τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει προελθόντα² ἐπὶ κομιδῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πίστεις ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ παραδόντι τὴν πόλιν σώσειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ· κάκεῖνος ἐπὶ τούτοις ὥμνυε τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐγχειριεῖν.³ καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως προδοὺς σώζεται μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων, οἱ δὲ ἀποκτείναντες ἄπαντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας εἶχον τὴν πόλιν.

132 (7) Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους μαλακῶς εἶχον οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται, τῆς δὲ γῆς καὶ τῶν

¹ Ἐφρὰν RO.

² Niese: προσελθόντα codd.

³ Dindorf: ἐγχειριεῖν codd.

those in the plain and on the sea-board, Ascalon and ^{Further conquests} Azōtus. But Gaza and Akkarōn escaped them ; for, ^{of the two tribes.} being situated in the plain and blest with an abundance of chariots, they sorely handled their assailants.^a So these two tribes, greatly enriched by their warfare, retired to their own cities and laid down their arms.

(5) The Benjamites, within whose lot lay Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay them tribute ; and thus all reposing, these from slaughter and those from peril, were at leisure to till the soil. The other tribes, imitating that of Benjamin, did the same and, contenting themselves with the tributes paid to them, suffered the Canaanites to live in peace.

(6) The tribe of Ephraim, in besieging Bethel, ^{Capture of Bethel by Ephraim.} could attain no result proportionate to the time and the toil expended upon the siege ; yet, for all their annoyance, they persevered in the blockade. Afterwards, having caught one of the inhabitants of the town who had gone out in search of provisions, they gave him their word that, if he would betray the city, they would spare the lives of him and his kin ; and he on these terms swore to deliver it into their hands. So he by such treason saved himself with his family, while they, having massacred all the inhabitants, occupied the town.

(7) Thereafter the Israelites relaxed the struggle ^{Peace leads to corruption} against their enemies and devoted themselves to

^a Josephus here differs from both Biblical texts, presenting a sort of compromise between them. According to the Heb. (Jd. i. 18 f.) Judah took Gaza, Ashkelon and Ekron, but failed to drive out the inhabitants of the valley because of their chariots of iron (Ashdod or Azotus is not mentioned) : according to the LXX he could take neither Gaza, Ascalon, Akkaron, nor Azotus.

ταύτης ἔργων ἐπεμελοῦντο. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦς ἐπιδιδόντων ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἡδονῆς τοῦ κόσμου ὠλιγώρουν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκέτ’ ἥσαν ἀκριβεῖς ἀκροαταί. παροξυνθὲν δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ θεῖον ἀναιρεῖ, πρῶτον μὲν ὡς φείσαντο παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τῶν Χαναναίων, ἔπειθ’ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι χρήσουντο² πολλῆς κατ’ αὐτῶν ὡμότητι καιροῦ λαβόμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δυσθύμως εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀηδῶς, πολλά τε παρὰ τῶν Χαναναίων λαβόντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἥδη διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ἐκλελυμένοι. καὶ συνέβαινεν ἥδη τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν διεφθάρθαι, καὶ τὰς γερουσίας οὐκ ἀπεδείκνυσαν οὐδ’ ἀρχὴν ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν τῶν πρότερον νενομισμένων, ἥσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἡδονῆς τοῦ κερδαίνειν προσδεδεμένοι. καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀδειαν στάσις αὐτοὺς πάλιν καταλαμβάνει δεωκή καὶ προήχθησαν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἄλληλοις ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.

136 (8) Λευίτης ἀνὴρ τῶν δημοτικωτέρων τῆς Ἐφραίμου³ κληρουχίας ὃν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ κατοικῶν ἀγεταὶ γύναιον ἀπὸ Βηθλέμων, τῆς δὲ Ἰούδα φυλῆς τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὸ χωρίον. ἐρῶν δὲ σφόδρα τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς ἡττημένος ἥτυχε τῶν παρ’ ἐκείνης οὐχ ὅμοιων πειρώμενος.

137 ἄλλοτρίας δ’ αὐτῆς ἔχουσης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον

¹ τῆς πολ. καὶ τριῶν. Niese: καὶ τῆς πολιτείας codd.

² Bekker: χρήσουντο codd. ³ v. ll. Ἐφράν, Ἐφράνου.

^a The remarks on political corruption are an amplification of Scripture.

^b In Scripture this episode forms an appendix to the book of Judges. Josephus has transposed it (along with another

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the soil and to labours thereon. And as their riches increased, under the mastery of luxury and voluptuousness, they recked little of the order of their constitution and no longer hearkened diligently to its laws. Incensed thereat, the Deity warned them by ^{JD. ii. 14.} oracle, first that they had acted contrary to His will in sparing the Canaanites, and next that those foes, seizing their occasion, would treat them with great ruthlessness. But the Israelites, while despondent at this message from God, were yet ill-disposed for warfare, for they had won much from the Canaanites and luxury had by now unnerved them for fatigues. Aye, even that aristocracy of theirs was now becoming corrupted: no more did they appoint councils of elders or any other of those magistracies before-time ordained by law, but lived on their estates, enslaved to the pleasures of lucre.^a And so, by reason of this gross listlessness, grave discord again assailed them and they were launched into civil war through the following cause.

(8) ^b A Levite of the lower ranks, of the province of Ephraim and residing therein, married a woman of Bethlehem, a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Being deeply enamoured of his wife and captivated by her beauty, he was unfortunate in meeting with no like return from her. And, whereas she held herself aloof and he thereby only became

appendix) to an earlier date, to the period before the judges: perhaps, as has been suggested, to allow time for the tribe of Benjamin to recover itself before it furnished the nation with its first king. “It is incredible,” writes Dr. G. F. Moore (*Int. Crit. Comm.* p. 405), “that the tribe of Benjamin was almost exterminated only a generation or two before the time of Saul; but the events related in these chapters probably fall in a much earlier period . . .”

The Levite
of Ephraim
and the
outrage on
his wife.

JD. xix. 1.

έκκαιομένου τῷ πάθει μέμψεις συνεχεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τέλος ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς βαρυνομένη καταλιποῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς παραγίνεται μηνὶ τετάρτῳ. χαλεπῶς δὲ φέρων ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι ἥκε πρὸς τοὺς πενθερούς καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὰς μέμψεις καταλλάττεται πρὸς αὐτήν.

138 καὶ τέτταρας μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτόθι¹ διαιτᾶται φιλοφρονούμενων αὐτὸν τῶν γονέων, τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ δόξαν ἀπιέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ δεῖλην ἔξεισι· βράδιον γὰρ ἀπέλυνον οἱ γονεῖς τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τριβὴν ἐποιοῦντο. θεράπων δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς εἴπετο καὶ ὅνος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐφ' ἣς ὠχεῖτο τὸ 139 γύναιον. γενομένων δ' αὐτῶν κατὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, σταδίους δ' ἐληλύθεσαν ἥδη τριάκοντα, συνεβούλευεν δὲ θεράπων καταχθῆναι που, μὴ καὶ τι τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ὁδεύοντας καταλάβῃ δύσκολον καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ πόρρω πολεμίων ὅντας, τοῦ καιροῦ πολλάκις ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ ὑποπτα ποιοῦντος καὶ τὰ 140 φίλα. τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἥρεσεν ἡ γνώμη παρ' ἀλλοφύλοις ἀνδράσι ἔνουσθαι, Χαναναίων γὰρ ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ προελθόντας εἴκοσι στάδια εἰς οἰκείαν ἥξιον κατάγεσθαι πόλιν, καὶ κρατήσας τῇ γνώμῃ παρῆν εἰς Γάβαν φυλῆς τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ἥδη² ὄψιας 141 οὕσης. καὶ μηδενὸς ἐπὶ ἔνιαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντος πρεσβύτης ἐξ ἀγροῦ κατιὼν τῆς μὲν Ἐφραιμίτιδος φυλῆς ὃν ἐν δὲ τῇ Γάβῃ διαιτώμενος συντυγχάνων αὐτῷ, τίς τε ὃν

¹ SPL: πρὸς αὐτόθι ROM: προσαυτόθι Niese.

² + δὲ SPE.

* A misreading of Scripture. In Jd. xix. 2 the woman returns to her father's house "and was there the space of four months."

the more ardent in his passion, quarrels were continually arising between them, and at last the woman, utterly weary of them, left her husband and in the fourth month^a rejoined her parents. But her husband, in sore affliction through love of her, visited her parents, redressed her grievances and was reconciled to her. For four days more he abode there, kindly treated by her parents, but on the fifth, having resolved to return to his home, he set off towards evening; for the parents were loth to part with their daughter and let the day slip away. A single servant accompanied them, and they had an ass on which the woman rode. Now when they were come over against Jerusalem, having already gone thirty furlongs,^b the servant counselled them to lodge somewhere, lest, journeying by night, some misadventure should befall them, above all when they were not far from foes, that hour oft rendering perilous and suspect even the offices of friends. The Levite, however, disliked the thought of seeking shelter with aliens—for the city was in Canaanite hands^c—preferring rather to proceed twenty furlongs further and to lodge in a town of the Hebrews; and, his counsel prevailing, he arrived at Gaba,^d in the tribe of Benjamin, when evening had now fallen. No one in the market-place offering him hospitality, an old man returning from the fields, who though of the tribe of Ephraim was residing in Gaba, fell in with him and asked who he was and why he was

^a Gr. "stades" (about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile). Bethlehem is 5 miles S. of Jerusalem: elsewhere the distance is reckoned as only "20 stades" (A. vii. 312).

^c Cf. § 124 (note).

^d Heb. Gibeah, usually identified with *Tell el-Ful*, c. 4 miles N. of Jerusalem; in B.J. v. 51 described as "Gabath Saul . . . about 30 stades from Jerusalem."

ἡρετο καὶ δι' ἀσ αἰτίας στελλόμενος σκότους ἥδη
 142 τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ λαμβάνοι. ὁ δὲ Λευίτης
 μὲν ἔφησεν εἶναι, γύναιον δὲ παρὰ τῶν γονέων
 ἄγων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι,¹ τὴν δ' οἴκησιν ἐδήλου
 τυγχάνειν ἐν τῇ Ἐφραΐμου κληρουχίᾳ. ὁ δὲ
 πρεσβύτης καὶ διὰ συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν
 αὐτὴν φυλὴν νέμειν καὶ διὰ τὴν συντυχίαν παρ'
 143 αὐτὸν ξενισθησόμενον ἥγε. νεανίαι δέ τινες τῶν
 Γαβαηνῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ γύναιον θεασάμενοι
 καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν θαυμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τῷ
 πρεσβύτῃ κατηγμένην ἔμαθον καταφρονήσαντες τῆς
 ἀσθενείας καὶ τῆς ὀλιγότητος ἥκον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας.
 τοῦ δὲ πρεσβύτου παρακαλοῦντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι
 καὶ μὴ προσφέρειν βίαν μηδὲ ὑβριν, ἡξίουν αὐτὸν
 παρασχόντα τὴν ξένην πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι.
 144 συγγενῆ δὲ² λέγοντος καὶ Λευίτην³ τοῦ πρεσβύτου
 καὶ δράσειν αὐτοὺς δεινὰ ὑφ' ἥδονῆς εἰς τοὺς νόμους
 ἔξαμαρτάνοντας ὠλιγώρουν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ κατ-
 εγέλων, ἥπειλουν δὲ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ἐμποδίζοντα
 145 ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν. εἰς δ' ἀνάγκην περι-
 ηγμένος καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τοὺς ξένους περιιδεῖν
 ὑβρισθέντας, τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς αὐτοῖς παρ-
 εχώρει, πληρώσειν τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοὺς λέγων
 νομιμώτερον δίχα τῆς εἰς τοὺς ξένους ὑβρεως αὐτός
 τε⁴ μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν οὖς ὑπεδέξατο τούτῳ τῷ
 146 τρόπῳ νομίζων. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς
 ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην ἐνεδίδοσαν, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο ταύτην
 παραλαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, ὁ μὲν ἱκέτευε μηδὲν τολμᾶν

¹ Dindorf: ἀπεῖναι codd.

² ὡς συγγενῆ δὲ RO: ὡς δὲ συγγενῆ τε rell.

³ Λευίτην E.

⁴ Dindorf: δὲ codd.

setting off, when it was dark already, taking provisions for his supper. He replied that he was a cf. xix. 19. Levite and that he was escorting his wife from her parents back to his own home, informing him that he had his abode in the province of Ephraim. Thereat the old man, because of their common stock, and because they belonged to the same tribe and because chance had thus brought them together, took him as his guest to his own home. But some of the young xix. 22. men of Gaba, who had seen the woman in the market-place and admired her comeliness, when they learnt that she lodged with the old man, scorning the feebleness of these few,^a came to the doors; and when the old man bade them begone and not to resort to violence and outrage, they required him to hand over his woman guest if he wished to avoid trouble. The old man replying that he^b was a kinsman and a Levite and that they would be guilty of a dreadful crime in violating the laws at the beck of pleasure, they recked little of righteousness, mocked at it, and threatened to kill him if he thwarted their lusts. Driven to such a pass and unwilling to suffer his guests to be abused, he offered the men his own daughter, declaring that it would be more legitimate for them thus to gratify their lust than by doing violence to his guests, and for his part thinking by this means to avoid wronging those whom he had received. But they in no wise abated their passion for the stranger, being insistent in their demands to have her, and while he was yet imploring them to perpetrate no iniquity,

^a Gr. "their feebleness and fewness" (cf. B.J. iii. 317).

^b i.e. the husband. One ms. reads "that she (the Levite's wife) was a kinswoman" etc.

παράνομον, οἱ δὲ ἀρπασάμενοι καὶ προσθέμενοι μᾶλλον τῷ βιαιῷ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπήγαγον πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ δι’ ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐμπλησθέντες τῆς 147 ὕβρεως ἀπέλυσαν περὶ ἀρχομένην ἡμέραν. ἡ δὲ τεταλαιπωρημένη τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ξενίαν καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ὥν ἐπεπόνθει καὶ τοῦ μὴ τολμᾶν ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τάνδρι, τοῦτον γὰρ μάλιστα τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἔχειν ἀνιάτως 148 ἐλογίζετο, καταπεσοῦσα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφίσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς οἰόμενος ὑπνῳ βαθεῖ κατεσχῆσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ μηδὲν σκυθρωπὸν ὑφορώμενος ἀνεγείρειν ἐπειράτο παραμυθήσασθαι διεγνωκώς, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἐκουσίου γνώμης αὐτὴν παράσχοι τοῖς καθυβρίσασιν, ἀλλ’ ἀρπασαμένων ἐπὶ τὴν ξενίαν 149 ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν.¹ ὡς δὲ τελευτήσασαν ἔμαθε, σωφρονισθεὶς² πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐπιθέμενος τῷ κτήνει νεκρὰν τὴν γυναῖκα κομίζει πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ διελὼν αὐτὴν κατὰ μέλος εἰς μέρη δώδεκα διέπεμψεν εἰς ἐκάστην φυλήν, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς κομίζουσι λέγειν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς τελευτῆς τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν παροιών τῆς φυλῆς.³

150 (9) Οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῶν βεβιασμένων κακῶς διατεθέντες, πρότερον οὐδενὸς τοιούτου πεῖραν εἰληφότες, ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἀκράτου καὶ δικαίας εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν συλλεγέντες καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀθροισθέντες εἰς ὅπλα χωρεῖν εὐθὺς ὥρμηντο καὶ χρήσασθαι τοῖς Γαβαηνοῖς ὡς πολεμίοις. ἐπέσχε δ’ αὐτοὺς ἡ γερουσία πείσασα μὴ

¹ ἀλλ’ . . . αὐτῶν om. Lat.

² conj. (cf. § 256): σωφρύνως (σωφρονῶν SP) codd.

³ τῆς φυλῆς R: ταῖς φυλαῖς rell.

they seized ^a the woman and, yielding still more to the force of their lust, carried her off to their homes and then, after sating their lewdness all night long, let her go towards the break of day. She, outworn with her woes, repaired to the house of her host, where, out of grief at what she had endured and not daring for shame to face her husband—since he above all, she deemed, would be inconsolable at her fate—she succumbed and gave up the ghost. But her husband, supposing his wife to be buried in deep sleep and suspecting nothing serious, tried to arouse her, with intent to console her by recalling how she had not voluntarily surrendered herself to her abusers, but that they had come to the lodging-house and carried her off. But when he found that she was dead, chastened before the enormity of the wrong, he laid the dead woman upon his beast, bore her to his home and then, dividing her limb by limb into twelve pieces, sent one to each tribe, enjoining the bearers to state who they were who had caused the death of his wife and to recount the debauchery of the tribe.^b

(9) The Israelites, sorely moved by the spectacle ^{The Israelites} and the tale of these deeds of violence, the like of which they had never known before, in intense and righteous wrath assembled at Silo^c and, mustering before the tabernacle, were impatient to rush straight to arms and to treat these people of Gaba as enemies. But they were restrained by the elders, who urged

^a In Scripture, the Levite himself surrenders the woman.

^b Sc. of Benjamin. “One to each tribe” is not in Scripture (“sent her throughout all the borders of Israel”); were that meant, one might expect the number to be eleven, Benjamin being excluded.

^c In Scripture, the tribes assemble at Mizpah.

δεῦν ὁξέως οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς ὄμοφύλους ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον πρὶν ἡ λόγοις διαλεχθῆναι περὶ τῶν ἔγκλημάτων, τοῦ νόμου μηδ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἐφιέντος δίχα πρεσβείας καὶ τοιαύτης πρὸς τὸ μετανοῆσαι πείρας τοὺς δόξαντας ἀδικεῦν στρατιὰν¹ ἀγαγεῦν· καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν τῷ νόμῳ πειθομένους πρὸς τοὺς Γαβαηνοὺς ἔξαιτοῦντας τοὺς αἰτίους ἐκπέμψαι καὶ παρεχομένων μὲν ἀρκεῖσθαι τῇ τούτων κολάσει, καταφρονησάντων δὲ τότε τοὺς ὅπλοις αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι. πέμπουσιν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Γαβαηνοὺς κατηγοροῦντες τῶν νεανίσκων τὰ περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίαν αἰτοῦντες τοὺς δράσαντας μὲν οὐ νόμιμα, γενομένους δὲ δικαίους 154 ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἔκείνων ἀποθανεῖν. οἱ δὲ Γαβαηνοὶ οὔτε τοὺς νεανίσκους ἔξεδοσαν καὶ δεινὸν ἀλλοτρίους ὑπακούειν προστάγμασιν ἥγοῦντο πολέμου φόβῳ, μηδενὸς ἀξιοῦντες εἶναι χείρους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μήτε διὰ πλῆθος μήτε δι' εὐψυχίαν. ἥσαν δὲ ἐν παρασκευῇ μεγάλῃ μετὰ καὶ² τῶν ἄλλων φυλετῶν, συναπενοήθσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι³ βιαζομένους.

155 (10) Ὡς δὲ τοιαῦτα τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τὰ παρὰ τῶν Γαβαηνῶν ἀπηγγέλθη, ὅρκους ποιοῦνται μηδένα σφῶν ἀνδρὶ Βενιαμίτῃ δώσειν πρὸς γάμον θυγατέρα στρατεύσειν τε ἐπ' αὐτούς, μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς δι' ὄργῆς ὄντες ἡ τοῖς Χαναναίοις⁴ τοὺς προγόνους

¹ στρατεῖαν ROSL.

² μετὰ καὶ Dindorf: καὶ codd.

³ ex Lat. Niese: ἀμυνόμενοι codd. ⁴ ed. pr.: +οῖς codd.

^a Or, with other mss., "a campaign."

^b This advice of the elders, not mentioned in Scripture, is added to show that they conformed to the Mosaic law (Deut. xx. 10; A. iv. 296).

that they ought not so hurriedly to make war on their brethren, ere they had parleyed with them concerning their grievances, the law not permitting them to lead an army^a even against aliens without having sent an embassy and made other attempts of this nature to bring the supposed wrongdoers to repentance.^b It therefore behoved them, in obedience to the law, to send envoys to the Gabaenians to demand the surrender of the culprits and, should they deliver them up, to be content with punishing these individuals; but, should they flout this demand, then to retaliate on them by resort to arms. So they sent an embassy to Gaba to accuse the young men of the woman's fate and to require the surrender for punishment of those that had done thus lawlessly and who for those very deeds deserved to die.^c But the people of Gaba refused to surrender the youths and scorned to bow to the behests of others through fear of war, holding themselves to be inferior in arms to none whether in numbers or valour. So they proceeded to make great preparations along with the rest of their tribe, who joined them in their desperate undertaking in the belief that they were repelling aggressors.

(10) Now when word was brought to the Israelites of this response from the men of Gaba, they took an oath that not one among them would give his daughter to a man of Benjamin and that they would march against them, being more indignant against them than were our forefathers, as we are told,

Civil war
with the
Benjamites
defeat of
Israel.
Jd. xxi. 1.

^d Or perhaps (taking αὐτῶν ἔκείνων as masculines) "who deserved to die in lieu of their own people": the balance of clauses (μὲν . . . δὲ . . .) favours this. The lawlessness of the deed warranted wholesale destruction, but at least the culprits should suffer.

156 ἡμῶν παρειλήφαμεν γενομένους. παραχρῆμά τε ἔξῆγον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον μυριάδας τεσ-
σαράκοντα ὄπλιτῶν· καὶ Βενιαμιτῶν τὸ ὄπλιτικὸι
ἥν ὑπὸ δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων καὶ ἔξα-
κοσίων, ὥν ἦσαν εἰς πεντακοσίους τὰς λαιαῖς
157 τῶν χειρῶν σφενδονᾶν ἄριστοι, ὅστε καὶ μάχης
πρὸς τὴν Γαβᾶ γενομένης τρέπουσι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας
οἱ Βενιαμῖται ἄνδρες τε πύπτουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς
δισμυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ ἵσως ἀν
καὶ πλείονες, εἰ μὴ νῦν αὐτοὺς ἐπέσχε καὶ διέλυσε
158 μαχομένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν Βενιαμῖται χαίροντες ἀν-
εχώρουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Ἰσραηλίται κατα-
πεπληγότες ὑπὸ τῆς ἥττης εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ πάλιν συμβαλόντων οἱ Βενιαμῖται
κρατοῦσι καὶ θνήσκουσι τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων ὀκτα-
κισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, καὶ δείσαντες τὸν φόνον¹
159 ἐξέλιπον τὸ στρατόπεδον. παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς
Βέθηλα πόλιν ἔγγιστα κειμένην καὶ νηστεύσαντες
κατὰ τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευον διὰ Φινεέσου
τοῦ ἀρχιερέως παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς πρὸς
αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς δυσὶν αὐτῶν ἥτταις ἀρκεσθέντα
δοῦναι νίκην καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ
δὲ θεὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται ταῦτα διὰ Φινεέσου προ-
φητεύσαντος.

160 (11) Ποιήσαντες οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν δύο μέρη τὴν
μὲν ἡμίσειαν προλοχίζουσι νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν πόλιν,
οἱ δὲ ἡμίσεις συνέβαλον τοῖς Βενιαμῖταις ὑπεχώρουν
τε ἔγκειμένων, καὶ ἐδίωκον οἱ Βενιαμῖται *(καὶ)*

¹ om. L Lat.

^a Heb. 26,000 Benjamites + 700 inhabitants of Gibeah :
LXX 25,000 (or 23,000) + 700. In Josephus the preposition
72

against the Canaanites. And forthwith they led ^{xx. 15 f.} out against them their host of 400,000 men-at-arms ; the forces of the Benjamites numbered but some 25,600 ^a among whom were 500 ^b expert in using the sling with the left hand. And so, a battle ensuing near Gaba, the Benjamites routed the Israelites, and there fell of these 22,000 men ; indeed perchance yet more would have perished, had not night checked them and parted the combatants. The Benjamites then withdrew, exultant, to the town, the Israelites, crest-fallen at their defeat, to their camp. On the morrow, when they renewed the attack, the Benjamites were again victorious : 18,000 of the Israelites perished, and daunted by this carnage they abandoned their encampment. Repairing to Bethel, the city nearest at hand, ^c and having fasted on the morrow, they besought God, through Phinees the high priest, to abate his anger against them and, content with their two defeats, to vouchsafe them victory and the mastery over their foes. And God promised them their petitions through the mouth of Phinees, His interpreter.

(11) So, dividing their army in two, they set half ^{Defeat of the Benjamites : reprisals of the Israelites. Jd. xx. 29.} in ambush around the town ^d under cover of night ; the other half then engaged the Benjamites and before their onset retired. The Benjamites pursued

^eπ̄, if genuine, seems to mean “about” and perhaps indicates acquaintance with variant readings in Scripture.

^b Heb. (with some mss. of LXX) 700 : other mss. of LXX omit the number.

^c Bethel is some 8 miles N. of the traditional site of Gibeah (*Tell el-Ful*) : Shiloh, the seat of the tabernacle (§ 150), lay considerably farther north.

^d This battle scene, like others, recalls Thucydides : with προλοχίζειν περὶ τὴν πόλιν cf. Thuc. ii. 81, with πασσονδί (§ 161) viii. 1, with περιστάντες κατηκόντισαν (§ 162) vii. 84.

τῶν Ἐβραίων ὑποφευγόντων ἡρέμα καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ¹
 θελόντων εἰς ἄπαν αὐτοὺς ἔξελθεῖν¹ ἀναχωροῦσι
 161 εἴποντο, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβύτας καὶ
 νέους ὑπολειφθέντας δι' ἀσθένειαν συνεκδραμεῖν²
 αὐτοῖς πασσυδὶ βουλομένους χειρώσασθαι τοὺς
 πολεμίους. ὡς δὲ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέσχον,
 ἐπαύσαντο μὲν φεύγοντες οἱ Ἐβραῖοι, ἐπιστρα-
 φέντες δ' ἴστανται πρὸς μάχην καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς
 ἐνέδραις οὖσι τὸ σημεῖον αἴρουσιν δ συνέκειτο.
 162 οἱ δ' ἔξαναστάντες μετὰ βοῆς ἐπήσονται τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις. οἱ δὲ ἀμα τε ἡπατημένους αὐτοὺς ἥσθοντο
 καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ συνεστήκεσαν, καὶ εἰς τι κοῦλον
 συνελαθέντας καὶ φαραγγῶδες χωρίον περιστάντες
 κατηκόντισαν, ὥστε πάντας διαφθαρῆναι πλὴν
 163 ἔξακοσίων. οὗτοι δὲ συστραφέντες καὶ πυκνώ-
 σαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ διὰ μέσων ὠσάμενοι τῶν πολε-
 μίων ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὰ πλησίον ὅρη, καὶ κατασχόντες
 ἰδρύθησαν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες περὶ δισμυρίους
 164 ὄντες καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἀπέθανον. οἱ δ' Ἰσραη-
 λῖται τὴν τε Γάβαν ἐμπιπρᾶσι καὶ τὰς γυναικας
 καὶ τῶν ἀρρένων τοὺς μὴ ἐν ἀκμῇ διεχρήσαντο,
 τὰς τε ἄλλας τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν πόλεις ταῦτα δρῶσιν.
 οὕτως τε ἦσαν παρωξυμμένοι,³ ὡς καὶ Ἰάβησον τῆς
 Γαλαδίτιδος οὖσαν, ὅτι μὴ συμμαχήσειν αὐτοῖς
 κατὰ τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν, πέμψαντες μυρίους καὶ
 165 δισχιλίους ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἐκέλευσαν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ
 φονεύουσι τὸ μάχιμον τῆς πόλεως οἱ πεμφθέντες
 σὺν τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξὶ πλὴν τετρακοσίων παρ-
 θένων. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπ' ὄργῆς προήχθησαν, τῷ

¹ protrahere (? ἔξελεῖν) Lat., omisso ἐπὶ πολὺ aut εἰς ἄπαν.

² ed. pr.: διεκδραμεῖν δὲ ἀσθένειαν codd.

³ παρωργισμένοι MSPL.

and, as the Hebrews fell back little by little to a great distance, wishing them to come out^a to a man, they followed their retreating foe, in such wise that even the old men and lads who had been left in the town as incompetent sallied out also, eager as a united body to crush the enemy. But when they were now remote from the town, the Hebrews stayed their flight and, turning, stood their ground for battle, while they raised the concerted signal for their friends in ambush ; and these, emerging with a shout, fell upon the enemy. The Benjamites, from the moment when they saw themselves entrapped, were in a hopeless plight : driven into a rugged hollow, they were there shot down by the darts of the Hebrews who stood around them, with the result that all perished save 600. These, rallying and closing up their ranks, pushed through the enemy's midst, fled for the neighbouring hills, and there, on gaining them, established themselves ; all the rest, in number about 25,000, perished. The Israelites xx. 46. burnt Gaba and made away with the women and males under age ; the other cities of the Benjamites they treated in like manner. Moreover, so exasper-^{xxi. 8.} ated were they that, forasmuch as the town of Jabesh in Gilead had not aided them in battle against the Benjamites, they sent thither 12,000 men from their ranks, with orders to destroy it. This detachment massacred all of military age in the town, along with the children and all the women save 400 who were unmarried. To such lengths did their rage carry them,

^a Or, with the Latin, “ wishing to draw them out.”

κατὰ τὴν γυναικα πάθει προσλαβόντες καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὄπλιτῶν.

- 166 (12) Μετάνοια δ' αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει τῆς τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν συμφορᾶς καὶ νηστείαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πρόθεντο, καίτοι δίκαια παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦντες εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἔξαμαρτάνοντας, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν ἔξακοσίους διὰ πρεσβευτῶν ἐκάλουν· καθίδρυντο γὰρ ὑπὲρ πέτρας τινὸς 'Ρoᾶς καλουμένης 167 κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ὡς οὐκ ἐκείνοις τῆς συμφορᾶς μόνοις γεγενημένης ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπολωλότων ὁδυρόμενοι πράως ἔπειθον φέρειν καὶ συνελθεῖν εἰς ταῦτὸ καὶ μὴ παντελῆ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς ὅλεθρον τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καταψηφίσασθαι. "συγχωροῦμεν δὲ ὑμῖν," ἔλεγον, "τὴν ἀπάσης τῆς φυλῆς γῆν καὶ λείαν 168 ὅσην ἂν ἄγειν δυνηθῆτε"¹. οἱ δὲ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θεοῦ ψήφῳ γεγονότων καὶ κατ' ἀδικίαν τὴν αὐτῶν γνωσιμαχήσαντες κατήεσαν εἰς τὴν πάτριον φυλὴν πειθόμενοι τοῖς προκαλουμένοις. οἱ δ' Ἰσραηλῖται γυναικας αὐτοῖς τὰς τετρακοσίας ἔδοσαν παρθένους τὰς Ἱαβίτιδας, περὶ δὲ τῶν διακοσίων ἐσκόπουν, ὅπως κάκεῖνοι γυναικῶν εὐπορήσαντες 169 παιδοποιῶνται. γεγενημένων δ' αὐτοῖς ὄρκων ὥστε μηδενὶ Βενιαμίτῃ συνοικίσαι² θυγατέρα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ μὲν ὀλιγωρεῦν συνεβούλευον τῶν ὀμωμοσμένων ὡς ὑπ' ὄργῆς ὀμόσαντες οὐ γνώμῃ καὶ κρίσει, τῷ δὲ θεῷ μηδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσειν εἰ

¹ Niese: δυνηθεῖτε codd. ² edd.: συνοικῆσαι codd.

^a Gr. translation of Heb. Rimmon (= "pomegranate"); usually identified as modern *Rammun*, a few miles E. of Bethel, but a more likely site, much nearer to Gibeah, has been proposed (Burney, *Judges*, p. xxi).

because, in addition to what they had suffered on the woman's account, they had further suffered the slaughter of their men-at-arms.

(12) Howbeit they were smitten with remorse for Reconciliation with the Benjamites' calamity and they ordained a fast the Benjamites: how brides were found for them. Jd. xxi. 2, 6. xxi. 18. on their behalf, while yet maintaining that they had justly suffered for their sin against the laws; and they summoned by ambassadors those 600 of them who had escaped and established themselves on a rock called Rhoa^a in the wilderness. These envoys, deplored a calamity which had struck not the Benjamites only but themselves, in that the victims were their kinsmen, urged them to bear it patiently, to come and join them, and not, so far as in them lay, to pronounce sentence of total extinction upon the tribe of Benjamin. "We grant you," said they, "the territory of the whole tribe and of booty^b as much as ye can carry off." And the Benjamites, recognizing with contrition that their misfortunes were due to God's decree and to their own iniquity, came down again into the tribe of their fathers, in compliance with this invitation. The Israelites gave them for wives those 400 virgins from Jabesh,^c and then deliberated concerning the remaining 200 men, how they too might be provided with wives and beget children. Now, whereas they had before the war made oath to give no Benjamite a daughter of theirs in wedlock, some were of opinion that they should disregard those oaths as having been sworn under the sway of passion, without reflexion or judgement; that they would be doing nothing in opposition to God, could they so save a

^b i.e. cattle. ^c § 165.

φυλὴν ὅλην κινδυνεύονταν ἀπολέσθαι σῶσαι δυνηθὲῖν, τὰς τε ἐπιορκίας οὐχ ὅταν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης γένωνται χαλεπὰς εἶναι καὶ ἐπισφαλεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅταν 170 ἐν κακουργίᾳ τολμηθῶσι. τῆς δὲ γερουσίας πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐπιορκίας ὄνομα σχετλιασάσης ἔφη τις τούτοις τε γυναικῶν εὐπορίαν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν καὶ τήρησιν τῶν ὄρκων. ἐρομένων δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, “ἡμῖν,” εἶπεν, “τρὶς τοῦ ἔτους εἰς Σιλὼ συνιοῦσιν ἔπονται 171 κατὰ πανήγυριν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες. τούτων κατὰ ἀρπαγὴν ἐφείσθω γαμεῖν Βενιαμίτας ἃς ἂν¹ δυνηθὲῖν ἡμῶν οὔτε προτρεπομένων οὔτε κωλυόντων. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν δυσχεραίνοντας καὶ τιμωρίαν λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦντας φήσομεν αὐτοὺς αἴτίους φυλακῆς ἀμελήσαντας τῶν θυγατέρων, ὅτι δὲ δεῖ τῆς ὄργης ἐπὶ Βενιαμίτας ὑφεῖναι² χρησαμένους αὐτῇ καὶ θᾶττον ἀμέτρως.” καὶ οἱ μὲν τούτοις πεισθέντες ψηφίζονται τὸν διὰ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς γάμον τοῖς Βενιαμίταις. 172 ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἕορτῆς οἱ μὲν διακόσιοι κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐνήδρευεν παρεσομένας τὰς παρθένους ἐν τε ἀμπελῶσι καὶ χωρίοις ἐν 173 οἷς λήσειν ἔμελλον, αἱ δὲ μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐδὲν ὑφορώμεναι τῶν μελλόντων ἀφυλάκτως ὥδενον· οἱ δὲ σκεδασθεισῶν εἴχοντο ἔξαναστάντες. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως γαμήσαντες ἐπ' ἔργα τῆς γῆς ἔχώρησαν

¹ *ἀν* secl. Naber.² Bekker: ἀφεῖναι RO, ἐφεῖναι rell.

^a Jd. xxi. 19 “Behold there is a (or “the”) feast (*hag*) of the *LORD from year to year* (lit. “from days to days,” LXX *ἀφὴμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας*) in Shiloh.” The *hag* here alluded to is the oldest of Jewish festivals, the autumn vintage festival of *Sukkoth* or “Tabernacles”; for its annual observance at Shiloh cf. 1 Sam. i. 3. Josephus refers back to those early

whole tribe in danger of extinction; and that perjuries were not grave or hazardous when they were prompted by necessity, but only when rashly committed with malicious intent. When the elders, however, protested at the mere mention of perjury, someone said that he could suggest how to provide wives for these men and yet to keep their oaths. On being questioned concerning his plan, “When we meet,” he replied, “three times a year^a at Silo, we are accompanied to the festival by our wives and daughters. Let the Benjamites be permitted to capture as their brides such of these maidens as they can, without either encouragement or hindrance on our part. And if their parents make an ado and demand punishment, we will tell them that they have but themselves to blame for neglecting to protect their daughters, and that we must abate that resentment against the Benjamites, in which already in the past^b we had been immoderate.” The assembly assenting thereto decided accordingly to permit the Benjamites this marriage by capture. So, when the festival came round, the 200, in twos and threes, waited in ambush before the city for the coming of the maidens, in the vineyards and other places where they would escape their eye. Meanwhile the damsels, playfully and with no suspicion of what was on foot, came all unguardedly along; whereat the men sprang out upon them and seized them as they scattered. These Benjamites, thus wedded, then betook themselves to the labours of the soil

days the keeping of the *three* great annual festivals, including Passover and Pentecost.

^b *θᾶττον* = *πρότερον*, as elsewhere (with connotation of precipitancy).

καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσαντο πάλιν εἰς τὴν προτέραν
174 εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. Βενιαμιτῶν μὲν οὖν ἡ
φυλὴ κινδυνεύσασα τελέως ἐκφθαρῆναι τῷ προειρη-
μένῳ τρόπῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἰσραηλιτῶν σοφίαν σώζεται,
ἥνθησέ τε παραχρῆμα καὶ ταχεῖαν εἴς τε πλῆθος
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπίδοσιν. οὗτος
μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος οὕτως παύεται.

175 (iii. 1) "Ομοια δὲ τούτοις παθεῖν καὶ τὴν Δάνιν¹
συνέβη φυλὴν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης εἰς τοῦτο προ-
176 αχθεῖσαν. τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἥδη τὴν
ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀσκησιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔργους
ὄντων τῆς γῆς Χαναναῖοι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν
συνεποιήσαντο δύναμιν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὶ πείσεσθαι
προσδοκῶντες, ὡς δὲ βεβαίαν τὴν τοῦ ποιήσειν
κακῶς τοὺς Ἐβραίους ἐλπίδα λαβόντες ἐπ' ἀδείας
177 τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκεῖν τὰς πόλεις ἤξιον. ἄρματά τε
οὖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὸ ὅπλιτικὸν συνεκρότουν
αἱ τε πόλεις αὐτῶν συνεφρόνουν καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας
φυλῆς τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα καὶ Ἀκκαρῶνα παρεσπά-
σαντο ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ
Δανίτας εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἡνάγκασαν συμφυγεῖν οὐδὲ
ὅλιγον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβατὸν τοῦ πεδίου καταλιπόντες.
178 οἱ δ' οὐτε πολεμεῖν ὄντες ἴκανοὶ γῆν τε οὐκ ἔχοντες
ἀρκοῦσαν πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν πέντε ἄνδρας εἰς
τὴν μεσόγειον κατοψομένους γῆν, εἰς ἣν μετοική-
σαιντο. οἱ δ' οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ
ἐλάσσονος Ἰορδάνου τῶν πηγῶν κατὰ τὸ μέγα

¹ Niese: Δάνην (Διανῆν) codd.

^a Contrast § 128 (note), where we are told that Akkaron
80

and devoted their efforts to the recovery of their former prosperity. This, then, was the way in which the tribe of Benjamin, when in danger of complete extinction, was saved through the sagacity of the Israelites; and instantly it flourished and made rapid advance both in numbers and in all beside. And thus ended this war.

Jd. fin.

The Danites
forced to
migrate
northwards.

(iii. 1) But like sufferings also befell the tribe of Dan, the cause which brought it to this pass being as follows. Now that the Israelites had abandoned the exercise of warfare and were given up to their labours on the land, the Canaanites, holding them in contempt, built up an army, not from expectation of any injury to themselves, but, being now confident of doing mischief to the Hebrews, they counted on henceforth inhabiting their cities in security. So they proceeded to equip chariots and levy troops, their cities unanimously combined, and from the tribe of Judah they wrested Ascalon, Akkarōn^a and many other cities of the plain, while they forced the Jd. i. 34. Danites to flee in a body to the hills, leaving them not the smallest foothold on the plain. ^bThese, incapable of fighting and not having land to suffice them, sent five of their number into the interior to look for a region whither they could migrate. The xviii. 1 f. envoys, having advanced to a spot not far from mount Libanus and the sources of the lesser^c Jordan, over

had never been conquered; here Josephus conforms to the Hebrew text of Scripture (Jd. i. 18) which names Ekron among the captured cities.

^b Here Josephus omits the unedifying story of Micah and his images, which in Scripture is mixed up with this expedition of the Danites (Jd. xvii. f.).

^c The course of the Jordan north of the modern lake of Huleh. Cf. B.J. iii. 509 f.

πεδίον Σιδῶνος πόλεως ὅδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς¹ προ-
ελθόντες καὶ κατασκεψάμενοι γῆν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάμ-
φορον σημαίνουσι τοῖς αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ ὄρμηθέντες
στρατῷ κτίζουσιν αὐτόθι πόλιν Δάνα ὁμώνυμον
τῷ Ἰακώβου παιδὶ φυλῆς δὲ ἐπώνυμον τῆς αὐτῶν.
79 (2) Τοῖς δὲ Ἰσραηλίταις προύβαινεν ὑπό τε
ἀπειρίας τοῦ πονεῦν τὰ κακὰ καὶ ὑπὸ² τῆς περὶ τὸ
θεῖον ὀλιγωρίας· μετακινηθέντες γάρ ἄπαξ τοῦ
κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὸ καθ'
ἡδονὴν καὶ βούλησιν ἴδιαν βιοῦν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
χωριαζόντων παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις ἀναπίπλασθαι
180 κακῶν. ὀργίζεται τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἦν
σὺν πόνοις μυρίοις εὐδαιμονίαν ἔκτήσαντο, ταύτην
ἀπέβαλον διὰ τρυφήν. στρατεύσαντος γάρ ἐπ' αὐ-
τοὺς Χουσαρσάθου³ τοῦ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως,
πολλούς τε τῶν παραταξαμένων ἀπώλεσαν καὶ
181 πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ κράτος ἥρεθησαν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ
διὰ φόβον ἔκουσίως αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, φόρους
τε τοῦ δυνατοῦ μείζονας ἐπιταγέντες ἐτέλουν καὶ
ὑβρεῖς παντοίας ὑπέμενον ἕως ἐτῶν ὀκτώ, μεθ' ἀ
τῶν κακῶν οὕτως ἡλευθερώθησαν.

182 (3) Τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς τις Κενίαζος ὄνομα δρα-
στήριος ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα γενναῖος, χρησθὲν

¹ trium dierum Lat.² SP: ἀπὸ rell.³ RO: Chusasartho Lat.: Χουσάρθου rell.: similar v.ll. in § 183.

^a So we must translate, carrying on the force of the preceding πόρρω. The translation "advanced in one day's march to . . . over against the great plain of the city of S." is precluded by distance (upwards of 100 miles); a difficulty which is scarcely met by the reading of the Latin version, "three days' march."

^b Bibl. "Cushan-rishathaim (LXX Χουσαρσαθαῖμ) king of

against the great plain, within a day's march of the city of Sidon,^a and having inspected a land good and wholly fertile, reported this to their brethren;²⁹ and they, setting forth with an army, founded there a city called Dan(a) after the name of the son of Jacob, which was also the name of their own tribe.

(2) But the state of the Israelites went from bad to worse through their loss of aptitude for toil and under the Assyrians. their neglect of the Divinity. For, having once parted from the ordered course of their constitution, they drifted into living in accordance with their own pleasure and caprice, and thus became contaminated with the vices current among the Canaanites. So God was wroth with them, and all that prosperity which they had won with myriad labours they now through idle luxury cast away. For Chusarsathus, iii. 5. king of the Assyrians,^b having marched upon them, they lost multitudes in battle, and were besieged and carried by storm, whilst some in terror voluntarily surrendered to him, paid tribute beyond their means at his behest, and underwent indignities of every kind for eight years, after which they were delivered from their miseries on this wise.

(3) A man of the tribe of Judah, Keniaz^c by Their deliverance by Keniaz. Jd. iii. 9.

Aram-naharaim," i.e. "of Aram of the two rivers," alias Mesopotamia. The personal name = "Cushan of double-dyed villainy," a Biblical distortion of some older form.

^c Bibl. "Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother." Josephus has replaced the son by the father; similarly in the so-called *Biblical Antiquities* of Philo (c. A.D. 100) Cenez figures as the first judge and a person of considerable importance (ed. M. R. James, p. 146 note). The compiler of the Greek summary of the contents of A. v. mentions Othniel but reverses the relationship (ἢ διὰ Κενίζου τοῦ Ἀθνιήλου παιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἡλευθερία γενομένη).

αὐτῷ μὴ περιορᾶν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἀνάγκη κειμένους ἀλλ' εἰς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοὺς ἔξαιρεῖσθαι τολμᾶν, παρακελευσάμενος¹ συλλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων αὐτῷ τινάς, ὅλιγοι δ' ἡσαν οἵς αἰδώς ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν ἐτύγχανε καὶ 183 προθυμίᾳ μεταβολῆς, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὖσαν φρουρὰν τοῦ Χουσαρσάθου διαφθείρει, προσγενομένων δὲ πλειόνων τῶν συναγωνιζομένων ἐκ τοῦ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, μάχην τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις συνάπτουσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσάμενοι περαιοῦσθαι τὸν 184 Εὐφράτην ἐβιάζοντο. Κενίαζος δὲ ὡς ἔργῳ πεῖραν αὐτοῦ δεδωκὼς τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας γέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λαμβάνει παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀρχήν, ὥστε κρίνειν τὸν λαόν. καὶ ἄρξας ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταστρέφει τὸν βίον.

185 (iv. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου πάλιν τὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτῶν ὑπὸ ἀναρχίας ἐνόσει πράγματα, καὶ τῷ μὴ διὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν τὸν θεὸν μηδὲ τοὺς νόμοις 186 ὑπακούειν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκακοῦντο,² ὡς καταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἐγλῶνα τὸν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλέα πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔξενεγκεῖν καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις αὐτῶν κρατήσαντα καὶ τοὺς³ φρονήμασι τῶν ἀλλων διαφέροντας ὑποτάξαντα πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν ταπεινώσαι καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαι 187 τελεῖν. καθιδρύσας δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι βασιλειον⁴ οὐδὲν τῆς εἰς τὸ πλήθος κακώσεως παρέλιπεν εἴς τε πενίαν αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν ἐπὶ ὄκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη. λαβὼν δ' οἶκτον ὁ θεὸς τῶν Ἰσραηλίτῶν ἐφ'

¹ παρασκευασάμενος ML.
² ἐκακοῦντο RO.

³ τοῖς codd.

an oracle not to leave the Israelites to lie in such deep distress, but to essay to vindicate their liberty, after exhorting some others to share his hazards—and few were they, who were filled with shame at their present state and longed to alter it—began by massacring the garrison of Chusarsathus that was quartered upon them. Then, when larger numbers rallied to his arms, seeing that he had not miscarried at this opening of his enterprise, they joined battle with the Assyrians and, having utterly repulsed them, forced them to recross the Euphrates. Keniaz, having thus given practical proof of his prowess, received as his reward from the people rulership, to act as judge of the nation. And after ruling for forty years he ended his days.

(iv. 1) But after his death the affairs of the Israelites again suffered through lack of government, while their failure to render homage to God or to obey the laws aggravated the evil yet more. So, contemptuous of the disorder prevailing in their state, Eglon, king of Moab, made war upon them and, having defeated them in many battles and subjected all who showed more spirit than the rest, utterly humiliated their strength and imposed tribute upon them. Then establishing his capital in Jericho,^a he ruthlessly molested the people and reduced them to penury for eighteen years. But God, taking pity on the Israelites in their afflictions and moved by

Israel under
Eglon, king
of Moab.
Jd. iii. 12.

^a Jd. iii. 13 “he possessed the city of palm-trees,” i.e. Jericho, as the Targum (like Josephus) interprets the phrase. This implies that Jericho did not remain unbuilt and unfortified between the days of Joshua and of Ahab.

* E Lat. ed. pr.: + ταύτην ἀποδεῖξας rell.

οῖς ἔπασχον καὶ ταῖς ἵκετείαις αὐτῶν ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀπήλλαξε τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωαβίταις ὕβρεως. ἥλευθερώθησαν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ.

188 (2) Τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς νεανίας Ἰούδης μὲν τοῦνομα Γέρα δὲ¹ πατρός, τολμῆσαί τε ἀνδρειότατος καὶ τῷ σώματι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα χρῆσθαι δυνατώτατος, τῶν χειρῶν τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἀμείνων καπ’ ἐκείνης τὴν ἀπασαν ἴσχὺν ἔχων, κατώκει μὲν ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι καὶ αὐτός, συνήθης δὲ γίνεται τῷ Ἐγλῶνι δωρεαῖς αὐτὸν θεραπεύων καὶ ὑπερχόμενος, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα προσφιλῇ τυγχάνειν αὐτόν. καὶ ποτε σὺν δυσὶν οἰκέταις δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ φέρων ἔιφίδιον κρύφα τῷ δεξιῷ σκέλει περιδησάμενος εἰσῆγει πρὸς αὐτόν. ὥρα δ’ ἦν θέρους καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἥδη μεσούσης ἀνεῖντο αἱ φυλακαὶ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ καύματος καὶ πρὸς 191 ἄριστον τετραμμένων. δοὺς οὖν τὰ δῶρα τῷ Ἐγλῶνι ὁ νεανίσκος, διέτριψε δ’ ἐν τινι δωματίῳ δεξιῶς πρὸς θέρος ἔχοντι, πρὸς ὄμιλίαν ἐτράπετο. μόνοι δ’ ἦσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐπεισιόντας τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπιέναι² κελεύσαντος διὰ τὸ πρὸς 192 Ἰούδην ὄμιλεῖν. καθῆστο δ’ ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ δέος εἰσῆγε τὸν Ἰούδην, μὴ διαμάρτῃ καὶ οὐ³ δῷ 193 καιρίαν πληγῆν. ἀνίστησιν οὖν αὐτόν, ὅναρ εἰπὼν ἔχειν ἐκ προστάγματος αὐτῷ δηλώσαι τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ δὲ μὲν πρὸς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ ὄνείρατος ἀνεπή-

¹ τε codd.

² ed. pr. Lat.: ἀπεῖναι codd.

³ Niese: μὴ codd.

^a Heb. Ehud: LXX Ἀώδ.

their supplications, rid them of this oppression under the Moabites; and their liberation fell on this wise.

(2) A youth of the tribe of Benjamin, named ^{Judes} (Ehud) ^{slays} son of Gera, of gallant daring and with ^{Eglon.} bodily powers that he was well able to make to serve his ends, being superior with his left hand and therefore deriving all his strength, was also himself residing in Jericho; ^b there he became familiar with Eglon, courting and cajoling him with presents, whereby moreover he endeared himself to those in waiting on the king.^b Now one day, when he with two ^c attendants was bringing gifts to the king, he secretly girt a dagger about his right thigh and so went in to him. It was summer-time and, the day being at noon, the guards had been relaxed both by reason of the heat and because they were gone to lunch. So the young man, having presented his gifts to Eglon, who was lodged in a chamber well-adapted for the summer, fell into conversation. They were alone, the king having ordered even such henchmen as intruded to depart because he was conversing with Judes. He was seated upon a chair, and Judes was beset with fear lest he should strike amiss and not deal a mortal blow. So he made him arise by telling him that he had a dream to disclose to him by commandment of God. The king, for joy at news of this dream, leapt up

^b Scripture does not mention Ehud's residence in Jericho nor his attentions to Eglon.

^c Jd. iii. 18 mentions a retinue, "the people that bare the present," who were dismissed after offering it; has the number "two" been extracted, through some misreading, out of the description of the dagger, "and it had two edges," ib. 16?

δησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου, πλήξας δ' αὐτὸν δ' Ἰούδης εἰς τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιον ἐγκαταλιπὼν ἔξεισι προσκλείσας¹ τὴν θύραν. οἵ τε θεράποντες ἡρέμουν, εἰς ὑπνον τετραφθαι νομίζοντες τὸν βασιλέα.

194 (3) Ὁ δ' Ἰούδης τοῖς Ἱεριχούντιοις ἀποσημαίνων κρυπτῶς παρεκάλει τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀσμένως ἀκούσαντες αὐτοὶ τε εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ἥσαν καὶ διέπεμπον εἰς τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀποσημαίνοντας κέρασιν οἰών· τούτοις γὰρ συγκαλεῖν τὸ πλῆθος πάτριον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐγλῶνα πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἥγνόουν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῷ πάθος, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἦν, δείσαντες μή τι νεώτερον εἴη περὶ αὐτὸν γεγονός, εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καὶ νεκρὸν εὑρόντες ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ καθειστήκεσαν, καὶ πρὶν τὴν φρουρὰν συστραφῆναι τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων αὐτοῖς ἐπέρχεται 195 πλῆθος. καὶ οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀναιροῦνται, οἱ δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Μωαβῖτιν σωθησόμενοι, ἥσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ μυρίους. καὶ Ἰσραηλίται προκατειληφότες τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὴν διάβασιν διώκοντες ἔκτεινον καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναιροῦσι, διέφυγέ τε οὐδὲ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας 196 αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἐβραῖοι τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Μωαβίταις δουλείας ἀπηλλάγησαν, Ἰούδης δ' ἐκ² τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης τιμηθεὶς τῇ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἥγεμονίᾳ τελευτὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν ὄγδοήκοντα κατασχών, ἀνὴρ καὶ δίχα τῆς προειρημένης πράξεως ἐπαίνου δίκαιος τυγχάνειν.

¹ MLE Lat.: προσκλίνειν rell.

² δ' ἐκ Dindorf ex Lat.: δὲ codd.

from his throne, whereat Judes smote him to the heart and, leaving the dagger in his breast, went forth, locking the door upon him. The henchmen never stirred, supposing that the king had sunk asleep.

(3) Judes meanwhile reported the matter secretly to the men of Jericho ^a and exhorted them to assert their liberty. And they, welcoming his news, themselves rushed to arms and sent heralds throughout the country to give the signal by the sounding of rams' horns, for it was customary to call their people together by these instruments. Eglon's courtiers ^b remained long ignorant of his fate; but, when evening drew on, fearing that something extraordinary might have befallen him, they entered the chamber and, finding his corpse, stood there in helpless perplexity; and, before the garrison could be mustered, the host of Israelites was upon them. Some were massacred on the spot; the rest took flight to seek safety in the land of Moab, in number above ten thousand. But the Israelites, who had betimes occupied the ford of the Jordan, pursued and slew them: at the ford itself multitudes of them were massacred, and not a man escaped their hands. Thus were the Hebrews delivered from their bondage to the Moabites. Judes himself, having for this reason been honoured with the governorship of the whole people, died after holding that office for eighty years ^b—a man, even apart from the aforesaid exploit, deserving of a meed of praise. After

^a In Scripture he goes further afield and himself "blew the trumpet in the hill-country of Ephraim."

^b Jd. iii. 30 "and the land had rest four-score years," to which the LXX adds "and Aod judged them until he died"; in the Heb. there is no mention of his rulership.

Defeat of
Moab and
rule of
Judes.
Jd. iii. 26.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Σανάγαρος ὁ Ἀνάθου παῖς αἴρεθεὶς ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἄρχῆς ἔτει κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

198 (v. 1) Ἰσραηλῖται δὲ πάλιν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ διδαχῇ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλάμβανον τῶν πρότερον ἡτυχημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτε σέβειν τὸν θεὸν μήθ’ ὑπακούειν τοῖς νόμοις, πρὶν ἡ καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Μωαβίταις ἀναπνεῦσαι δουλείας πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὑπὸ Ἀβίτου² 199 τοῦ Χαναναίων βασιλέως καταδουλοῦνται. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀσώρου πόλεως ὅρμώμενος, αὕτη δ’ ὑπέρκειται τῆς Σεμαχωνίτιδος λίμνης, στρατοῦ μὲν ὅπλιτῶν τριάκοντα ἔτρεφε μυριάδας μυρίους δὲ ἵππεας, τρισχιλίων δὲ ἄρμάτων ηύπόρει. ταύτης οὖν στρατηγῶν τῆς δυνάμεως Σισάρης τιμῆς πρώτης παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τυγχάνων συνελθόντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἰσραηλῖτας ἐκάκωσε δεινῶς, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαι τελεῖν φόρους.

200 (2) Εἴκοσι μὲν οὖν ἔτη ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἤνυσαν μήτε αὐτοὶ φρονεῦν ὑπὸ τῆς δυστυχίας ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πλέον δαμάσαι³ θέλοντος αὐτῶν τὴν ὕβριν διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγνωμοσύνην, ἵνα μεταθέμενοι τοῦ λοιποῦ σωφρονῶσιν διδαχθέντες δὲ⁴ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς περιφρονήσεως τῶν νόμων ὑπάρξαι, Δαβώραν τινὰ προφῆτιν, μέλισσαν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦνομα κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραίων γλώσσαν, 201 ἵκέτευον δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν οἰκτον αὐτῶν

¹ + τε codd.

³ + επι ROE.

² Jabid Lat.: Ἰωαβεῖ Niese.

⁴ δὲ ins. Niese.

^a Heb. Shamgar: LXX Σαμεγάρ (Σεμεγάρ, etc.).

^b Amplification.

^c So Heb. and Josephus below (§ 209); here the mss. have the Latinized form Ἀβίτου (Avitus).

him Sanagar,^a son of Anath, was elected ruler, but Sanagar (Shamgar) died in the first year of his rule.^b

(v. 1) Again, however, the Israelites, who had learnt no lesson of wisdom from their previous misfortunes, since they neither worshipped God nor obeyed the laws, ere they had enjoyed a brief respite from their servitude to the Moabites, fell under the yoke of Jabin,^c king of the Canaanites. For this monarch, issuing from the city of Asor,^d situate above the lake Semachōnitis,^e maintained an army of 300,000 foot and 10,000 horse, and was owner of 3000 chariots.^f Accordingly the general of these forces, Sisares,^g who held the first rank in the king's favour, so sorely afflicted the Israelites when they joined battle with him, that he forced them to pay tribute.

(2) Twenty years, then, did they pass in this miserable plight, themselves incapable of being schooled by adversity, while God willed to tame their insolence yet more by reason of their ingratitude towards Him, to the end that they might change their ways and thenceforward be wise. But when they had learned^h that their calamities were due to their contempt of the laws, they besought a certain prophetess named Daboraⁱ—the name in the Hebrew tongue means “bee”—to pray God

^a Bibl. Hazor; identified by Garstang with Tell el-Qedah about 5 miles S.W. of the southern end of the lake mentioned.

^b The smaller lake N. of the lake of Galilee, el Huleh, sometimes called the “waters of Merom.”

^c Imaginary figures (cf. § 64): Scripture mentions only “900 chariots of iron.”

^d Bibl. Sisera.

^e Text and sentence division doubtful.

^f Bibl. Deborah (=“bee,” as correctly stated); Scripture adds that “she was judging Israel at that time.”

καὶ μὴ περιδεῦ ἀπολλυμένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Χαναναίων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπένευσε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατηγὸν αἴρεῖται Βάρακον τῆς Νεφθαλίτιδος ὃντα φυλῆς· βάρακος δέ ἐστιν ἀστραπὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν.

202 (3) Μεταπεμφαμένη δ' ἡ Δαβώρα τὸν Βάρακον ἐπιλέξαντα τῶν νέων μυρίους ἐκέλευε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποχρῆναι γὰρ τοσούτους τοῦ θεοῦ 203 προειρηκότος καὶ νίκην ἀποσημήναντος. Βαράκον δὲ φαμένου οὐ στρατηγήσειν μὴ κάκείης αὐτῷ συστρατηγούσης ἀγανακτήσασα, "σὺ μέν," εἶπε, "γυναικὶ παραχωρεῖς ἀξιώματος δ σοὶ δέδωκεν ὁ θεός, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ παραιτοῦμαι." καὶ συναθροίσαντες¹ μυρίους ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Ἰταβυρίων ὅρει. ἀπήντα δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Σισάρης τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος καὶ στρατοπεδεύονται τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἄπωθεν. τοὺς δ' Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ τὸν Βάρακον καταπλαγέντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν διεγνωκότας ἡ Δαβώρα κατεῖχε τὴν συμβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι κατ' ἐκείνην κελεύοντα τὴν ἡμέραν· νικήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ συλλήψεσθαι τὸν θεόν.

205 (4) Συνήσαν οὖν καὶ προσμιγέντων ὅμβρος ἐπιγίνεται μέγας καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ χάλαζα, τόν τε ὑετὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἥλαυνε τῶν Χαναναίων ἄνεμος ταῖς ὄψεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπισκοτῶν, ὡς τὰς τοξείας ἀχρήστους αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰς σφενδόνας· οἵ τε ὄπλιται διὰ τὸ κρύος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν

¹ συναριθμήσαντες RO.

^a Tabor.

^c Not mentioned in the Biblical narrative of the battle, but derived apparently from the verse in the Song of 92

to take pity on them and not to suffer them to be destroyed by the Canaanites. God thereupon promised them salvation and chose for general Barak of the tribe of Nephthali; *barak* denotes "lightning" in the tongue of the Hebrews.

(3) Dabora then summoned Barak and charged him *ib. 6.* to select ten thousand of the youth and to march against the foe: that number would, she said, suffice, God having prescribed it and betokened victory. But Barak declared that he would not take the command unless she shared it with him; whereto she indignantly replied, "Thou resignest to a woman a rank that God has bestowed on thee! Howbeit I do not decline it." Then, having mustered ten thousand, they pitched their camp on mount Itabyrion.^a Sisares thereupon went to meet them at the king's orders and his army encamped not far from their foes. The Israelites and Barak were dismayed at the multitude of the enemy and resolved to retire,^b but were restrained by Dabora, who ordered them to deliver battle that very day, for they would be victorious and God would lend them aid.

(4) So the forces met, and amidst the clash of arms there came up a great tempest^c with torrents of rain and hail; and the wind drove the rain in the faces of the Canaanites, obscuring their vision, so that their bows and their slings were of no service to them, and their infantry by reason of the cold could make no use of their swords. But the Israel-Deborah, "They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera" (Jd. v. 20). To this there are parallels in rabbinic tradition. For a rather similar scene, when the elements aided the enemy of the Jews, *ef. B.J. vii. 317 ff.*

206 οὐκ εἶχον. τοὺς δ' Ἰσραηλίτας ἥπτόν τε ἔβλαπτε κατόπιν γινόμενος ὁ χειμὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔννοιαν τῆς βοηθείας τοῦ θεοῦ θάρσος ἐλάμβανον, ὡστε εἰς μέσους ὡσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἵππου ταραχθέντες ἔπεσον, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρμάτων πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν.

207 Σισάρης δὲ καταπηδήσας τοῦ ἄρματος ὡς εἶδε τὴν τροπὴν γινομένην, φυγὼν ἀφικνεῖται παρά τινα τῶν Κενελίδων¹ γυναῖκα, Ἰάλην ὄνομα, ἣ κρύψαι τε ἀξιώσαντα δέχεται καὶ ποτὸν αὐτήσαντι δίδωσι

208 γάλα διεφθορὸς ἥδη. ὁ δὲ πιὼν τοῦ μέτρου δαψιλέστερον εἰς ὕπνον τρέπεται. ἡ δὲ Ἰάλη κοιμωμένου σιδήρεον ἥλον ἐλάσασα σφύρῃ κατὰ τοῦ στόματος καὶ² τοῦ χελυνίου διέπειρε τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Βάρακον μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐλθοῦσιν

209 ἐπεδείκνυε τῇ γῇ προσηλωμένον. καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἡ νίκη αὐτῇ περιέστη κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ Δαβώρας εἰρημένα εἰς γυναῖκα. Βάρακος δὲ στρατεύσας ἐπ' "Ασωρον Ἰωαβείν"³ τε ὑπαντιάσαντα κτείνει καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πεσόντος καθελὼν εἰς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν στρατηγεῖ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

210 (vi. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Βαράκου καὶ Δαβώρας κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν μετὰ ταῦτα Μαδιανῖται παρακαλέσαντες Ἀμαληκίτας τε καὶ "Αραβας στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ μάχῃ τε νικῶσι τοὺς συμβαλόντας καὶ τὸν καρπὸν δηγώσαν-

ites were less hampered by the storm, which was at their back, and they took courage at the thought of this succour from God ; and so, thrusting into the midst of the foe, they slew multitudes of them. Thus, some beneath the hand of the Israelites, others discomfited by their own cavalry, the enemy fell, many being crushed to death beneath the chariots. But Sisares, having leapt from his chariot when he saw that the rout was come, fled till he reached the abode of a woman of the Kenites ^a named Iale ^b ; she, at his request to conceal him, took him in, and, when he asked for drink, gave him milk that had turned sour.^c And he, having drunk thereof immoderately, fell asleep. Then, as he slumbered, Iale took an iron nail and drove it with a hammer through his mouth and jaw, piercing the ground ; and when Barak's company ^d arrived soon after she showed him to them nailed to the earth. Thus did this victory redound, as Dabora had foretold,^e to a woman's glory. But Barak, marching upon Asor, slew Jabin ^f who encountered him and, the general having fallen, razed the city to the ground ; he then ^{Cf. v. 31.} held command of the Israelites for forty years.^g

(vi. 1) Barak and Dabora having died simultaneously, ^{Ravages of the} thereafter the Midianites, calling the Amalekites ^{Midianites} and Arabians to their aid, marched against the ^{Jd. vi. 1.} Israelites, defeated in battle all who opposed them, plundered the crops and carried off the cattle. This

^a Gr. "Kenelides."

^b Bibl. Jael.

^c "already corrupt," an amplification of the Biblical text.

^d Barak himself, in Jd. iv. 22.

^e Jd. iv. 9.

^f Or, according to some mss., Joabin.

^g Scripture says merely "And the land had rest forty years."

211 τες τὴν λείαν ἐπήγοντο.¹ τοῦτο δὲ ποιούντων ἐπ’ ἔτη ἑπτὰ εἰς τὰ ὅρη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀνεστάλη τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν πεδίων ἐξεχώρουν, ὑπονόμους τε καὶ σπῆλαια ποιησάμενοι πᾶν ὃ τι τοὺς πολεμίους 212 διέφυγεν ἐν τούτοις εἶχον φυλάττοντες. οἱ γὰρ Μαδιανῖται κατὰ ὥραν θέρους² στρατεύοντες τὸν χειμῶνα γεωργεῖν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐπέτρεπον, ὅπως ἔχωσι πεπονηκότων αὐτῶν εἰς ἀ βλάπτωσι, λιμὸς δ’ ἦν καὶ σπάνις τροφῆς καὶ τρέπονται πρὸς ἵκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ σώζειν αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦντες.

213 (2) Καὶ Γεδεὼν ὁ Ἰάσον παῖς, Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς ἐν ὀλίγοις, δράγματα σταχύων φερόμενος κρυπτῶς εἰς τὴν ληνὸν ἔκοπτε· τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους ἐδεδίει φανερῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλωσ. φαντάσματος δὲ αὐτῷ παραστάντος νεανίσκου μορφῇ καὶ φήσαντος εὐδαιμονα καὶ φίλον τῷ θεῷ, ὑποτυχῶν “τοῦτο γοῦν,” ἔφη, “τεκμήριον τῆς εὑμενίας αὐτοῦ μέγιστον τὸ³ ληνῷ με νῦν 214 ἀντὶ ἄλωσ χρῆσθαι.” Θαρσεῖν δὲ παρακελευσαμένου καὶ πειρᾶσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνασώζειν, ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἔλεγε· τὴν τε γὰρ φυλὴν ἐξ ἣς ὑπῆρχε πλήθος ὑστερεῖν καὶ νέον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων⁴ ἀσθενέστερον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀναπληρώσειν τὸ λεῖπον ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ νίκην παρέξειν Ἰσραηλίταις αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος.

215 (3) Τοῦτ’ οὖν διηγούμενος ὁ Γεδεὼν τισὶ τῶν

¹ Niese (cf. xiii. 101): ὑπήγοντο codd.: ἀπήγοντο ed. pr.

² ME Lat.: ἔτους rell.

³ Zonaras: τῇ codd.

⁴ πραγμάτων ἐπινοιας MSPL.

^a Bibl. Gideon (LXX Γεδεὼν) son of Joash (Ιωάς).

^b Gr. “one of few” (cf. A. ii. 78, iv. 329, v. 276); here perhaps with a connotation of the paucity of numbers of the tribe (§ 214).

being repeated for seven years, the more part of the Israelites withdrew to the hills and forsook the plains; and, making for themselves underground passages and caverns, they secured therein all that had escaped the enemy. For the Midianites, making their invasions in the height of summer, permitted the Israelites in winter to till the soil, that through their labours they might have somewhat to ravage. So there was famine and dearth of sustenance, and they turned in supplication to God, imploring Him to save them.

(2) Now Gideon, son of Jas,^a one of the foremost^b among the tribe of Manasseh, used to bring his sheaves of corn and beat them out secretly in the winepress; for, because of the enemy, he feared to do this openly on the threshing-floor. To him there appeared a spectre in the form of a young man, who pronounced him blessed and beloved of God, whereto he made rejoinder: “Indeed, this is a signal proof of his favour that I am now using a winepress instead of a threshing-floor!” But when his visitor bade him take courage and essay to regain liberty, he replied that this was impossible, seeing that the tribe^c to which he belonged was lacking in numbers and he himself but young and too feeble for exploits so great. Howbeit God promised Himself to supply what he lacked and to grant victory to the Israelites, should he put himself at their head.^d

(3) On recounting this matter to some of his Selection of his army.

^a Jd. vi. 15 “Behold, my family (Heb. “thousand”) is the poorest in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father’s house.”

^b Josephus omits Jd. vi. 17-40, comprising (1) the reassuring miracles performed for Gideon, (2) his destruction of the altar of Baal, which earned for him the surname of Jerubbaal.

νέων ἐπιστεύετο, καὶ παραχρῆμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἔτοιμον ἦν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν¹ μυρίων ἄνδρων. ἐπιστὰς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ θεὸς τῷ Γεδεῶνι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν αὐτῷ φίλαυτον οὖσαν ἐδήλου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας ἀπεχθανομένην, ὅπως τε τὴν νίκην παρέντες τοῦ θεοῦ δοκεῖν νομίσουσιν² ιδίαν ὡς πολὺς στρατὸς ὄντες καὶ πρὸς 216 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀξιόμαχος. ἵνα μάθωσιν οὖν βοηθείας τῆς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον, συνεβούλευε περὶ μεσοῦσαν τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ καύματος ὄντος, ἄγειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακλιθέντας καὶ οὕτως πίνοντας εὐψύχους ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅσοι δ' ἐσπευσμένως καὶ μετὰ θορύβου πίνοντες τύχοιεν τούτους³ δειλοὺς νομίζειν καὶ καταπεπληγότας τοὺς πολεμίους. 217 ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Γεδεῶνος κατὰ τὰς ὑποθήκας τοῦ θεοῦ, τριακόσιοι ἄνδρες εὑρέθησαν ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ φόβου προσενεγκάμενοι τὸ ὕδωρ τεταραγμένως, ἔφησέ τε ὁ θεὸς τούτους ἐπαγόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου μέλλοντες εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν περαιοῦσθαι.

218 (4) Γεδεῶνος δ' ἐν φόβῳ καθεστῶτος, καὶ γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς προειρήκει, τοῦ

¹ στρατόπεδον ROE.² Niese: νομίζουσιν codd.³ (after τούτους) δὴ (δὲ M) νομίζειν ὑπὸ δειλίας τοῦτο πάσχειν MSP Suidas Glycas.

^a In Jd. vii. 3 the army had already been reduced to 10,000, by the dismissal, under divine orders, of 22,000 who were faint-hearted.

^b Amplification (three words).^c Amplification (the hour).^d Or "lay."

young friends, Gedeon was trusted ; and instantly Jd. vi. 34; there was an army of 10,000^a men ready for the vii. 2 ff. contest. But God, appearing to Gedeon in his sleep,^b showed to him the proneness of human nature to self-love and the hatred that it bore to those of surpassing merit, and how, far from attributing the victory to God, they would regard it as their own, on the ground that they were a large army and a match for their enemies. In order, therefore, that they might learn that it was His aid that accomplished it, He counselled him towards midday, when the heat was most intense,^c to march his troops to the river ; and then such of them as knelt^d down to drink, them he should deem the stalwarts, but all who drank hurriedly and with trepidation, these he should rank as cowards^e and terrified of the foe. Gedeon having then done in accordance with this counsel of God, there were found 300 men who with fear and trembling raised the water in their hands to their lips ; and these God bade him take with him to attack the enemy.^f So they pitched their camp above the Jordan,^g with intent to cross on the morrow.

(4) But Gedeon being terror-struck, having withal Dream of a
been divinely ordered to attack by night, God, with
Madianite
soldier.
Jd. vii. 9.

^e Some mss. read "should deem that they had acted this way through cowardice."^f The correct interpretation of the confused verses, Jd. vii. 5, 6, is probably that the 300 men who lapped the water with their tongues like dogs were those selected for battle, while those who knelt to drink were rejected. Josephus, taking the lapping to mean drinking "with trepidation," implies that the 300 were chosen "lest Israel vaunt themselves" (Jd. vii. 2), i.e. God could give victory even to a cowardly army.^g At En Harod (Jd. vii. 1), site uncertain.

δέος αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν βουλόμενος κελεύει προσ-
λαβόντα ἔνα τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλησίον χωρεῦν
τὰς Μαδιανιτῶν σκηναῖς· παρ' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἐκείνων
219 λήψεσθαι φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος. πεισθεὶς δὲ ἦει
Φρουρὰν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεράποντα παραλαβών, καὶ
πλησιάσας σκηνῇ τινι καταλαμβάνει τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ
ἐγρηγορότας καὶ τὸν ἔτερον ὄναρ διηγούμενον τῷ
συσκηνοῦντι, ὥστε ἀκούειν τὸν Γεδεῶνα. τὸ δὲ
τοιοῦτον ἦν· μᾶζαν ἐδόκει κριθίνην ὑπ' εὔτελείας
ἀνθρώποις ἄβρωτον διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κυλιο-
μένην τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν καταβαλεῖν καὶ
220 τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντων. ὁ δὲ σημαίνειν
ὅλεθρον τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν ὄψιν ἔκρινε, λέγων ὅθεν
τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συνιδεῖν ἐπῆλθε, πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων¹
τὸ καλούμενον κρίθινον εὐτελέστατον ὄμολογεῖσθαι
τυγχάνειν, “τοῦ δ' Ἀσιανοῦ παντὸς τὸ Ἰσραηλιτῶν
ἔστιν ἴδειν ἀτιμότερον νῦν γεγενημένον ὄμοιον δὲ
221 τῷ κατὰ κριθῆν γένει. καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰσραη-
λίταις νῦν μεγαλοφρονοῦν τοῦτ' ἀν εἴη Γεδεῶν καὶ
τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτικόν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν μᾶζαν
φῆσιν ἴδειν τὰς σκηνὰς ἡμῶν ἀνατρέπουσαν, δέδια
μὴ ὁ θεὸς Γεδεῶνι τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν νίκην ἐπι-
νένευκε.”

222 (5) Γεδεῶνα δ' ἀκούσαντα τὸ ὄναρ ἐλπὶς ἀγαθὴ
καὶ θάρσος ἔλαβε, καὶ προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
εἶναι τοὺς οἰκείους διηγησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν
τῶν πολεμίων ὄψιν, οἱ δ' ἔτοιμοι πρὸς τὰ παρ-
αγγελλόμενα φρονηματισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν δεδηλω-

¹ conj.: πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα codd.

intent to banish his fear, bade him take one of his soldiers and advance close up to the tents of the Midianites, since from the lips of the very foe he would derive courage and confidence. Obediently thereto he went, taking with him his servant Phrurias,^a and, on approaching one of the tents, found that its occupants were awake and that one of them was recounting to his companion a dream, in such fashion that Gideon could hear it. Now the dream was on this wise: it seemed to him that a barley cake, too vile for man's consumption, came rolling through the camp and struck down the king's tent and those of all his soldiers. His comrade interpreted the vision to betoken the destruction of the army, stating what led him to understand it so: "Of all seeds (he said) that called barley is admitted to be the vilest; and of all Asiatic races that of the Israelites, as may be seen, has now become the most ignominious and like to the nature of barley. And among the Israelites at this moment the high-spirited party can be none but Gideon and his comrades-in-arms. Since, then, thou sayest that thou sawest that cake overturning our tents, I fear that God has conceded to Gideon the victory over us."

(5) The hearing of this dream inspired Gideon Defeat of the Midianites. Jd. vii. 15. with high hopes and confidence, and he commanded his men to be ready in arms, having also recounted to them this vision of the enemy; and they were alert to obey his orders, elated by what they had

^a Bibl. Purah, LXX Φαρά (and so the Latin version of Josephus).

223 μένων ἦσαν. καὶ κατὰ τετάρτην μάλιστα φυλακὴν προσῆγε τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν Γεδεῶν εἰς τρία μέρη διελὼν αὐτήν, ἐκατὸν δὲ ἦσαν ἐν ἑκάστῳ. ἐκόμιζον δὲ πάντες ἀμφορέας κενοὺς καὶ λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἐν αὐταῖς, ὅπως μὴ κατάφωρος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτῶν γένηται, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ κριοῦ 224 κέρας· ἔχρωντο δὲ τούτοις ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος. χωρίον δὲ πολὺ κατεῖχε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα,¹ πλείστην γάρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνέβαινε κάμηλον, καὶ κατὰ τὰ² ἔθνη νεμηθέντες ὑφ' ἐνὶ κύκλῳ πάντες 225 ἦσαν. οἱ δ' Ἐβραῖοι, προειρημένον³ αὐτοῖς ὅπόταν γένωνται πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ συνθήματος σάλπιγξ τε ἡχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀμφορέας κατεάξαντας ὅρμησαι μετὰ τῶν λαμπάδων ἀλαλάξαντας⁴ καὶ νικᾶν θεοῦ Γεδεῶνι βοηθήσοντος, τοῦτ' ἐποίη- 226 σαν. ταραχὴ δὲ λαμβάνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔτι ὑπνοῦντας καὶ δείματα· νὺξ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο ἥθελεν. ἐκτείνοντο δὲ ὄλιγοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων διὰ τὸ τῇ γλώσσῃ διαφωνεῖν· ἅπαξ δὲ καταστάντες εἰς ταραχὴν πᾶν τὸ προστυχὸν ἀνήρουν νομίζοντες 227 εἶναι πολέμιον, φόνος τε πολὺς ἦν. καὶ φήμης πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τῆς Γεδεῶνος νίκης ἀφικομένης ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦσαν, καὶ διώξαντες λαμβάνουσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ χαράδραις περιειλημμένῳ οὐ δυναμέναις διαπερᾶναι χωρίᾳ καὶ περιστάντες κτείνουσιν ἅπαντας καὶ δύο τῶν 228 βασιλέων "Ωρηβόν τε καὶ Ζῆβον. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ

¹ ROE: στρατόπεδον rell.² τὰ om. SP.³ Niese: προειρημένου codd.
• Niese: ἡχήσαντες . . . κατεάξαντες . . . ἀλαλάξαντες codd.

been told. Then, at about the fourth watch,^a Gideon marched forth his army, which he had divided into three sections, each of an hundred men. They all bore empty pitchers with lighted torches inside them, to prevent the enemy from detecting their approach, and in the right hand a ram's horn, which served for a trumpet. Their enemy's camp covered¹² a large area, for they had a vast camel-corps and were divided according to their nationalities, all being enclosed within one ring. The Hebrews had received orders, on approaching the enemy, at a given signal to sound their trumpets, break their pitchers, and rush forward with their torches and with shouts of battle and "Victory, and God will aid Gideon!" and even so they did. Confusion and panic seized the hapless creatures yet slumbering; for it was night and God willed it so. Thus were they slain, few indeed by their enemies, the more part by the hands of their allies, by reason of their diversity of languages; and, when once confusion reigned, they killed all that they met, taking them for enemies, and there was a great carnage. A rumour of²³ Gideon's victory reaching the Israelites, they too were up in arms, and pursuing caught the enemy in a valley encompassed with impassable ravines,^b and, having surrounded them, slew them all with two of their kings, Oreb and Zeb. The other chiefs,

^a In Jd. vii. 19 they reach the outskirts of the enemy's camp at "the beginning of the middle watch" (of three watches of 4 hours each from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M., i.e. at about 10 P.M.); Josephus, following the Roman division of the night into four watches of 3 hours each, represents them as leaving their own camp at about 3 A.M.^b This death-trap—the "impassable valley" in which the main body of the enemy is cooped up and annihilated—is a familiar feature of these battle-scenes; cf. § 162.

τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνάγοντες,¹ ἥσαν δὲ ὡς² μύριοι καὶ ὅκτακισχίλιοι, στρατοπεδεύονται πολὺ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀπωθεν. Γεδεὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀπηγορεύκει πονῶν, ἀλλὰ διώξας μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ συμβαλὼν ἄπαντας διέφθειρε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἡγεμόνας Ζεβῆν καὶ Ζαρμούνην αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀνήγαγεν. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ Μαδιανιτῶν τε καὶ τῶν συστρατευσάντων αὐτοῖς Ἀράβων περὶ μυριάδας δώδεκα, λεία τε πολλὴ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ὑψηλὸς καὶ κάμηλος καὶ ὑποζύγια λαμβάνεται τοῖς Ἐβραίοις. Γεδεὼν δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἐφρὰν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα κτείνει τοὺς τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν βασιλέας.

230 (6) Ἡ δὲ Ἐφράμιδος φυλὴ τῇ Γεδεῶνος εὐπραγίᾳ δυσχεραίνουσα στρατεύειν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν διεγνώκει, τὸ μὴ προαγγεῖλαι³ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῖς τὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγκαλοῦντες. Γεδεὼν δὲ μέτριος ὢν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἄκρος, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν αὐτοκράτορι χρησάμενος λογισμῷ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιθέσθαι χωρὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος· τὴν δὲ νίκην οὐχ ἡττον αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν 231 ιδίαν ἢ τῶν ἐστρατευκότων εἶναι. καὶ τούτοις παρηγορήσας αὐτῶν τὴν ὄργὴν τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἐβραίους ὠφέλησε τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων εὐπραξίας· ἐμφυλίου γὰρ αὐτοὺς στάσεως ἄρχειν μέλλοντας ἐρρύσατο. τῆς μέντοι γε ὑβρεως ταύτης ἡ φυλὴ δίκην ἐξέτισεν, ἦν δηλώσομεν κατὰ καιρὸν ιδίον.

¹ colligentes (? συνάγοντες) Lat.: ἀγοντες SPE.

² MLE Lat.: om. rell.

³ Dindorf: προσαγγεῖλαι (παρ.) codd.

urging on their surviving soldiers, numbering some 18,000,^a encamped when at a great distance from the Israelites. Gedeon, however, had not renounced the struggle, but, following in pursuit with his whole army, joined battle, annihilated the enemy, and brought back as prisoners the remaining chiefs, Zebes and Zarmunes.^b In the preceding combat there had fallen of the Midianites and of their Arabian comrades-in-arms about 120,000; and abundant booty—gold, silver, woven stuff, camels and beasts of burden—fell to the Hebrews. Gedeon on his return to Ephraim,^c his native place, put the kings of the Midianites to death.

(6) But the tribe of Ephraim, aggrieved at Gedeon's success, now resolved to march against him, complaining that he had not informed them of his proposed assault on the enemy. Gedeon, however, being a man of moderation and a model of every virtue, replied that it was not of himself by an arbitrary decision^d that he had attacked the foe without them, but by divine command; while the victory, he declared, belonged no less to them than to those who had taken the field. And by these words, with which he pacified their wrath, he did the Hebrews a greater service than by his military success; for he rescued them from civil strife when they were on the brink of it. Howbeit for its insolent attitude this tribe paid a penalty, which we shall relate in due season.^e

^a “About 15,000,” Jd. viii. 10.

^b Bibl. Zebah (LXX Ζεβαέ) and Zalmunna (Ζαλμανά). The mss. of Josephus have various spellings.

^c Bibl. Ophrah (LXX Ἐφραθά or, in some mss., Ἐφρά); Jd. vi. 11.

^d αὐτοκράτορι λογισμῷ after Thuc. iv. 108.

^e Cf. § 250.

232 (7) Γεδεὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι βουλόμενος
βιασθεὶς ἔσχεν αὐτὴν ἐπ’ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα βρα-
βεύων αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν
ἐπ’ αὐτὸν βαδιζόντων κύρια¹ πάντα ἦν τὰ ὑπ’
αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. καὶ ὁ μὲν γηραιὸς τελευτήσας
ἐν Ἐφρὰν τῇ πατρίδι θάπτεται.

233 (vii. 1) Παῖδες δὲ ἥσαν αὐτῷ γνήσιοι μὲν ἐβδο-
μήκοντα, πολλὰς γάρ ἔγημε γυναῖκας, νόθος δ’ εἰς
ἐκ παλλακῆς Δρούμας Ἀβιμέλεχος τούνομα, ὃς
μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἀναχωρήσας ἐπὶ²
Σίκιμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ μητρὸς συγγενεῖς, ἐντεῦθεν
234 γὰρ ἦν, καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον παρ’ αὐτῶν * * *³ οἱ
διὰ πλῆθος ἀδικημάτων ἥσαν ἐπίσημοι, ἀφικνεῖται
σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πατρῶν οἶκον καὶ κτείνει
πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πλὴν Ἰωθάμου· σώζεται
γὰρ οὗτος διαφυγεῖν εὐτυχήσας. Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ
εἰς τυραννίδα τὰ πράγματα μεθίστησι, κύριον αὐτὸν
ὅ τι βούλεται ποιεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀποδείξας
καὶ δεινῶς πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ δικαίου προϊσταμένους
ἐκπικραινόμενος.

235 (2) Καὶ ποτε δημοτελοῦς Σικίμοις οὕσης ἑορτῆς
καὶ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἐκεῖ συνειλεγμένου ὃ
ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωθάμης, ὃν καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἔφαμεν,
ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Γαριζεύν, ὑπέρκειται δὲ
τῆς Σικιμίων πόλεως, ἐκβοήσας εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ
πλήθους ἥσυχίαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντος⁴ ἡξίου μαθεῖν
236 τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. γενομένης δὲ σιγῆς

¹ Lat.: + τε codd.

² εἰς RO.

³ lacuna indicated by Jd. ix. 4.

⁴ παρασχόντας Weill.

^a His making of an ephod, which "became a snare to Gideon and to his house" (Jd. viii. 27), is omitted.

(7) Gedeon then, wishing to resign his command, Gedeon as was constrained to keep it, and continued for forty judge. years to administer justice: men resorted to him concerning their differences, and all his pronouncements had binding weight.^a He died in ripe old age and was buried at Ephra, his native place.

(vii. 1) Now he had seventy sons born in wedlock Abimelech (for he married many wives) and by a concubine, the tyrant. Druma,^b one bastard named Abimelech. This last, after his father's death, withdrew to the family of his mother at Shechem,^c her native place, and, having obtained money from them (hired certain miscreants),^d who were notorious for a multitude of crimes, and with them repaired to his father's house and slew all his brethren, save Jotham: this one had the good fortune to escape alive. Abimelech then transformed the government into a tyranny, setting himself up to do whatsoever he pleased in defiance of the laws and showing bitter animosity against the champions of justice.

(2) Now one day when there was a public festival ^e Jotham's parable to at Shechem and the people were all assembled there, the She- chemites. his brother Jotham—the one who, as we said, had escaped—ascended Garizin, the mountain which rises above the city of Shechem, and shouting so as to be heard by the crowd if they would but listen to him quietly, begged them to attend to what he had to say. Silence being established, he told them

^b Name not in Scripture. Perhaps it was taken through error from "Arumah," the name of a town where Abimelech dwelt for a time (Jd. ix. 41).

^c Gr. Sikima (as in most mss. of LXX).

^d Lacuna in Greek, to be supplied from Jd. ix. 4 "Abimelech hired vain and light fellows, which followed him."

^e The public festival is not mentioned in Scripture.

εἰπεν, ὡς τὰ δένδρα φωνὴν ἀνθρώπειον προϊέμενα συνόδου γενομένης αὐτῶν δεηθείη συκῆς ἄρχειν αὐτῶν. ἀρνησαμένης δ' ἐκείνης διὰ τὸ τιμῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς καρποῖς οἰκείας οὔσης ἀπολαύειν, οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἔξωθεν προσγινομένης, τὰ δένδρα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρχεσθαι φροντίδος οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, ἐδόκει 237 δ' αὐτοῖς ἀμπέλῳ τὴν τιμὴν παρασχεῖν. καὶ ἡ ἀμπέλος χειροτονούμενή τοῦς αὐτοῖς τῇ συκῇ χρησαμένη λόγοις παρηγένετο τὴν ἄρχήν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐλαιῶν ποιησαμένων ράμνος, ἐδεήθη γὰρ αὐτῆς ὥστε παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τὰ 238 δένδρα, πυρεῖν¹ δὲ ἀγαθὴ παρασχεῖν τῶν ξύλων ἐστίν, ὑπισχνεῖται τὴν ἄρχην ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ ἀ- ὀκνως ἔχειν, δεῖν² μέντοι συνιζάνειν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν, εἰ δ' ὅλεθρον ἐπ' αὐτῇ φρονοῦεν,³ ὑπὸ τοῦ 239 ἐνόντος πυρὸς διαφθαρεῖν. “ταῦτα δ' οὐ γέλωτος ἔνεκα,” φησί, “λέγω,” δτὶ δὲ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκ Γεδεῶνος πεπειραμένοι περιορῶσιν Ἀβιμέλεχον ἐπὶ τῶν ὅλων ὅντα πραγμάτων σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποκτείναντες, ὃν πυρὸς οὐδὲν διοίσειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑπεχώρησε καὶ διητάτο λανθάνων ἐν τοῖς ὅρεοι δεδιώς ἐπ' ἔτη τρία τὸν 240 Ἀβιμέλεχον.

(3) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς οἱ⁴ Σικιμῖται, μετενόσαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς Γεδεῶνος νιόις πεφονευ- μένοις, ἔξελαύνουσι τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς φυλῆς· ὁ δὲ κακοῦν τὴν πόλιν ἐφρόντιζε. τῆς δ' ὥρας τῆς τοῦ τρυγᾶν γενομένης ἐδεδίεσαν συλλέγειν τὸν καρπὸν προϊόντες, μή τι δράσῃ κακὸν

¹ πυρία codd.
² δεῖ codd. ³ φρονῶεν codd.
⁴ om. R.O.

how the trees, once gifted with a human voice, held a meeting and besought a fig-tree^a to rule over them. And when she refused, because she enjoyed the esteem which her fruits brought her, an esteem that was all her own and not conferred from without by others, the trees did not renounce their intention of having a ruler, but thought good to offer this dignity to the vine. And the vine, when so elected, on the same grounds as those of the fig-tree, declined the sovereignty. The olive-trees having done the like, a bramble—since the trees requested it to accept the kingship, and it is good in giving wood for tinder—promised to undertake the office and to act strenuously. However it behoved them all to sit down beneath her shadow, and should they plot her ruin they would be destroyed by the fire within her. “I tell this fable,” said Jotham, “not for your merriment, but because notwithstanding the manifold benefits that ye have received from Gedeon ye^b suffer Abimelech to hold sovereign sway, after aiding him to slay my brethren. Ye will find him in no wise different from a fire.” Having spoken thus he absconded and lived in hiding in the hills for three ^{cj. 22.} years from fear of Abimelech.

(3) But not long after the festival^c the Shechemites, <sup>Expulsion of
Abimelech.</sup> Jd. ix. 23. repenting of the murder of the sons of Gedeon, expelled Abimelech from their city and from their tribe; and he laid plans for doing the town an injury. So, when the season of vintage was come, they were afraid to go out and gather the fruit, for

^a In Judges the olive-tree is approached first, then the fig-tree, then the vine.

^b In the Greek, the Shechemites are not addressed in the second person.

^c Not in Scripture.

241 Ἀβιμέλεχος εἰς αὐτούς. ἐπιδημήσαντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὸς Γυάλου σὺν ὄπλίταις καὶ συγγενέσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ, φυλακὴν οἱ Σικιμῖται δέονται παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἥως ἀν τρυγήσωσι. προσδεξαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τὴν ἀξίωσιν προήεσαν καὶ Γυάλης σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄγων ὄπλιτικόν. 242 ὁ τε οὖν καρπὸς μετὰ ἀσφαλείας συνάγεται καὶ δειπνοῦντες κατὰ συμμορίας¹ φανερῶς ἀπετόλμων ἦδη βλασφημεῖν τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον, οἵ τε ἀρχοντες ἐνέδραις καταλαμβανόμενοι τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀβιμελέχου συλλαμβάνοντες ἀνήρουν. 243 (4) Ζάβουλος δέ τις τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἄρχων, ξένος ὡν Ἀβιμελέχου, ὃσα παροξύνειν Γυάλης τὸν δῆμον πέμπων ἀγγέλους ἐμήνυεν αὐτῷ καὶ παρήνει λοχᾶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως· πείσειν γὰρ Γυάλην ἔξελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τυγχάνειν ὥστε ἀμύνασθαι· γενομένου γὰρ τούτου διαλλαγὰς 244 αὐτῷ μνηστεύσεσθαι² πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. ὁ τε οὖν Ἀβιμέλεχος ἐκάθισεν ἐνεδρεύων καὶ ὁ Γυάλης ἀφυλακτοτέρως διέτριβεν ἐπὶ τοῦ προαστείου καὶ Ζάβουλος σὺν αὐτῷ. ιδὼν δὲ ὄπλίτας ἐπιφερομένους Γυάλης πρὸς Ζάβουλον ἔλεγεν ἄνδρας 245 αὐτοῖς ἐπιέναι καθωπλισμένους. τοῦ δὲ σκιὰς εἶναι φαμένου τῶν πετρῶν, πλησίον ἦδη γυνομένων τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανοῶν οὐ σκιὰς ἔλεγε ταῦτ' εἶναι, λόχον δὲ ἀνδρῶν. καὶ Ζάβουλος “οὐ σὺ μέντοι,” φησίν, “Ἀβιμελέχῳ κακίαν ἐπεκάλεις; τί οὖν οὐκ ἐπιδείκνυσαι τὸ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς μέγεθος εἰς 246 μάχην αὐτῷ συμβαλών;” Γυάλης δὲ θορυβούμενος συνάπτει τοῖς Ἀβιμελέχου καὶ πίπτουσι μέν

¹ ex Lat.: συμμορίαν codd.

² Niese: μνηστεύεσθαι codd.

fear that Abimelech would do them some mischief. But on being visited by Gual,^a one of their chiefs,²⁶ with a retinue of troops and kinsmen, the Shechemites besought him to lend them protection during their vintage. And when he complied with their request, they went forth, accompanied by Gual at the head of his troop. So the fruit was safely gathered in, and while supping in companies they now ventured openly to revile Abimelech ; and the chiefs, posting ambuscades about the town, captured and slew many of his followers.

(4) But a certain Zabul,^b a chieftain of the Shechemites and an old friend of Abimelech, sent messengers to report to him how Gual was stirring up the people, and he advised him to lie in wait before the town, since he would induce Gual to sally out against him and it would then rest with Abimelech to avenge himself ; that done, he (Zabul) would procure his reconciliation with the townsfolk. So Abimelech sat in ambush, while Gual all too unguardedly tarried in the suburbs, and Zabul with him. Spying some men-at-arms hastening up, Gual said to Zabul that men were upon them in arms. He replied that they were but shadows of the rocks ; but on their nearer approach Gual, perceiving them perfectly, told him that these were no shadows but a company of men. Said Zabul, “But wert thou not accusing Abimelech of cowardice ? Why then displayest thou not that mighty valour of thine by meeting him in combat ?” Thereat Gual, in confusion, closed with Abimelech’s men, lost some of his own, and himself

^a Greek *Guales*, Bibl. *Gaal*.

^b Or, with some mss., “Zebul” (the Biblical name).

τινες τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, φεύγει δ' αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀγόμενος. καὶ Ζάβουλος πολιτεύεται Γυάλην ἐκβληθῆναι τῆς πόλεως, κατηγορήσας ὡς μαλακῶς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀβιμελέχου στρατιώτας ἀγωνί-
 247 σαιτο. Ἀβιμελέχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἔξελευσομένους αὖθις κατὰ τρύγητον τοὺς Σικιμίους ἐνέδραις προλοχίζεται τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προελθόντων ἡ μὲν τρίτη μοῖρα τῆς στρατιᾶς καταλαμβάνει τὰς πύλας ἀφαιρησομένη τὴν εἰσόδον τοὺς πολίτας, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι σκιδναμένους μεταθέουσι, πανταχοῦ τε
 248 φόνος ἦν. καὶ κατασκάψας εἰς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχει πρὸς¹ πολιορκίαν, ἀλλας κατὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων σπείρας προῆγε. καὶ Σικιμῖται πάντες οὗτως ἀπώλοντο· ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν σκεδασθέντες διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, οὗτοι συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τινα πέτραν ὀχυρὰν² ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἰδρύονται
 249 τειχίσαι τε ταύτην παρεσκευάζοντο. ἔφθη τε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν Ἀβιμελέχος μαθὼν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ φακέλους ὕλης ἔηρᾶς περιβαλὼν τῷ χωρίῳ δι' αὐτοῦ φέρων ταύτα³ ποιεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν παρεκελεύσατο. καὶ ταχέως περιληφθείσης ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πέτρας, τοῖς ξύλοις πῦρ ἐμβάλλουσιν ὅσα τε μᾶλλον ἔξαπτειν φύσιν
 250 ἔχει καὶ μεγίστην αἴρουσι φλόγα. καὶ διαφεύγει μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας οὐθεὶς, ἀλλ' ἄμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπώλοντο, ἀνδρες μὲν περὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἵκανόν. καὶ

¹ + τὴν RO.² συλλεγέντες . . . ὀχυρὰν] πέτραν ὀχυρὰν εὑρόντες RO.³ ταύτη MSPL.

fled to the town with the rest at his heels. Zabul^{41.} now contrived to secure Gual's expulsion from the town, charging him with feebleness in his encounter with Abimelech's troops.^a However Abimelech, learning that the Shechemites proposed to come out again for the vintage, posted ambuscades all about the town; then, so soon as they emerged, a third of his force occupied the gates to cut off the citizens from re-entering, the rest chased them as they scattered, and there was carnage on all sides. Then, having razed the city to the ground—for it could not sustain a siege—he sowed salt over the ruins and pushed forward. And so perished all the Shechemites. As for such as had scattered across country and escaped that peril, these mustering to a strongly entrenched rock established themselves thereon and were preparing to fortify it with a wall.^b But they were forestalled by Abimelech, who, hearing of their design, came upon them with his forces and laid faggots of dry wood round the place, carrying them with his own hands and bidding his troops to do the like. The rock being thus quickly encompassed, they set fire to the faggots, flinging in all the most inflammable materials, and raised an immense blaze. From that rock not a soul escaped: they perished with women and children, the men numbering some fifteen hundred,^c and a great many of the

^a This charge is not mentioned in Scripture.^b The Biblical account is different, mentioning a tower, apparently in an unwalled hamlet of Shechem possessing a temple: Jd. ix. 46 "And when all the men of the tower of Shechem heard thereof, they entered into the hold (or "crypt"—the word is of uncertain meaning) of the temple of El-berith."^c "About a thousand men and women," Jd. ix. 49.

Σικιμίταις μὲν τοιαύτη συμφορὰ συνέπεσε μεῖζων καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτῇ λύπης γενομένη, πλὴν ὅτι κατὰ δίκην ἐπ’ ἀνδρὸς εὐεργέτου συνθεῖσι κακὸν τηλικοῦτον.

251 (5) Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ τοῖς Σικιμιτῶν κακοῖς καταπλήξας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας, μειζόνων ἐφιέμενος δῆλος ἦν καὶ μηδαμοῦ περιγράψων τὴν βίαν, εἰ μὴ πάντας ἀπολέσειεν. ἥλαυνεν οὖν ἐπὶ Θήβας καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς αἴρει, πύργου δ' ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλου, εἰς ὃν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος συνέφυγε, πολιορκεῖν τοῦτον παρεσκευάζετο. καὶ αὐτὸν πλησίον ὅρμωντα τῶν πυλῶν γυνὴ θραύσματι μύλης βαλοῦσα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τυγχάνει, πεσὼν δὲ Ἀβιμέλεχος τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν παρεκάλει κτείνειν αὐτόν, μὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ δόξειεν ἔργον. καὶ ὁ 253 μὲν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐποίει. ὁ δὲ τοιαύτην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς παρανομίας ποιηὴν ἐξέτισε καὶ τῶν εἰς Σικιμίους αὐτῷ τετολμημένων· τούτοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰωθάμου μαντείαν ἡ συμφορὰ συνέπεσε. τὸ μέντοι σὺν Ἀβιμελέχῳ στράτευμα πεσόντος αὐτοῦ σκεδασθὲν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα.

254 (6) Τῶν δὲ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰαείρης ὁ Γαλαδηνὸς ἐκ τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς παραλαμβάνει, ἀνὴρ τά τε ἄλλα εὐδαίμων καὶ παιδαὶς ἀγαθοὺς πεποιημένος τριάκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἵππεύειν δὲ ἀρίστους καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γαλαδηνὴν πόλεων ἀρχὰς ἐγκεχειρισμένους. οὗτος δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν τελευτᾶ

^a Gideon.

^b Bibl. Thebez (LXX Θηβᾶς), mod. *Tūbās*, some 10 miles N.E. of Shechem.

^c Gr. "Galadenian." Josephus omits the judge Tola, to

rest. Such was the calamity which befell the Shechemites, a calamity too profound for grief, save that it was a righteous doom for the conspirators of so foul a crime against a benefactor.^a

(5) Abimelech, having terrorized the Israelites by the miserable fate of the Shechemites, let it be seen that he was aspiring higher and would set no bound to his violence until he had exterminated all. So ^{Death of Abimelech.} Jd. ix. 50. he marched upon Thebes^b and carried the city with a rush; but finding there a great tower, wherein all the people had taken refuge, he made preparations to besiege it. And then, as he came rushing close beside the gates, a woman hurled a fragment of a millstone and struck him on the head. Prostrated to earth, Abimelech besought his armour-bearer to slay him, lest his death should be deemed the work of this woman; and he obeyed his behest. Such was the penalty paid by Abimelech for the crime that he perpetrated on his brethren and for his outrageous treatment of the Shechemites; and the fate which befell these last fulfilled the prediction of Jotham. Abimelech's army for their part, on the fall of their chief, dispersed and returned to their homes.

(6) The leadership of the Israelites was then taken over by Jair the Gileadite,^c of the tribe of Manasseh, ^{The rule of Jair.} Jd. x. 3. a man in all ways blessed, and chiefly in his progeny of valiant sons, thirty in number, excellent horsemen, to whom was committed the government of the several cities of Gilead.^d Their father, after bearing rule for twenty-two years, died in old age

whom Scripture assigns a 23 years' term of office between Abimelech and Jair, Jd. x. 1 f.

^d Gr. "Galadene."

γηραιὸς καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Καμὼν¹ πόλει τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς
ἀξιοῦται.

255 (7) Πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν Ἐβραίων εἰς ἀκοσμίαν καὶ
ὑβριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων ὑπεφέρετο, καὶ
καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Παλαι-
στῖνοι στρατῷ μεγάλῳ διήρπαζον τὴν χώραν καὶ
τὴν Περαίαν ἄπασαν κατασχόντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν
256 λοιπῶν ἥδη κτῆσιν διαβαίνειν ἐτόλμων. Ἐβραῖοι
δὲ σωφρονισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν, εἰς ἵκετείαν
ἐτράποντο τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θυσίας ἐπέφερον παρα-
καλοῦντες αὐτὸν μετριάσαντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν δέησιν
αὐτῶν ὑπαχθέντα παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς· ὁ δὲ θεὸς
μεταβαλόμενος εἰς τὸ ἡμερώτερον ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς
βοηθεῖν.

257 (8) Ἀμμανιτῶν δ' ἐστρατευκότων ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλα-
δηνὴν ὑπῆντων οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος δεόμενοι
τοῦ στρατηγήσοντος. ἦν δέ τις Ἰέφθας ἀνὴρ διὰ
τὴν πατρώαν ἀρετὴν δυνατὸς καὶ δι' οἰκείαν αὐτοῦ
258 στρατιὰν ἦν ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸς μισθοφόρων. πρὸς
τοῦτον οὖν πέμψαντες ἥξιον αὐτὸν συμμαχεῖν
ἐπαγγελόμενοι παρασχεῖν εἰς ἄπαντ' αὐτῷ τὸν
χρόνον τὴν ἴδιαν ἡγεμονίαν. ὁ δ' οὐ προσίεται τὴν
παράκλησιν αὐτῶν, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι μὴ βοηθήσειαν
259 αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀδικουμένῳ περιφανῶς· οὐ
γὰρ ὅντα ὁμοιήτριον αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ ξένον περὶ τὴν
μητέρα δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπαχθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς
ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ἐξέβαλον καταφρονήσαντες τῆς
260 αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείας. καὶ ὁ μὲν διέτριψεν ἐν τῇ Γα-

¹ Καλαμὼν RO.

^a Perhaps modern *Kumeim*, some 7 miles S.E. of Gadara.

^b The introduction of the Philistines as invaders (along with the Ammonites) from the east is strange and has been

and received honoured burial at Kamon,^a a city of Gilead.

(7) But everything with the Hebrews was now Israel drifting towards disorder and contempt of God and under the Ammonites of the laws; so, holding them in disdain, the Ammanites and Philistines^b with a large army ravaged and Philistines. their country and, after occupying all Peraea,^c made bold to cross the river for the further conquest of the rest. But the Hebrews, sobered by their afflictions, turned in supplication to God and offered sacrifices, beseeching Him to be considerate and, yielding to their prayers, to desist from wrath. And God, moved to milder action, was now to succour them.

(8) When the Ammanites had invaded Gilead, The call to Jephthah. the people of the country, preparing to meet them, mustered in the hills, lacking a leader to take command. Now there was one Jephthah,^d a mighty xi. 1. man by reason of the valour of his forefathers as also of his own troop of mercenaries which he maintained himself. To him then they sent, begging him to support them and promising to confer his command upon him for all time. But he declined their request, reproaching them for not having aided him when he was flagrantly wronged by his brethren. For, because he was not their full brother but unconnected on his mother's side, who had been inflicted upon them by their father through his amorous desire, they had cast him out, scorning his helplessness; and so he was living in the region called Galaditis,^e receiv-thought to be due to some confusion in the Biblical text (Jd. x. 7).

^a Modern Transjordania.

^b Gr. Jephthas (or Japhthas).

^c Bibl. (more precisely) "in the land of Tob" (Jd. xi. 3).

λαδίτιδι καλουμένη χώρᾳ πάντας τοὺς ὅποθενοῦν παραγινομένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μισθῷ δεχόμενος· ἐκλιπαρησάντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσάντων εἰς ἀεὶ παρέξειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐστράτευε.

- 261 (9) Καὶ ποιησάμενος ὅξεῖαν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν πόλει Μασφαθῆ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν πρεσβείαν πέμπει παρὰ τὸν Ἀμμανίτην αἰτιώμενος τῆς ἀλώσεως. ὁ δὲ ἀντιπέμψας ἤτιάτο τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀμοραίας αὐτὸὺς ἡξίου παραχωρεῖν ὡς πατρώας οὗσης ἀρχῆθεν. ἀποκρινάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰέφθας, ὡς οὕτε τῆς Ἀμοραίας τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν εὐλόγως ἐγκαλοῦσι χάριν τε μᾶλλον τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὄφελουσι παρεθείσης, δυνατὸν γὰρ Μωυσῆι καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν¹. παραχωρεῖν τε ἴδιας εἰπὼν γῆς, ἣν θεοῦ κατακτησαμένου μετὰ τριακόσια ἔτη νέμονται, μαχεῖσθαι² πρὸς αὐτὸὺς ἔφησεν.
- 263 (10) Καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσεν· αὐτὸς δ' εὐξάμενος νίκην καὶ θυσιάσειν ὑποσχόμενος, ἀν σῶσ εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὑποστρέψῃ, καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι καὶ πρώτον αὐτῷ συντύχοι ἱερουργήσειν, συμβαλών τε νικᾶ παρὰ πολὺ καὶ φονεύων ἔδιώκε μέχρι πόλεως Μανιάθης, καὶ διαβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀμμανίτιν πόλεις τε ἡφάνισε πολλὰς καὶ λείαν ἥλασε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους δουλείας ἀπῆλλαξεν ἐν 264 ἔτεσιν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ταύτην ὑπομείναντας. ἀν-

¹ Niese indicates a lacuna.

² ex Lat.: μάχεσθαι codd.

^a Bibl. Mizpah (LXX Μασηνῆ): site uncertain.

^b "Amoraea" is the country north of the river Arnon. Cf. A. iv. 85. The Ammonite country is further north

ing all who resorted to him from whencesoever and paying them wages. However, when the Hebrews made earnest entreaty and swore to confer the command upon him for ever, he took the field.

(9) Having promptly taken charge of affairs and installed the army in the city of Masphath(e),^a he sent an embassy to the Ammanite to remonstrate with him on his raid. That monarch sent a counter embassy, reproaching the Israelites for their exodus from Egypt and requiring them to quit Amoraea,^b as the primeval heritage of his forefathers. Whereto Jephthah replied that the enemy had no just grievance against his people's ancestors on the subject of Amoraea and ought rather to be grateful to them for having left them Ammanitis, which Moses might have taken to boot; and, bidding him quit that land^c of theirs which God had won for them and of which three hundred years later they were in possession, he declared that he would battle with them.

(10) With these words he dismissed the envoys. Victory of Jephthah: his daughter's fate. Then, after praying^d for victory and promising to sacrifice, should he return to his home unscathed, and to offer up the first creature that should meet him, he closed with the enemy, defeated them outright, and massacring pursued them up to the city of Maniath(e)^e; then, crossing into Ammanitis, he destroyed many cities, carried off spoil, and delivered his countrymen from a servitude which they had borne for eighteen years. But on returning x. 8. with its capital at Rabatha (Bibl. Rabbah) on the river Jabbok. Cf. A. iv. 98.

^c Text a little uncertain: possibly "saying that he would (not) quit that land" (Weill).

^d Or "making vows."

^e Bibl. Minnith (Jd. xi. 33): site unknown.

στρέφων δὲ συμφορᾶ πειπίπτει κατ' οὐδὲν ὅμοίᾳ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις αὐτῷ· ὑπῆντησε γὰρ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ, μονογενὴς δ’ ἦν, ἔτι παρθένος. ὁ δὲ ἀνοιμώξας ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πάθους, κατεμέμφετο τῆς περὶ τὴν ὑπάντησιν σπουδῆς τὴν θυγατέρα· καθ-
265 ιερῶσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν τῷ θεῷ. τῇ δὲ τὸ συμβισόμενον οὐκ ἀηδῶς προσέπεσεν, ἐπὶ νίκη τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν τεθνήξομένη, παρεκάλεσε δὲ δύο μῆνας αὐτῇ παρασχόντα πρὸς τὸ μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθρημῆσαι τὴν νεότητα, τότε ποιεῖν
266 τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐχήν. συγχωρήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον χρόνον μετὰ τοῦτον διελθόντα θύσας τὴν παῖδα ὠλοκαύτωσεν, οὔτε νόμιμον οὔτε θεῷ κεχαρισμένην θυσίαν ἐπιτελῶν, μὴ διαβασανίσας τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ γενησόμενον οἶον τε τὸ¹ πραχθὲν δόξει τοῖς ἀκούσασι.

267 (11) Τῆς δὲ Ἐφράνου² φυλῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν στρατευσάσης, ὅτι μὴ κοινώσαιτο τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀμμανίτας ἐλασίαν³ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μόνος καὶ τὴν λείαν ἔχοι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δόξαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὔτε λάθοιεν αὐτοὺς οἱ συγγενεῖς πολεμούμενοι καλούμενοί τε πρὸς συμμαχίαν οὐ παρεγένοντο, δέον καὶ πρὸ δεήσεως ἐγνωκότας ἐπειχθῆ-
268 ναι, ἐπειθ’ ὡς ἄδικα πράττειν ἐπιχειροῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ τολμήσαντες εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ὥρμηκότες ἥπειλει τε σὺν τῷ θεῷ λήψεσθαι δίκην παρ’ αὐτῶν, ἀν μὴ σωφρονῶσιν.
269 ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἐπειθεν, ἀλλὰ συνέβαλεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσι

¹ τε τὸ] τε or τὸ codd.² R: Ἐφράμου (-αίμου) rell.³ ἐλασιν RO.^a Phraseology based on Thuc. iii. 113. 3.

he fell foul of a calamity far different from these fair ^{xi. 34.} achievements ; for it was his daughter who met him, his only daughter, a virgin yet. Wailing in anguish at the greatness of the blow,^a the father chid his daughter for her haste in meeting him, seeing that he had dedicated her to God. But she without displeasure learnt her destiny, to wit that she must die in return for her father's victory and the liberation of her fellow-citizens ; she but asked him to grant her two months wherein to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens, and thereafter he should do in accordance with his vow. He accorded her the respite aforesaid, and at its close sacrificed his child as a burnt-offering—a sacrifice neither sanctioned by the law nor well-pleasing to God ; for he had not by reflection probed what might befall or in what aspect the deed would appear to them that heard of it.^b

(11) The tribe of Ephraim now took arms against Jephthah's him, because he had not imparted the news of his war with Ephraim. ^{Jd. xii. 1.} expedition against the Ammanites to them, but had reserved to himself alone the booty and the glory of the achievement. Thereto he replied first that they were not unaware that their kinsfolk were beset and that when called upon for aid they had not come, whereas they ought, even before being asked, to have learnt of the matter and sped to arms ; next that this was an iniquitous enterprise of theirs, after not having dared to face the foe, to rush upon their kinsmen ; and he threatened, God helping, to be avenged on them unless they showed themselves reasonable. Failing, however, to influence them, he met them, when they came, with an army

^b The rash vow is stigmatized in Rabbinical tradition (Weill, quoting *Genesis Rabba*, lx.).

μετὰ στρατιᾶς, ἢ μετάπεμπτος ἐκ τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς ἐληλύθει, φόνον τε πολὺν αὐτῶν εἰργάσατο καὶ διώκων τραπέντας προλαβὼν μέρει τινὶ προαπεσταλμένῳ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὰς διαβάσεις κτείνει περὶ δισχιλίους καὶ τετρακισμυρίους γεγονότας.

270 (12) Αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρξας ἔξ ἔτη τελευτᾶς καὶ θάπτεται ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πατρίδι Σεβέῃ· τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς δὲ στὶν αὖτη.

271 (13) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἰάφθα τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀφάνης παραλαμβάνει φυλῆς ὧν Ἰουδαϊκῆς Βηθλέμων δὲ πόλεως. τούτῳ δὲ παῖδες ἡσαν ἔξηκοντα, τριάκοντα μὲν ἄρρενες αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ θυγατέρες, οὓς καὶ πάντας ζῶντας κατέλιπε τὰς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐκδοὺς τοῖς δὲ γυναικας ἡγμένος. πράξας δὲ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ ἐπταετεῖ γενομένω χρόνῳ λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον γηραιὸς ὧν ἀπέθανε καὶ ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυγχάνει.

272 (14) Ἀφάνους δὲ οὗτως ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν "Ἡλων"¹ ἐπ' ἔτη δέκα κατασχὼν αὐτὴν φυλῆς ὧν τῆς Ζαβούλης ἐπραξέ τι σπουδῆς ἄξιον.

273 (15) Ἀβδὼν δὲ "Ἡλωνος παῖς φυλῆς μὲν τῆς Ἐφραμίτιδος πόλεως δὲ τῆς Φαραθωνιτῶν γεγονώς, αὐτοκράτωρ ἡγεμῶν ἀποδειχθεὶς μετ' "Ἡλωνα μόνης ἀν τῆς εὐπαιδίας μνημονευθείη, μηδὲν ἔργον διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν τῶν πραγμάτων λαμπρὸν μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἔργασάμενος.²

274 νίεῖς δὲ ἡσαν αὐτῷ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τούτων

¹ Hilonis Lat.

² ROML: εἰργασμένος SP.

^a Josephus omits the details in Jd. xii. 5–6 on the detection of the fleeing Ephraimites by their pronunciation of “shib-

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which he had recalled from Gilead, worked great havoc among them, and pursuing the fugitives, having sent a party in advance to occupy the fords of the Jordan, slew in all some two and forty thousand.^a

(12) After ruling for six years he died and was buried at his native place of Sebee,^b in the land of Gilead. His death. Jd. xii. 7.

(13) Upon the death of Jephthah, the rulership Ibzan. 8. passed to Apsanes^c of the tribe of Judah and the city of Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty sons and as many daughters, all of whom he left alive at his death,^d after bestowing wives and husbands upon all. Having achieved in his seven years of office nothing worthy of record and remembrance, he died in old age and was buried at his native place.

(14) Apsanes having thus died, his successor, Elon. 11. Elon of the tribe of Zabulon, held the leadership for ten years and likewise did nothing of moment.

(15) Abdon, son of Elon,^e of the tribe of Ephraim Abdon. 13 and the city of Pharathon,^f who was appointed sovereign leader after Elon, calls for no mention save for his happy paternity, since, thanks to the prevailing peace and security of the state, he too did no brilliant deed. But he had forty sons and, born

boleth" as "sibboleth," probably because the difference in sound could not have been made clear to Greek readers.

^b The Heb. of Jd. xii. 7 “in the cities of Gilead” is corrupt: read probably “in his city, in Mizpah of Gilead.” The loss of the M in Mizpah produced the reading found in some mss. of the LXX, ἐν Σεφέ (ἐν Σέφ), and through further corruption the name Sebee in Josephus.

^c Bibl. Ibzan.

^d Bibl. “son of Hillel.”

^e Heb. “the Pirathonite”: modern Fer’atha, 6 miles S.W. of Shechem.

^a Amplification (as in § 274).

γενεὰς καταλιπόντων¹ τριάκοντα, ἥλαυνέ τε σὺν αὐτοῖς οὓσιν ἑβδομήκοντα πᾶσιν ἵππάζειν ἀρίστοις γεγενημένοις, καὶ πάντας ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀπολιπών θνήσκει γηραιὸς καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Φαράθῳ λαμπρᾶς τυγχάνει.

275 (viii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Παλαιστῖνοι τελευτὴσαντα κρατοῦσι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ φόρους παρ' αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανον ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. ταύτης δ' ἐλευθεροῦνται τῆς ἀνάγκης τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ.

276 (2) Μανώχης τις Δανιτῶν ἐν ὀλίγοις ἄριστος καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὁμολογουμένως² πρῶτος εἶχε γύναιον ἐπ' εὐμορφίᾳ περιβλεπτον καὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸ διαφέρον. παῖδων δ' οὐ γυνομένων αὐτῷ, δυσφορῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαιδίᾳ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευεν ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον συνεχῶς φοιτῶν μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δοῦναι διαδοχὴν αὐτοῖς γυνησίαν· μέγα δέ ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ³ πεδίον. ἦν δὲ καὶ μανιώδης ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζηλότυπος ἀκρατῶς. μονωθείσῃ δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ φάντασμα ἐπιφαίνεται, ἄγγελος⁴ τοῦ θεοῦ, νεανίᾳ καλῷ παραπλήσιον καὶ μεγάλῳ, εὐαγγελιζόμενον αὐτῇ παιδὸς γονῆν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν καλοῦ τε καὶ ρώμην ἐπιφανοῦς, ὑφ' ὧ πονήσειν Παλαιστίνους ἀνδρουμένω. παρήνει τε τὰς κόμας αὐτῷ μὴ ἀποκείρειν· ἔσται δ' αὐτῷ

¹ Text doubtful: et alios ex eorum semine descendentes Lat.

² ὁμολογούμενος codd.

³ conj.: om. codd.

⁴ MSPL: τοῦ θεοῦ ἀστέρος RO.

^a Bibl. "rode on ass colts."

^b Bibl. "He judged Israel eight years."

^c Bibl. Manoah (LXX Μανῶ): Josephus indifferently Manoches and Manochos.

of these, thirty grandsons, and was wont to ride with this family of seventy, all excellent horsemen^a; he left them all in the land of the living when he died in old age^b and was buried in state at Pharathon.

(viii. 1) After his death the Philistines conquered Israel under the Israelites and exacted tribute from them for forty years. From these straits they were delivered on this wise.

(2) A certain Manoch,^c among the most notable of the Danites and without question the first in his native place, had a wife remarkable for her beauty and pre-eminent among the women of her time. But having no children by her and being distressed at the lack of them, he was wont, on his frequent visits with his wife to the outskirts—where there was a great plain^d—to entreat God to give them offspring of their wedlock.^e He was moreover madly enamoured of his wife and hence inordinately jealous.^f Now once when his wife was alone, a spectre appeared to her from God,^g in the likeness of a comely and tall youth, bringing her the good news of the approaching birth of a son through God's good providence—a son goodly and illustrious for strength, by whom, on his reaching man's estate, the Philistines would be afflicted. He further charged her not to cut the lad's locks, and that he was to renounce

^a Unscriptural topographical details.

^b Gr. "a legitimate succession."

^c The husband's jealousy and subsequent suspicions are unscriptural. Rabbinical legend attributes his complaints to his wife's barrenness, not to her beauty. For the quarrel between husband and wife cf. Ps.-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities*, cap. xlvi. (tr. M. R. James).

^d Or (with most mss.) "an angel of God."

πρὸς ἄλλο μὲν πᾶν¹ ποτὸν ἀποστροφὴ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο προστάσσοντος, πρὸς ὅδωρ δὲ μόνον οἰκειότης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ὥχετο, κατὰ βούλησιν ἐλθὼν τοῦ θεοῦ.

279 (3) Ἡ δὲ τάνδρὶ παραγενομένῳ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἄγγελου ἐκδιηγήσατο ἐκθαυμάζουσα τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς ἐκεῖνον ἐκ τῶν ἐπαίνων εἰς ἔκπληξιν κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν περιστῆναι καὶ ὑπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκ τοιούτου πάθους κινουμένην.
 280 ἡ δὲ βουλομένη τὴν ἄλογον τάνδρὸς λύπην σταλῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἵκετενε πάλιν πέμψαι τὸν ἄγγελον, ὡς ἀν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ὁραθείη. καὶ παραγίνεται πάλιν κατὰ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἄγγελος ὅντων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ φαίνεται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μεμονωμένη. ἡ δὲ ἐπιμεῖναι δεηθεῖσα ἕως² ἀν ἀγάγη³ τὸν ἄνδρα συγχωρήσαντος μέτεισι τὸν
 281 Μάνωχον. ὁ δὲ θεατάμενος οὐδὲ⁴ οὕτως ἐπαύετο τῆς ὑπονοίας ἡξίου τε καὶ αὐτῷ δηλοῦν ὅσα καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ μηνύσειεν. ἀρκέσειν δὲ φράσαντος ταύτην μόνην εἰδέναι, τίς εἴη λέγειν ἐκέλευεν, ἵνα τοῦ παιδὸς γενομένου χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ δωρεὰν παράσχωσι. τοῦ δὲ μηδέ τινων⁵ αὐτῷ δεῖσθαι φήσαντος, οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ χρείαν ταῦτα εὐαγγελίσασθαι περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς γονῆς, τοῦ δὲ μεῖναι παρακαλοῦντος καὶ ξενίων μετασχένιν οὐκ ἐπένευστ’, ἐπεισθῆ⁶ δ’ ὅμως λιπαροῦντος ἐπιμεῖναι ὡς ἀν ξένιον αὐτῷ τι

¹ πᾶν om. ROE.

² Lat. donec: ὡς codd.

³ L: ἀγάγοι rell.

⁴ horum Lat.
 Niese ex Lat.: πεισθεῖς codd.

^a In Jd. xiii. 8 it is Manoah who asks for a further vision of the angel.

all other form of drink (so God commanded) and to accustom himself to water only. And having thus spoken the visitor departed, having come but to execute God's will.

(3) The woman, when her husband arrived, reported what she had heard from the angel, extolling the young man's comeliness and stature in such wise that he in his jealousy was driven by these praises to distraction and to conceive the suspicions that such passion arouses. But she,^a wishing to allay her husband's unreasonable distress, entreated God to send the angel again that her husband also might see him. And again by the grace of God the angel came, while they were in the suburb,^b and appeared to the woman when parted from her husband. She besought him to stay until she could fetch her husband and, obtaining his assent, went in pursuit of Manoah. But the husband, on beholding the angel, even then did not desist from his suspicion, and he requested him to repeat to him too all that he had revealed to his wife. The angel having declared that it would suffice that it should be made known to her alone, Manoah bade him say who he was, in order that on the birth of the child they might tender him their thanks and make him a present. He replied that he had need of naught, for it was not from want that he had announced this good news of the birth of a child; and though Manoah invited him to stay and partake of hospitality, he consented not. Howbeit, at his earnest entreaty, he was persuaded to remain that some token of hospitality might be brought to him. So,

The angel's
second visit
Jd. xiii. 6.

^b Bibl. "as she sat in the field."

283 κομίσῃ. καὶ θύσαντος ἔριφον τοῦ Μανώχου καὶ τοῦτον ὀπτάν τῇ γυναικὶ κελεύσαντος, ἐπεὶ πάντ' ἦν εὐτρεπῆ, προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἀποθέσθαι τούς τε ἄρτους καὶ τὰ κρέα χωρὶς τῶν ἀγγείων.

284 καὶ ποιησάντων ἅπτεται τῇ ράβδῳ ἥτις εἶχε τῶν κρεῶν, τὰ δὲ λάμψαντος πυρὸς ἀμα τοῖς ἄρτοις ἐκαίετο καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος διὰ τοῦ καπνοῦ ὥσπερ ὁχήματος ἀνιών εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτοῖς φανερὸς ἦν. Μανώχην δὲ φοβούμενον, μή τι σφαλερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ θεοῦ γενήσοιτο, θαρσεῖν ἡ γυνὴ παρεκελεύετο· ἐπὶ γάρ συμφέροντι τῷ αὐτῶν τὸν θεόν αὐτοῖς ὄραθῆναι.

285 (4) Καὶ κύει τε ἐκείνη καὶ φυλακὴν εἶχε τῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ γενόμενον τὸ παιδίον Σαμψῶνα καλοῦσιν, ἵσχυρὸν δ' ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. ηὔξετο δ' ὁ παῖς ράδίως καὶ δῆλος ἦν προφητεύσων ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς τῶν τριχῶν ἀνέσεως.

286 (5) Ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τῶν γονέων εἰς Θάμνα¹ πόλιν τῶν Παλαιστίνων πανηγύρεως ἀγομένης ἐρῆται παρθένου τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παρακαλεῖ τε τοὺς γονεῖς ἀγεσθαι πρὸς γάμον αὐτῷ τὴν κόρην. τῶν δὲ ἀρνουμένων διὰ τὸ μὴ ὅμοφυλον εἶναι, τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ Ἑβραίων σύμφορον ἐπινοοῦντος τὸν γάμον,

¹ v.l. Θαμναθὰ (as also in § 296).

* The angel's directions are unscriptural; "apart from (*χωρὶς*) the vessels" possibly has some connexion with the strange reading in some LXX MSS. καὶ διεχώρισεν ποιῆσαι (Jd. xiii. 19).

^b So Ps.-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities*, xlvi. (tr. M. R. James) "the angel put forth (his hand) and touched it with the end of his sceptre."

Manoch having killed a kid and bidden his wife to cook it, when all was ready, the angel ordered them to set out the loaves and the meat upon the rock, without the vessels.^a That done, he with the rod which he held touched the meat ^b and, a fire blazing out, it was consumed along with the bread, while the angel, borne on the smoke as on a chariot, was plainly seen by them ascending into heaven. Manoch thereat fearing that some mischief might befall them from this vision of God, his wife bade him take heart, since it was for their good that it had been given them to see God.

(4) And the woman conceived and paid good heed to the injunctions laid upon her; and when the infant was born they called him Samson, a name which means "strong."^c And the child grew apace and it was plain from the frugality of his diet and his loosely flowing locks that he was to be a prophet.

(5) Now the lad having gone with his parents to Thamna,^d a town of the Philistines, during the celebration of a festival, became enamoured of a maiden of the country and begged his parents to get the damsel for him to wife. They were for refusing because she was not of their race: God, however, was designing this marriage in the interests of the

^a One of the author's loose etymological statements. The connexion of the name (Heb. Shimshon : Gr. Σαμψῶν) with the Hebrew *shemesh* (= "sun") "may be considered certain" (Burney). But Josephus may have had in mind biblical passages in which the sun symbolizes strength. The Bab. Talmud (*Soṭah* 10a) says, "Samson received a name applied to God, for Scripture says (Ps. lxxxiv. 12) 'A sun and shield is the Lord God.'"

^b Heb. Timnah, LXX Θαμναθὰ, modern Tibneh; a border town in the Shephelah held at various times by Dan, Judah and the Philistines.

Birth of Samson.
Jd. xiii. 24.

His courtship and encounter with a lion.
Jd. xiv. 1.

287 ἐκνικᾶ μηστεύσασθαι τὴν παρθένον. συνεχῶς δ' ἀπερχόμενος πρὸς τὸν γονεῖς αὐτῆς συντυγχάνει λέοντι καὶ γυμνὸς ὃν ἐκδεξάμενος αὐτὸν ἄγχει τὰς χερσὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ¹ ὑλώδες ἐνδοτέρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ ρίπτει τὸ θηρίον.

288 (6) Πάλιν τε ἀπιὰν πρὸς τὴν κόρην ἐπιτυγχάνει σμήνει μελιττῶν ἐν τῷ στήθει τοῦ λέοντος ἐκείνου νεοοσσευκότων, καὶ ἀνελόμενος τρία μέλιτος κηρία σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς δώροις οἷς ἐκόμιζε δίδωσι τῇ 289 παιδί. τῶν δὲ Θαμνιτῶν παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν τὴν τῶν γάμων, εἰστία γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας, διὰ δέος τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ νεανίσκου τριάκοντα δόντων αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους λόγῳ μὲν ἔταιρους ἐσομένους ἔργῳ δὲ φύλακας, μή τι παρακινεῖν ἐθελήσειεν, τοῦ πότου προβάντος καὶ παιδιᾶς οὖσης, οἷα φιλεῖ παρὰ τοὺς τοιούτους καιρούς, ὁ Σαμψὼν εἶπεν,
290 “ἄλλὰ προβάλλοντος ἐμοῦ λόγον εὶ λύσετε τοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ποιούμενοι τὴν ζήτησιν, ὅθόνας τε καὶ στολὰς γέρας τῆς συνέσεως κατ' ἄνδρα ἔκαστον φέρεσθε παρ' ἐμοῦ.” φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ ὁμοῦ τε συνετῶν δόξαν καὶ κέρδος εὑρασθαι καὶ λέγειν ἀξιούντων, φησὶν δτὶ τὸ πάμβορον γεγεννήκοι βορὰν ἥδεῖαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνι ἀηδοῦς ὄντος.
291 τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας² οὐ δυναμένων ἐξευρεῖν τὸ νοούμενον παρακαλούντων δὲ τὴν κόρην μαθοῦσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῖς μηνῦσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἡπείλουν πιμρήσειν αὐτὴν τοῦτο μὴ παρασχοῦσαν, ὁ Σαμψὼν δεομένης τῆς κόρης εἰπεῖν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον

¹ εἰς τι χωρίον SPL.
² ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις RO.

^a Gr. "within" or "on the inner side of."

^b Amplification, like other details in this narrative.

Hebrews, and so he won his way to woo the maid. In the course of his constant visits to her parents he encountered a lion and, unarmed as he was, grappled with it, strangled it with his hands, and flung the beast into the coppice on the border of ^a the road.

(6) On another of his journeys to the damsel he His riddle. Jd. xiv. 8. came upon a swarm of bees that had hived in that lion's breast, and, taking three ^b honeycombs, he gave them, along with the rest of the gifts which he bore, to the maiden. Now the Thamnites, on the occasion of the wedding feast—for he entertained them all—from fear of this young man's strength, presented him with thirty of their chief stalwarts, ostensibly as companions, in reality as his guardians, lest he should be minded to create any disturbance; and, when the drinking was far gone and joviality prevailed, as is customary on such occasions, Samson said, "Come, I will propound a riddle, and if ye solve it after seven days' search, ye shall receive every man from me fine linen and apparel as a reward for your sagacity." Ambitious to win at once a renown for sagacity and a prize, they begged him to state it, whereupon he said: "The omnivorous eater produced pleasant meat from himself though grossly unpleasant."^c When the Philistines at the end of three days were unable to discover what it meant, they urged the damsel to find out from her husband and report to them: nay, they threatened to burn her should she fail to do so. Samson, upon the damsel's entreating him to tell her, at

^c Bibl. "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness," Jd. xiv. 14. The Peshitto Syriac version, rendering the word "strong" by "bitter," presents, like Josephus, a double antithesis.

292 ἀντεῖχεν,¹ ἐγκειμένης δ' αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς δάκρυα προπιπτούσης καὶ τεκμήριον τιθεμένης τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν δυσνοίας τὸ μὴ λέγειν αὐτῇ, μηνύει τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῇ τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ὡς τὰ τρία βαστάσας ἐξ αὐτοῦ κηρία μέλιτος γεγονότα κομίσειν αὐτῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑφορώμενος δολερὸν σημαίνει τὸ πᾶν, ἡ δ' ἐκφέρει τὸν λόγον τοῦς δεηθεῖσι. κατὰ οὖν τὴν ἔβδομην ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν ἔδει τὸν προβληθέντα λόγον αὐτῷ διασαφεῖν, πρὶν ἡ δύναι τὸν ἥλιον συνελθόντες φασίν “οὗτε λέοντος ἀηδέστερόν τι τοῖς ἐντυχάνουσιν οὔτε ἥδιον μέλιτος χρωμένοις.” καὶ ὁ Σαμψὼν εἶπεν οὐδὲ γυναικὸς εἶναι τι δολερώτερον, “ἥτις ὑμῖν ἐκφέρει τὸν ἥμέτερον λόγον.” κάκείνοις μὲν δίδωσιν ἀνπέσχετο λείαν ποιησάμενος Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ὄδον αὐτῷ συντυχόντας, Παλαιστῖνοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οὗτοι, τὸν δὲ γάμον ἐκεῖνον παραιτεῖται· καὶ ἡ πᾶς ἐκφαυλίσασα τῆς ὄργῆς αὐτὸν συνῆν αὐτοῦ φίλῳ νυμφοστόλῳ γεγονότι.

295 (7) Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὑβριν ταύτην Σαμψὼν παροξυνθεὶς ἅπαντας ἔγνω σὸν αὐτῇ Παλαιστίνους μετέρχεσθαι. θέρους δ' ὄντος καὶ πρὸς ἀμητον ἥδη τῶν καρπῶν ἀκμαζόντων συλλαβὼν τριακοσίας ἀλώπεκας καὶ τῶν οὐρῶν ἐξάφας λαμπάδας ἡμένας ἐξαφίσιν² εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας τῶν Παλαιστίνων.

296 καὶ φθείρεται μὲν οὕτως αὐτοῖς ὁ καρπός, Παλαιστῖνοι δὲ γνόντες Σαμψώνος εἶναι τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐπραξε, πέμψαντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς

¹ ἀντέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο RO.

² ἐπαφίσιν E: ἀφίησιν RO.

* Bibl. “If ye had not plowed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle,” Jd. xiv. 18.

first resisted, but, when she pressed him and burst into tears and protested that his refusal to tell her proved his want of affection for her, he revealed the story of the slaying of the lion and how he had carried off the three honeycombs sprung from its carcase and brought them to her. Suspecting no fraud he recounted all, but she betrayed his story to her questioners. So on the seventh day, whereon they were required to give him the answer to the riddle, assembling before sunset they announced, “Nothing is more unpleasant to meet than a lion nor more pleasant to taste than honey.” And Samson added, “Nor is ought more deceitful than a woman who betrays our speech to you.”^a And he gave them what he had promised, after despoiling certain Ascalonites who encountered him on the road (these too being Philistines); but he renounced those nuptials, and the girl, scorning him for his wrath, was united to that friend of his who had given her away.^b

(7) Furious at this affront,^c Samson resolved to He destroys the crops of the Philistines. Jd. xv. 8. visit it upon all the Philistines along with her. So, summer being come and the crops already ripening for harvest, he caught three hundred foxes and, fastening lighted torches to their tails, let them loose in the fields of the Philistines; and thus their crop was ruined. But the Philistines, on discovering that this was Samson's deed and for what cause he had done it, sent their magistrates to Thamna and burnt

^a Or “who had been his best man.” The Biblical narrative refers to “the friend of the bridegroom” (John iii. 29).

^b Josephus omits Samson's interview with his former father-in-law which provoked this outbreak, Jd. xv. 1 f.

Θάμνα, τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῦ γυναικα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ζῶντας κατέπρησαν ὡς αἰτίους τῶν κακῶν γεγονότας.

- 297 (8) Σαμψών δὲ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἀποκτείνας Αἴταν κατώκει, πέτρα δ' ἐστὶν ὁχυρὰ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς. Παλαιστῖνοι δ' ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τὴν φυλήν. τῶν δ' οὐ δικαίως λεγόντων τιμωρίαν αὐτοὺς εἰσπράττεσθαι περὶ τῶν Σαμψώνος ἀμαρτημάτων φόρους αὐτοῖς¹ τελοῦντας, εἰ βούλονται μὴ ἔχειν αἰτίαν ἔφασαν αὐτοῖς ὑποχείριον Σαμψώνα δοῦναι. οἱ δὲ ἀνεπίκλητοι βουλόμενοι τυγχάνειν παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τρισχιλίοις ὅπλιταις² καὶ καταμεμφάμενοι τῶν εἰς Παλαιστίνους αὐτῷ τετολμημένων ἄνδρας ἅπαντι τῷ γένει τῶν Ἐβραίων συμφορὰν ἐπενεγκεῖν δυναμένους, ἥκειν τε λέγοντες ὅπως αὐτὸν λαβόντες ὑποχείριον δῶσιν αὐτοῖς, ἥξιον ἔκοντὶ τοῦθ' 299 ὑπομένειν. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ὅρκους παρ' αὐτῶν μηδὲν τούτων ποιήσειν περισσότερον ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἐγχειρεῖν³ μόνον, καταβὰς ἐκ τῆς πέτρας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν φυλετῶν τίθησιν ἔξουσίᾳ, κάκεῦνοι δήσαντες αὐτὸν δυσὶ καλωδίοις ἥγον παραδοῦναι 300 τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις. καὶ γενομένων κατά τι χωρίον, ὁ Σιαγὼν καλεῖται νῦν διὰ τὴν Σαμψώνος ἄνδραγαθίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην, πάλαι δ' ἦν ἀνώνυμον, οὐκ ἄπωθεν ἐστρατοπεδευκότων τῶν Παλαιστίνων, ἀλλ' ὑπαντώντων μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ὡς ἐπὶ κατωρθωμένοις οἷς ἐβούλοντο, διαρρήξας τὰ δεσμὰ Σαμψὼν ἀρπασάμενος ὄνου σιαγόνα παρὰ ποσὶν

¹ Niese: αὐτοὺς codd.

² τρισχιλοι ὅπλιται RO.

³ Bekker: ἐγχειρεῖν codd.

^a Bibl. Etam.

her that had been his wife and her kinsfolk alive, as having been the cause of their disasters.

(8) Samson, after slaying multitudes of the ^{His exploit with the} Philistines in the plain, then settled at Aeta,^a a ^{Jd. xv. 8.} rocky stronghold within the tribe of Judah; whereupon the Philistines took the field against that tribe. These pleading that it was unjust to exact punishment for Samson's misdeeds from them that paid them tribute, the Philistines retorted that if they would keep clear of blame they must deliver Samson into their hands. And they, wishing to be above reproach, visited the rock with three thousand men-at-arms, and after roundly rebuking him for his outrageous treatment of the Philistines, people powerful enough to bring ruin upon the whole race of the Hebrews, and telling him that they were come to take and deliver him into their hands, they besought him to submit to this of his own free will. And he, after receiving an oath from them that they would do no more than merely commit him to the hands of the foe, descended from the rock and put himself at the mercy of these representatives of the tribe; and they, having bound him with two cords, led him off to deliver him to the Philistines. Then, when they were come to a spot which to-day is called Jawbone^b by reason of the exploit there performed by Samson but which of old was nameless, the Philistines being encamped not far off and coming to meet them with exultant cries, thinking to have achieved their end, Samson, bursting his bonds asunder and seizing the

^b Bibl. Lehi = "Jawbone," as translated here and in the LXX (Σιαγὼν). "Probably the name was originally given to some hill or ridge on account of its resemblance to a jawbone" (Burney, adducing the similar name "Ορον γνάθος given to a promontory in Laconia).

οὐσαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὥσπερ καὶ παίων αὐτοὺς
τῇ σιαγόνι¹ κτείνει εἰς χιλίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
τρέπεται ταραχθέντας.

- 301 (9) Σαμψὼν δὲ μεῖζον ἡ χρὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονῶν
οὐ κατὰ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἔλεγε τοῦτο συμβῆναι, τὴν
δ' ἴδιαν ἀρετὴν ἐπέγραψε τῷ γεγονότι, σιαγόνι²
τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν πεσεῖν τοὺς δ' εἰς φυγὴν
302 τραπήναι διὰ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ δέους αὐχῶν. δύψους
δ' αὐτὸν ἵσχυροῦ κατασχόντος κατανοῶν ὡς οὐδέν
ἔστιν ἀνθρώπειος ἀρετή, τῷ θεῷ πάντα προσεμαρ-
τύρει καὶ καθικέτευε μηδὲν τῶν εὑρημένων πρὸς
ὅργην λαβόντα τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι,
παρασχεῖν δὲ βοήθειαν πρὸς τὸ δεωὸν καὶ ρύσασθαι
303 τοῦ κακοῦ. καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἰκετείας ἐπικλασθεὶς
ὁ θεὸς πηγὴν κατά τινος πέτρας ἀνίησιν ἤδειαν
καὶ πολλήν, ὅθεν καὶ Σαμψὼν ἐκάλει τὸ χωρίον
Σιαγόνα καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῦτο λέγεται.
- 304 (10) Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μάχην Σαμψὼν κατα-
φρονῶν τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς Γάζαν ἀφικυνεῖται
καὶ ἐν τινι τῶν καταγωγίων διέτριβε. μαθόντες
δὲ τῶν Γαζαίων οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν αὐτόθι παρουσίαν
αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐνέδραις καταλαμβάνου-
305 σιν, ὅπως ἔξιῶν μὴ λάθῃ. Σαμψὼν δέ, οὐ γὰρ
λανθάνουσιν αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενοι, περὶ
μεσοῦσαν ἥδη τὴν νύκτα ἀναστὰς ἐνράσσει ταῖς
πύλαις, αὐταῖς τε φλιαῖς καὶ μοχλοῖς ὅση τε ἄλλη
περὶ αὐταῖς ἦν ξύλωσις ἀράμενος κατωμαδὸν εἰς
τὸ ὑπέρ Εβρῶνος ὄρος φέρων κατατίθησι.

¹ τῇ σιαγόνι om. MSP.

² om. ROE.

^a In Judges (xv. 19) En-hakkore ("the spring of him that called"), while Ramath-lehi ("hill of the jawbone") is the
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jawbone of an ass that lay at his feet, rushed upon his enemies and smiting them with this weapon slew a thousand of them, routing the rest in dire dismay.

(9) Yet Samson, unduly proud of this feat, did not say that it was God's assistance that had brought ^{The} miraculous ^{spring.} *Jd. xv. 16.* it to pass, but ascribed the issue to his own valour, boasting of having with a jawbone prostrated some of his enemies and put the rest to rout through the terror that he inspired. But, being seized with a mighty thirst and recognizing that human valour is a thing of naught, he acknowledged that all was attributable to God and implored Him not, in anger at any words of his, to deliver him into his enemies' hands, but to lend him aid in his dire need and to rescue him from his distress. And God, moved by his supplications, caused a spring of water to well out of a rock, sweet and abundant; whence it was that Samson called that place Jawbone, a name which it bears to this day.^a

(10) After this combat Samson, scorning the ^{Samson's} ^{escape from} ^{Gaza by} ^{night.} *Jd. xvi. 1.* Philistines, came to Gaza and lodged at one of the inns.^b Thereupon the chiefs of the Gazites, informed of his presence in the town, posted ambuscades before the gates to prevent his leaving it without their knowledge. But Samson, not unaware of these schemes, when midnight was come arose, flung himself against the gates, hoisted them—posts, bolts, woodwork and all—upon his shoulders, bore them to the mountain above Hebron^c and there deposited them.

name given to the place where he cast his weapon away (17).

^b *Jd.* "and saw there an harlot and went in unto her." For the interchange of "harlot" and "innkeeper" see § 8 note.

^c Nearly 40 miles away!

306 (11) Παρέβαινε δ' ἥδη τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν δίαιταν παρεχάρασσεν ἔνεικῶν μιμήσει ἐθισμῶν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ κακοῦ γίνεται· γυναικὸς γὰρ ἔταιριζομένης παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἐρασθεῖς
 307 Δαλάλης¹ τοῦνομα συνῆν αὐτῇ. καὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων οἱ τοῦ κοινοῦ προεστῶτες ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτὴν πείθουσιν ἐπαγγελίαις μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Σαμψώνος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἰσχύος, ὡφ' ἃς ἀληπτός ἐστι τοῖς ἔχθροῖς. ἡ δὲ παρὰ πότον καὶ τοιαύτην συνουσίαν θαυμάζουσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ ἐτεχνίτευε μαθεῖν,
 308 τίνι τρόπῳ τοσοῦτον² προύχει κατ' ἀρετήν. ὁ δὲ Σαμψών, ἔτι γὰρ φρονεῖν ἰσχυρὸς ἦν, ἀντηπάτα τὴν Δαλάλην φάμενος,³ εἰς κλήμασιν ἐπτὰ δεθείη ἀμπελίνοις ἔτι καὶ περιειλεῖσθαι δυναμένοις,
 309 ἀσθενέστερος ἄν πάντων ἔσαιτο. ἡ δὲ τότε μὲν ἴστυχασεν, ἀποσημήνασα δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐνήδρευσε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕνδον τινὰς καὶ μεθύοντα⁴ κατέδει τοῖς κλήμασι κατὰ τὸ
 310 ἰσχυρότατον, ἔπειτ' ἀνεγέρασα ἐδήλου παρεῖναι τινας ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ρήξας τὰ κλήματα βοηθεῖν ὡς ἐπερχομένων αὐτῷ τινων ἐπειράτο. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ συνεχῶς ὅμιλοῦντος αὐτῇ τοῦ Σαμψώνος δεινῶς ἔχειν ἔλεγεν, εἰς κατ' ἀπιστίαν εὔνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ λέγει ταῦθ' ἀπερ δεῖται, ὡς οὐ σιγησομένης ὅσα μὴ γινώσκεσθαι συμφέρειν οἶδεν αὐτῷ.
 311 τοῦ δὲ πάλιν ἀπατῶντος αὐτὴν καὶ φήσαντος ἐπτὰ

¹ v.ll. δαδάλης, δαληδῆς, etc.² M: τοσούτων ROSPE.³ + δτι Dindorf.
⁴ dormientem Lat.: pr. καθεύδοντα MSPL.^a Bibl. Delilah, LXX Δαλεῖδδ.^b Heb. "with seven fresh bowstrings (or sinews) which have not been dried" (v. 7).

(11) Howbeit he was already transgressing the laws of his forefathers and debasing his own rule of life by the imitation of foreign usages ; and this proved the beginning of his disaster. For, being enamoured of a woman who was a harlot among the Philistines, Dalala^a by name, he consorted with her ; and the presidents of the Philistine confederacy came and induced her by large promises to discover from Samson the secret of that strength which rendered him invulnerable to his foes. So she, over their cups and in like intercourse, by admiration of his exploits would craftily seek to discover by what means he had come by such extraordinary valour. But Samson, whose wits were yet robust, countered Dalala's ruse by another, telling her that were he bound with seven vine-shoots still flexible,^b he would be the weakest of men. At the moment she held her peace, but, after reporting this to the lords of the Philistines, she posted some soldiers in ambush within and while Samson was drunken^c bound him with the shoots as firmly as possible, and then awoke him with the announcement that men were upon him. But he burst the shoots asunder and made ready for defence as though his assailants were coming. And then this woman, with whom Samson was continually consorting, would say that she took it ill that he had not confidence enough in her affection for him to tell her just what she desired, as though she would not conceal what she knew must in his interests not be divulged. But again he de-^{11.}
 luded her, telling her that were he bound with seven^d

^a Or, according to another reading, "asleep." Drunkenness, not mentioned in Scripture, indicates violation of his Nazirite vow (*cf.* § 306).^b So LXX (many mss.): the Heb. mentions no number.

κάλοις δεθέντα τὴν ἵσχυν ἀπολέσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσασα οὐδὲν ἥνυσεν, τρίτον ἐνυφῆναι¹ τὰς κόμας αὐτοῦ ἐμήνυσεν. ὡς δ' οὐδὲ τούτου γενομένου τάληθὲς² ηὑρίσκετο, δεομένης τελευταῖον ὁ Σαμψών, ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν συμφορᾶ περιπεσεῖν, χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος τῇ Δαλάῃ “ἐμοῦ,” φησίν, “ὅθεος κῆδεται καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔκείνου πρόνοιαν γεννηθεὶς κόμην ταύτην τρέφω παρεγγυήσαντος μὴ ἀποκείρειν τοῦ θεοῦ· τὴν γὰρ ἵσχυν εἶναι μοι κατὰ τὴν ταύτης αὔξησιν καὶ παραμονήν.” ταῦτα μαθοῦσα καὶ στερήσασα τῆς κόμης αὐτὸν παραδιδοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκέτ' ὅντα ἴσχυρὸν ἀμύνασθαι τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν. οἱ δ' ἐκκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς δεδεμένον ἄγειν παρέδοσαν.

314 (12) Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ηὕξετο ἡ κόμη τῷ Σαμψώνι, καὶ ἑορτῆς οὖσης τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις δημοτελοῦσ· καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ γνωριμωτάτων ἐν ταύτῳ εὐώχουμένων, οἶκος δ' ἦν δύο κιόνων στεγόντων αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄροφον, ἄγεται μεταπεμφαμένων ὁ Σαμψών εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, ὅπως ἐν-315 υβρίσωσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν πότον. ὁ δὲ δεινότερον τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαμβάνων τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ὑβριζόμενος ἀμύνασθαι, τὸν χειραγωγοῦντα παῖδα πείθει, προσαναπαύσασθαι χρῆζειν εἰπὼν ὑπὸ κόπου, τοῖς 316 κίοσιν αὐτὸν ἐγγὺς ἀγαγεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἦκεν, ἐνσεισθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐπικαταβάλλει τὸν οἶκον ἀνατραπέντων τῶν κιόνων τρισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν, οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον, ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Σαμψών. καὶ τὸν μὲν

¹ συνυφῆναι RO.² ἀληθὲς codd.: ἀληθῆς (ex Lat. verax) Niese.

* Scripture says that “there were upon the roof [apparently overlooking an open courtyard] three thousand men and

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cords he would lose his strength; and when she had tried this too with no success, a third time he advised her to weave his locks into a web. But when even by this experiment the truth was not discovered, at last, at her petitions, Samson—since he must needs fall a victim to calamity—wishing to humour Dalala said: “I am under God’s care: and under His providence since birth, I nurse these locks, God having enjoined upon me not to cut them, for that my strength is measured by their growth and preservation.” The secret learnt, she reft him of his locks and delivered him to his enemies, being now powerless to repulse their assault; and they, having put out his eyes, delivered him over to be led away in chains.

(12) But in course of time Samson’s locks grew; Samson’s end. and once when the Philistines were keeping a public festival and their lords and chief notables were feasting together in one place—a hall with two columns supporting its roof—Samson at their summons was led to the banquet, that they might mock at him over their cups. And he, deeming it direr than all his ills to be unable to be avenged of such insults, induced the boy who led him by the hand—telling him that from weariness he needed a stay whereon to rest—to conduct him close to the columns. And when he was come thither, flinging all his weight upon them, he brought down the hall, overturning the columns, upon three thousand men,^a who all perished and among them Samson. Such was his

women,” in addition to all the lords of the Philistines below, Jd. xvi. 27. Some commentators suspect that these three thousand on the roof “are an addition to the original narrative, exaggerating the catastrophe” (G. F. Moore).

τοιοῦτον κατέσχε τέλος ἄρξαντα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν
 317 εἴκοσιν ἔτη. θαυμάζειν δὲ ἀξιον τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ
 τῆς ἴσχύος καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν μεγαλόφρονος
 τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς ὄργῆς τῆς μέχρι τοῦ τελευτῶν
 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ γυναικὸς
 ἀλῶναι δεῖ τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσάπτειν
 ἥττονι ἀμαρτημάτων οὕσῃ, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ ἐκείνῳ
 τὴν εἰς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τῆς ἀρετῆς περιουσίαν. οἱ
 δὲ συγγενεῖς ἀράμενοι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ θάπτουσιν
 ἐν Σαρασᾶ τῇ πατρίδι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν.

318 (ix. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σαμψώνος τελευτὴν προέστη
 τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν Ἡλεὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς. ἐπὶ τούτου
 λιμῷ τῆς χώρας κακοπαθούσης αὐτῶν Ἀβιμέλεχος¹
 ἐκ Βηθλέμων, ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις αὗτη τῆς Ἰούδα
 φυλῆς, ἀντέχειν τῷ δεινῷ μὴ δυνάμενος τὴν τε
 γυναικα Ναάμιν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς
 αὐτῷ γεγενημένους Χελλιῶνα καὶ Μαλαῶνα ἐπ-
 319 αγόμενος εἰς τὴν Μωαβῖτιν μετοικίζεται. καὶ πρ-
 χωρούντων αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἅγεται τοῖς υἱοῖς γυναικας Μωαβίτιδας Χελλιῶνι
 μὲν Ὁρφαν² Ρούθην δὲ Μαλαῶνι. διελθόντων δὲ
 δέκα³ ἔτῶν ὁ τε Ἀβιμέλεχος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ
 320 παῖδες δι' ὀλίγου τελευτῶσι, καὶ ἡ Ναάμις πικρῶς
 ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι φέρουσα καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ ὄψιν⁴
 τῶν φιλτάτων ἐρημίαν οὐχ ὑπομένουσα, δι' οὓς⁴

¹ Ἐλιμέλεχος L Lat. (et infra).

² decem et octo Lat. ³ om. Lat.

⁴ ed. pr. Lat.: ἦν codd.

^a Jd. xvi. 31 “between Zorah (LXX Σαραά or in one minuscule, as in Josephus, Σαρασά) and Eshtaoel, in the burying-place of Manoah his father”; Zorah is the modern *Surah*, some 14 miles due W. of Jerusalem.

^b Bibl. simply “in the days when the judges judged”;

end, after governing Israel for twenty years. And it is but right to admire the man for his valour, his strength, and the grandeur of his end, as also for the wrath which he cherished to the last against his enemies. That he let himself be ensnared by a woman must be imputed to human nature which succumbs to sins; but testimony is due to him for his surpassing excellence in all the rest. His kinsfolk then took up his body and buried him at Sarasa,^a his native place, with his forefathers.

(ix. 1) After the death of Samson, the leader of the ^{The widow} Israelites was Eli the high priest. In his days, ^b their Naomi returns to Bethlehem with Ruth. Ruth i. 1. country was afflicted by a famine, and Abimelech ^c of Bethlehem, a city of the tribe of Judah, being unable to withstand this scourge, took with him his wife Naamis ^d and the sons whom he had begotten by her, Chellion ^e and Malaon, ^f and migrated to the land of Moab. His affairs there prospering to his heart's content, he took for his sons ^g wives of the women of Moab, for Chellion Orpha ^h and for Malaon Ruth. Ten years having passed, Abimelech died, and his sons not long after him; and Naamis, sorely disheartened at her misfortunes and unable to bear that bereavement, ever before her eyes, in the loss of her dearest ones, for whose sakes she had

Josephus infers the date of this episode from the number of generations between Boaz and David (Reinach). One rabbinic tradition identifies Boaz with the judge Ibzan, others make him a contemporary of Deborah.

^a Bibl. Elimelech: the name Abimelech appears also in many mss. of the LXX.

^b Bibl. Naomi (or Noomi).

^c Bibl. Chilion.

^d Bibl. Mahlon (LXX Μαλών).

^e In Ruth i. 3 f. the father's death precedes the sons' marriages.

^f Bibl. Orpah (LXX Ὄρφα).

καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεληλύθει, πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπηλλάττετο· καὶ γὰρ ἥδη καλῶς τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν 321 ἐπινθάνετο χωρεῖν. οὐκ ἐκαρτέρουν δὲ διαζευγνύμεναι αὐτῆς αἱ νύμφαι, οὐδὲ παραιτουμένη βουλομένας συνεξορμᾶν πείθειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγκειμένων εὐξαμένη γάμον εύτυχέστερον αὐταῖς οὖν διημαρτήκεσαν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς γαμηθεῖσαι καὶ 322 τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν κτῆσιν, ὅτε τὰ¹ πρὸς αὐτὴν οὕτως ἔστι, μένειν αὐτόθι παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ συμμεταλαμβάνειν αὐτῇ βούλεσθαι πραγμάτων ἀδήλων τὴν πάτριον γῆν καταλιπούσας. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ὁρφά μένει, τὴν δὲ Ῥούθην μὴ πεισθεῖσαν ἀπήγαγε κοινωνὸν παντὸς τοῦ προστυχόντος γενησομένην.

323 (2) Ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ Ῥούθην μετὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς εἰς τὴν Βηθλεέμων Βόαζος² Ἀβιμελέχου συγγενῆς ὃν δέχεται ξενίᾳ. καὶ ἡ Ναάμις, προσαγορευόντων αὐτὴν ὀνομαστὶ,³ “δικαιότερον” εἶπε “Μαρὰν ἀν καλοίητέ⁴ με”. σημαίνει δὲ καθ’ Ἑβραίων γλώτταν ναάμις μὲν εὐτυχίαν, μαρὰ δὲ ὁδύνην. 324 ἀμήτουν δὲ γενομένου⁵ ἐξῆει καλαμησομένη κατὰ συγχώρησιν τῆς πενθερᾶς ἡ Ῥούθη, ὅπως τροφῆς εὐποροῖεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ Βοώζου τυχαίως ἀφικνεῖται χωρίον. παραγενόμενος δὲ Βόαζος μετ' ὀλίγον καὶ θεασάμενος τὴν κόρην ἀνέκρινε τὸν ἀγροκόμον περὶ τῆς παιδός. ὁ δὲ μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν παρ’ αὐτῆς ἀπαντα προπεπυσμένος ἐδήλουν τῷ δεσπότῃ.

¹ ὅτε (om. τὰ) RO: δτι τε τὰ rell.

² Ἀλεξῆς M: Ἀλεξις Βόοζος L.

³ + τῶν πολιτῶν MLE.

⁴ ἀν καλοίητε Bekker: καλεῖσθαι RO: vocate Lat.: καλώ(ι)ητε rell.

⁵ RO: δυτος rell.

^a In Ruth i. 7 both daughters-in-law actually start with her.

left her country, thought to repair thither again, for she had learnt that all was now going well with it. But her daughters-in-law had not the heart to be parted from her, nor for all her pleading when they were fain to set out with her^a could she prevail with them; then, as they urged her yet, she prayed that they might find happier wedlock than that whereof they had been disappointed in marrying her sons, and obtain all blessings beside, but, seeing the case in which she lay, she implored them to remain where they were and not to crave to share her uncertain fortunes in quitting their native land. So Orpha stayed, but, since Ruth would not be persuaded, Naamis took her with her, to be her partner in all that should befall.

(2) Now when Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to the town of Bethlehem, Boaz, being a kinsman of Abimelech, hospitably received them.^b And Naamis, when folk addressed her by that name,^{i. 19.} said, “More rightly would ye call me Mara”—Naamis in the Hebrew tongue signifying “felicity” and Mara “grief.”^c It being now harvest-time,^{ii. 2.} Ruth by permission of her mother-in-law went out to glean, to provide for their sustenance, and by chance came to the ground of Boaz. Boaz arriving a little later and seeing the young woman, questioned the steward of his estate concerning this child; and he, having just learnt all her story from herself, informed

^b This statement, which appears inconsistent with the sequel, and is absent from other Biblical texts, recurs in the Armenian version, which appends to Ruth ii. 1 “et dedit Noomin domum viduitatis habitare in ea.” We must suppose that Boaz provided a lodging but did not meet his guests.

^c Naomi=“my delight”: Mara=“bitter.”

325 ὁ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὴν πενθερὰν εύνοίας ἄμα καὶ μνήμης τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς ὡς συνώκησεν ἀσπασά-
μενος καὶ εὐξάμενος αὐτῇ πεῖραν ἀγαθῶν, καλα-
μᾶσθαι μὲν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἡξίωσεν θερίζειν δὲ πᾶν ὅ
τι καὶ δύναιτο καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπει προστάξας
τῷ ἀγροκόμῳ μηδὲν αὐτὴν διακωλύει¹ ἀριστόν
τε παρέχειν αὐτῇ καὶ ποτόν, ὅπότε σιτίζοι τοὺς
326 θερίζοντας. 'Ρούθη δὲ ἄλφιτα λαβοῦσα παρ'
αὐτοῦ ἐφύλαξε τῇ ἔκυρᾳ καὶ παρῆν ὀψὲ κομίζουσα
μετὰ τῶν σταχύων· ἐτετηρήκει δ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ
Ναάμις ἀπομοίρας βρωμάτων τινῶν, οἷς αὐτὴν
ἐπολυώρουν οἱ γειτονεύοντες· διηγεῖται δὲ αὐτῇ
καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Βοάζου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰρημένα.
327 δηλωσάσης δ' ἐκείνης ὡς συγγενής ἐστι καὶ τάχα
ἄν δι' εὐσέβειαν² προνοήσειεν αὐτῶν, ἐξήγειρε πάλιν
ταῖς ἔχομέναις ἡμέραις ἐπὶ καλάμης συλλογὴν σὺν
ταῖς Βοάζου θεραπαινίσιν.
328 (3) Ἐλθών τε μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ Βόα-
ζος ἥδη τῆς κριθῆς λελικμημένης, ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλωσ
ἐκάθευδε. τοῦτο πυθομένη ἡ Ναάμις τεχνάται
παρακατακλῖναι τὴν 'Ρούθην αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἔσε-
σθαι χρηστὸν αὐταῖς ὄμιλήσαντα τῇ παιδί· καὶ
πέμπει τὴν κόρην ὑπνωσομένην αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς
329 ποσίν. ἡ δέ, πρὸς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν τῶν ὑπὸ³
τῆς ἔκυρᾶς κελευομένων ὅσιον ἥγεῖτο, παρα-
γίνεται καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν λανθάνει τὸν Βόαζον
βαθέως καθυπνωκότα, περιεγερθεὶς δὲ περὶ μέσην
νύκτα καὶ αἰσθόμενος τῆς ἀνθρώπου παρακατακει-
330 μένης ἀνέκρινε τίς εἴη. τῆς δ' εἰπούσης τοῦνομα
καὶ φαμένης ὡς αὐτῆς³ δεσπότην συγχωρεῖν, τότε

¹ +λαμβάνειν ROMSP.² εὐλάβειαν ROSP.³ ROE: αὐτὸν rell.

his master. And Boaz, alike for her loyalty to her mother-in-law and for her^a remembrance of that son of hers to whom she had been united, bade her welcome and wished her enjoyment of blessings: he would not have her glean but permitted her to reap and carry away all that she could; while he charged his steward in no wise to hinder her and to provide her with lunch and drink when he fed the reapers. But Ruth, having received of him barley-meal, kept ii. 14, 18. thereof for her mother-in-law and brought it to her, on her return at even, along with her sheaves; while Naamis on her side had reserved for her portions of some food with which attentive neighbours had provided her.^b Ruth also recounted to her mother-in-law what Boaz had said to her. And Naamis having told her that he was a kinsman and might haply for piety's sake take care of them, she went out again on the following days to glean with the handmaids of Boaz.

(3) Not many days later Boaz himself came and, when the winnowing of the barley was done, slept on the threshing-floor. On learning of this, Naamis schemed to bring Ruth to his side, deeming that he would be gracious to them after consorting with the child; so she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet. And she, regarding it as a pious duty in nothing to gainsay the behests of her mother-in-law, repaired thither, and at the moment escaped the eye of Boaz, who was fast asleep; but, awaking towards midnight and becoming aware of the woman lying beside him, he inquired who she was. And she having mentioned her name and prayed him, as her master, to pardon

^a Or perhaps "his"; Naomi's son was Boaz's kinsman as well as Ruth's husband.^b Amplification.

Boaz and
Ruth in the
threshing-
floor.
Ruth iii. 1.

μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἔγει, ὅρθριος δὲ πρὶν ἢ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἄρξασθαι κινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον, περιεγείρας αὐτὴν κελεύει τῶν κριθῶν λαβοῦσαν δὲ τι καὶ δύνατο πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἔκυραν πρὶν ὀφθῆναι τισιν αὐτόθι κεκοιμημένην, φυλάττεσθαι¹ σῶφρον δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις διαβολὴν καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ 331 μὴ γεγονόσι. “περὶ μέντοι τοῦ παντὸς οὗτω,” φησώ, “ἔσται, ἐρωτᾶν² τὸν ἔγγιστά μου τῷ γένει τυγχάνοντα, εἴ σου χρεία γαμετῆς ἔστιν αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντι μὲν ἀκολουθήσεις ἐκείνῳ, παραιτουμένου δὲ νόμῳ σε συνοικήσουσαν ἄξομαι.”

332 (4) Ταῦτα τῇ ἔκυρᾳ δηλωσάσης εὐθυμίᾳ κατεῖχεν αὐτὰς ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πρόνοιαν ἔξειν αὐτῶν Βόαζον γενομένας. κάκενος ἥδη μεσούσης τῆς ἡμέρας κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν τε γερουσίαν συνῆγε καὶ μεταπεμφάμενος ‘Ρούθην ἐκάλει καὶ τὸν συγγενῆ, καὶ παραγενομένου φησίν. “Ἄβιμελέχου καὶ τῶν νιῶν αὐτοῦ κλήρων κρατεῖς;” ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ συγχωρούντων τῶν νόμων κατὰ ἀγχιστείαν, “οὐκοῦν,” φησὶν ὁ Βόαζος, “οὐκ ἔξ ήμισείας δεῖ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιεῖν κατ’ αὐτούς. Μαάλου⁴ γὰρ δεῦρο ἦκει γύναιον, ὅπερ εἴ θέλεις τῶν ἀγρῶν κρατεῖν γαμεῖν σε δεῖ 334 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.” ὁ δὲ Βοάζω καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς παρεχώρει συγγενεῖ μὲν ὅντι καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, εἶναι δὲ καὶ γυναικα

¹ + γὰρ MSPL.

² δὲ conj.

³ om. RO Lat.

⁴ v.l. Μαλλιώνος, Μαλῶνος.

^a Niese's conjecture, *σου* for *μου*, is needless: the superlative in *τῷ* ἔγγιστά *μου* includes the comparative.

her, he for the time held his peace; but at day-break, ere his servants began to move to their work, he roused her and bade her take as much of the barley as she could carry and be off to her mother-in-law, before anyone should see that she had slept there, since it was wise to guard against scandal of that kind, and the more so when nothing had passed. “But as concerning the whole matter,” said he, “thus shall it be. He that is nearer of kin (to thee) than I,^a must be asked whether he would have thee to wife: if he says yea, thou shalt follow him; if he declines, I will take thee for my lawful bride.”

(4) Ruth having reported this to her mother-in-law, they were well content, in the expectation that Boaz would take them under his care. And he, having towards midday^b gone down into the city, assembled the elders,^b sent for Ruth and summoned the kinsman also, upon whose coming he said to him, “Art thou the possessor of the heritage of Abimelech and his sons?” “Yes,” he admitted, “the laws cede it to me in virtue of nearness of kin.” “Then,” said Boaz, “thou oughtest not to remember but one half of those laws, but to do all that they require. Maalon's young wife is come hither: if thou wouldest retain those lands, thou must marry her in accordance with the laws.” He, however, renounced both the heritage and the woman to Boaz, who was himself likewise a kinsman of the dead, on the plea that he had a wife and

Marriage of
Boaz and
Ruth: their
descendants.
Ruth iii. 16
iv. 1.

^b Amplification, like the question addressed to the kinsman below and other details in this narrative. The reference to the γερουσία, “council of elders” or “senate,” has a parallel in the Targum which says that Boaz came before the court of the Sanhedrin. Scripture says merely “he took ten men of the elders of the city” (iv. 2).

335 λέγων αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδας ἥδη. μαρτυράμενος οὖν
ὅς Βόαζος τὴν γερουσίαν ἐκέλευε τῇ γυναικὶ¹
ὑπολῦσαι αὐτὸν προσελθοῦσαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ
πτύειν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου
Βόαζος γαμεῖ τὴν Ὀρύθην καὶ γίνεται παιδίον
336 αὐτοῖς μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρρεν. τούτο ἡ Ναάμις
τιτθενομένη κατὰ συμβουλίαν τῶν γυναικῶν Ὡβήδην
ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ γηροκομίᾳ τῇ αὐτῆς τραφησό-
μενον· ὡβήδης γὰρ κατὰ διάλεκτον τὴν Ἐβραίων
ἀποσημαίνει δουλεύων. Ὡβήδου δὲ γίνεται²
Ἰεσσαῖος, τούτου Δαυΐδης ὁ βασιλεύσας καὶ παιοὶ³
τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπὶ μίαν καὶ
337 εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ὀρύθην
ἀναγκαίως διηγησάμην, ἐπιδεῖξαι βουλόμενος τὴν
τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ὅτι τούτῳ παράγειν ἐφικτόν
ἐστιν εἰς ἀξίωμα λαμπρὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτυχόντας,
εἰς οἷον ἀνήγαγε καὶ Δαυΐδην ἐκ τοιούτων γενό-
μενον.

338 (x. 1) Ἐβραῖοι δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ὑπ-
ενεχθέντων πάλιν πόλεμον ἐκφέρουσι Παλαιστίνοις
διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Ἡλεῖ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ δύο παῖδες
339 ἥσαν Ὁφνίης τε καὶ Φινεέσης. οὗτοι καὶ πρὸς
ἀνθρώπους ὑβρισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον
ἀσεβεῖς οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο παρανομήματος, καὶ
τὰ μὲν ἐφέροντο τῶν γερῶν κατὰ τιμήν, ἀ δ'
ἐλάμβανον αὐτοῖς² ἀρπαγῆς τρόπῳ, γυναικάς τε
τὰς ἐπὶ θρησκείᾳ παραγινομένας ὑβριζον φθοραῖς,
τὰς μὲν βίαν προσφέροντες τὰς δὲ δώροις ὑπαγό-

¹ +παις RO.² αὐτοῖς codd.

^a Amplification: there is no mention in Scripture of a previous marriage.

children already.^a Boaz therefore, having taken the elders to witness, bade the woman loose the man's shoe, approaching him as the law ordained, and to spit in his face.^b That done, Boaz married Ruth, and a year after a boy was born to them. This infant was nursed by Naamis, who on the counsel of the women called him Obed, because he was to be brought up to be the stay of her old age ; for *obed* in the Hebrew tongue signifies "one who serves." Of Obed was born Jesse, and of him David, who became king and bequeathed his dominion to his posterity for one and twenty generations. This story of Ruth I have been constrained to relate, being desirous to show the power of God and how easy it is for Him to promote even ordinary folk to rank so illustrious as that to which he raised David, sprung from such ancestors.

(x. 1) The Hebrews, whose affairs had declined, again made war upon the Philistines, the occasion being on this wise. Eli the high priest had two sons, Hophnies^c and Phinees.^c These, grown both insolent to men and impious to the Divinity, abstained from no iniquity : of the offerings some they carried off as the prizes of office, others they seized in robber fashion ; they dishonoured the women who came for worship, doing violence to some and seducing

^b This last detail is taken from the law (Deut. xxv. 9 ; A. iv. 256), but is not mentioned in Ruth, which describes a different ceremony, the giving of his shoe by the purchaser to the seller, as a symbol of exchange. In this case the kinsman should presumably not have been subjected to the humiliating ceremony prescribed by the law of levirate marriage in Deuteronomy, inasmuch as he was not a brother of Ruth's dead husband.

^c Bibl. Hophni, and Phinehas.

μενοι· τυραννίδος δ' οὐθὲν ἀπέλειπεν ὁ βίος αὐτῶν.
 340 ὁ τε οὖν πατὴρ αὐτὸς¹ ἐπὶ τούτοις χαλεπῶς εἶχεν
 ὅσον οὐδέπω προσδοκῶν ἥξειν ἐκ θεοῦ τιμωρίαν
 αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις, τό τε πλῆθος ἔδυσ-
 φόρει, κἀπειδὴ φράζει τὴν ἐσομένην συμφορὰν ὁ
 θεὸς τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τῷ τε Ἡλεῖ καὶ Σαμουήλῳ
 τῷ προφήτῃ παιδὶ τότε² ὄντι, τότε φανερὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 νιὸις πένθος ἥγε.

341 (2) Βούλομαι δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ προφήτου πρότερον
 διεξελθὼν ἔπειθ' οὕτως τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἡλεῖ παῖδας
 εἰπεῖν καὶ τὴν δυστυχίαν τὴν τῷ παντὶ λαῷ
 342 Ἐβραίων γενομένην. Ἀλκάνης Λευίτης ἀνὴρ τῶν
 ἐν μέσῳ πολιτῶν τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας Ἀρμα-
 θᾶν³ πόλιν κατοικῶν ἔγάμει δύο γυναῖκας "Ανναν
 τε καὶ Φενάνναν. ἐκ δὴ ταύτης καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ
 γίνονται, τὴν δ' ἐτέραν ἀτεκνον οὖσαν ἀγαπῶν
 343 διετέλει. ἀφικομένου δὲ μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ
 Ἀλκάνου εἰς Σιλὼ πόλιν θῦσαι, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡ
 σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπεπήγει καθὼς προειρήκαμεν,
 καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὴν εὐώχιαν νέμοντος μοίρας
 κρεῶν ταῖς τε γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ἡ "Αννα
 θεασαμένη τοὺς τῆς ἐτέρας παῖδας τῇ μητρὶ περι-
 καθισαμένους, εἰς δάκρυά τε προύπεσε καὶ τῆς
 ἀπαιδίας αὐτὴν ὠλοφύρετο καὶ τῆς μονώσεως.

¹ αὐτοῖς M: αὐτῶν LE (quorum Lat.).

² MLE: τε rell.: ἔτι Dindorf.

³ Ραμαθᾶν ROM: Aramath Lat.: forte l. Ἀραμαθᾶν.

^a The order of words is peculiar: the Greek might be rendered "when God announced to his servants, Eli and Samuel . . . the fate that was in store."

^b For this phrase with regard to the arrangement of the narrative cf. iv. 196. ^c Bibl. Elkanah.

^d 1 Chron. vi. 27 (not stated in Samuel).

others by presents; in short, their manner of life differed in no whit from a tyranny. And so their father was himself in sore distress thereat, hourly expecting to see them visited by chastisement from God for their misdeeds, and the people were chafing; and when God announced both to Eli and to Samuel the prophet, then but a child, the fate that was in store for his sons,^a then did Eli openly make mourning over his sons.

(2) But here I would first recount the story of the ^{Eli} prophet and then proceed ^b to speak of the fate of ^{announces} ^{to Hannah} Eli's sons and the disaster that befell the whole ^{the birth of} ^{a son.} people of the Hebrews. Alkanes,^c a Levite ^d of the ^{i. Sam. i. 1.} middle classes, of the tribe of Ephraim and an inhabitant of the city of Armatha,^e married two wives, Anna and Phenanna.^f By the latter he had children, but the other, though childless, remained beloved of her husband. Now when Alkanes was come with his wives to the city of Silo to sacrifice—for it was there that the tabernacle of God had been pitched, as we have said before^g—and when thereafter^h at the banquet he was distributing portions of meat to his wives and children, Anna, beholding the children of the other wife seated around their mother, burst into tears and bewailed her barrenness and lonesome

^e Bibl. Ramathaim-zophim (LXX Ἀρμαθαὶ Σειφά), another name for Ramah and possibly identical with the N.T. Arimathaea: site disputed.

^f Bibl. Hannah and Peninnah (LXX, like Josephus, Φενάννα).

^g A. v. 68.

^h πάλιν, probably an Aramaism; Wellhausen notes that in Mark's Gospel "πάλιν, like Aramaic *tub*, means not only 'again,' but also 'further,' 'thereupon,'" (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, ed. 2, pp. 21 f.). There are other indications that this Josephan narrative of the birth of Samuel is drawn from an Aramaic source.

344 καὶ τῆς τάνδρὸς παραμυθίας τῇ λύπῃ κρατήσασα εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ὥχετο τὸν θεὸν ἵκετεύοντα δοῦναι γονὴν αὐτῇ καὶ ποιῆσαι μητέρα, ἐπαγγελλομένη τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῇ γενησόμενον καθιερώσειν ἐπὶ διακονίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, δίαιταν οὐχ ὁμοίαν τοῖς ἴδιάταις 345 ποιησόμενον. διατριβούσης δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς πολὺν χρόνον Ἡλεὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ἐκαθέζετο γὰρ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, ὡς παροινοῦσαν ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι. τῆς δὲ πιεῦν ὕδωρ φαμένης, λυπουμένης δ' ἐπὶ παιδῶν ἀπορίᾳ τὸν θεὸν ἵκετεύειν, θαρσεῖν παρεκελεύετο, παρέξειν αὐτῇ παῖδας τὸν θεὸν καταγγέλλων.

346 (3) Παραγενομένη δ' εὐελπις πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τροφὴν χαίρουσα προσηγέγκατο, καὶ ἀναστρεψάντων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κύειν ἤρξατο καὶ γίνεται παιδίον αὐτοῖς, ὃν Σαμούὴλον προσαγορεύουσι· θεαίτητον ἂν τις εἴποι. παρῆσαν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς θύσοντες γενέσεως δεκάτας τ' ἔφερον. 347 ἀναμνησθεῖσα δ' ἡ γυνὴ τῆς εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ γεγενημένης παρεδίδουν τῷ Ἡλεῖ ἀνατιθεῖσα τῷ θεῷ προφήτην γενησόμενον· κόμη τε οὖν αὐτῷ ἀνεῖτο καὶ ποτὸν ἦν ὕδωρ. καὶ Σαμούὴλος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διῆγε τρεφόμενος, Ἀλκάνη δ' ἐκ τῆς "Αννας νίεῖς τε ἄλλοι¹ γίνονται καὶ τρεῖς θυγατέρες.

¹ ἄλλοι om. ROM.

^a A close parallel from a Targum is supplied by Mr. (now Archdeacon) Hunkin, "a woman who begins to bear a first-born," *Journal of Theol. Studies*, xxv. (1924), p. 398, n. 2.

lot. And, her grief proving stronger than her husband's consolation, she went off to the tabernacle, to beseech God to grant her offspring and to make her a mother, promising that her first-born should be consecrated to the service of God and that his manner of life should be unlike that of ordinary men. And as she lingered a long time over her prayers,¹² Eli the high priest, who was seated at the entrance of the tabernacle, taking her for a drunkard, bade her begone. But, on her replying that she had drunk but water and that it was for grief at the lack of children that she was making supplication to God, he exhorted her to be of good cheer, announcing that God would grant her children.

(3) Repairing thus in good hope to her husband, she took her food with gladness, and on their return to their native place she began to conceive^a; and an infant was born to them, whom they called Samuel, as one might say "asked of God."^b They came therefore again to offer sacrifices for the birth of the child and brought their tithes also.^c And the woman, mindful of the vow which she had made concerning the child, delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God to become a prophet; so his locks were left to grow and his drink was water. Thus Samuel lived^{it. 21} and was brought up in the sanctuary, but Alkanes had by Anna yet other sons and three daughters.^d

Birth and
dedication
of Samuel.
1 Sam. i. 18

^b This biblical etymology (1 Sam. i. 20) is now abandoned: "Name of God" is the probable meaning.

^c The offerings are specified in 1 Sam. i. 24: for the tithes cf. the addition in LXX to v. 21, καὶ πάσας τὰς δεκάτας τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ.

^d Bibl. "three sons and two daughters": possibly a figure γ' (=3) has fallen out of the text of Josephus before γίνονται.

348 (4) Σαμούηλος δὲ πεπληρωκὼς ἔτος ἥδη δωδέ-
κατον προεφήτευε. καὶ ποτε κοιμώμενον ὄνομαστὶ
ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεός· ὃ δὲ νομίσας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
πεφωνῆσθαι παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτόν. οὐ φαμένου
δὲ καλέσαι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ θεὸς εἰς τρὶς τοῦτο
349 ποιεῖ. καὶ Ἡλεῖς διανυασθείς¹ φησι πρὸς αὐτόν,
“ ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μέν, Σαμούηλε, σιγὴν ὡς καὶ τὸ πρὶν
ἥγον, θεὸς δ’ ἐστὶν ὁ καλῶν, σήμαινέ τε² πρὸς
αὐτόν, ὅτι παρατυγχάνω.” καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ φθεγ-
ξαμένου πάλιν ἀκούσας ἡξίου λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς
350 χρωμένοις· οὐ γὰρ ὑστερήσειν αὐτὸν ἐφ’ οἷς ἀν
θελήσειε διακονίας. καὶ ὁ θεός “ ἐπεί,” φησί,
“ παρατυγχάνεις, μάνθανε συμφορὰν Ἰσραηλίτας
ἐσομένην λόγου μείζονα καὶ πίστεως τοῖς παρα-
τυγχάνουσι, καὶ τοὺς Ἡλεῖς δὲ παιδας ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ
τεθνηξομένους καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην μετελευσομένην
εἰς τὴν Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκίαν· Ἡλεῖς γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς
θεραπείας μᾶλλον τοὺς νιὸντας καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμ-
351 φέρον αὐτοῖς ἡγάπησε.” ταῦτα βιασάμενος ὄρκοις
εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην Ἡλεῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἐβού-
λετο λυπεῖν αὐτὸν λέγων, ἔτι μᾶλλον βεβαιοτέραν
εἶχε τὴν προσδοκίαν τῆς τῶν τέκνων ἀπωλείας.
Σαμούηλου δὲ ηὗξετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ δόξα πάντων ὧν
προεφήτευσεν ἀληθινῶν βλεπομένων.

352 (xi. 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καιρὸν³ Παλαιστῖνοι

¹ διυπνισθείς SPL.² Niese (ex RO ἐσήμαινέ τε): ἀλλὰ σήμαινε rell.³ + καὶ ROM.^a Age not mentioned in Scripture.^b Greek “ speak upon (*i.e.* “ concerning ”) His oracles,” again suggesting a Semitic original; the Hebrew use of *dibber ‘al* is exactly parallel.

(4) Samuel had now completed his twelfth year ^a God's when he began to act as a prophet. And one night ^{revelation to Samuel.}
¹ Sam. iii. 2 as he slept God called him by name; but he, sup-
posing that he had been summoned by the high priest, went off to him. But the high priest replied that he had not called him, and God did this thing thrice. Then Eli, enlightened, said to him, “ Nay, Samuel, *I held my peace even as before : it is God that calleth thee. Say then to Him, Here am I.*” So, when God spake again, Samuel hearing Him besought Him to speak ^b His oracles, for he would not fail to serve Him in whatsoever He might desire. And God said, “ Since thou art there, learn that a calamity will befall the Israelites passing the speech or belief of them that witness it,^c aye and that the sons of Eli shall die on the selfsame day and that the priesthood shall pass to the house of Eleazar.^d For ii. 29. Eli hath loved his sons more dearly than my worship, and not to their welfare.” All this Eli constrained iii. 16. the prophet by oath to reveal to him—for Samuel was loth to grieve him by telling it—and he now awaited with yet more certainty than before the loss of his children. But the renown of Samuel increased more and more, since all that he prophesied was seen to come true.

(xi. 1) This then was the time when the Philis- ^{victory of the}

^c “ Those on the spot ” is the usual sense of the verb in Josephus and it has been so used twice just above (“ Here am I,” “ thou art there ”); others here render “ anyone ” (“ any chance persons ”).

^d Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 30 ff.: the prophecy there made to Eli himself was, according to Scripture, fulfilled under king Solomon, when Abiathar of the house of Ithamar was replaced by Zadok of the house of Eleazar (1 Kings ii. 27, 35; A. viii. 11).

στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατοπεδεύονται κατὰ πόλιν Ἀμφεκᾶν, δεξαμένων δ' ἐξ ὄλιγου τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν συνήσαν εἰς τὴν ἔχομένην καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ κτείνονται μὲν τῶν Ἐβραίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος συνδιώκουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

353 (2) Δείσαντες δὲ περὶ τῶν ὅλων Ἐβραίοι¹ πέμπουσιν ὡς τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντες κομίζειν, ὥν παρούσης αὐτῆς παρατασσόμενοι κρατῶσι τῶν πολεμίων, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ καταψηφισάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν συμφορὰν τῆς κιβωτοῦ, δι' ὃν καὶ ταύ-
354 την² συνέβαινεν εἶναι. παρῆν τε οὖν ἡ κιβωτὸς καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστείλαντος, εἰ ληφθείσης τῆς κιβωτοῦ ζῆν ἐθέλουσιν,³ εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ μὴ παραγίνεσθαι. Φινέέσης δὲ ἥδη καὶ ἱεράτο, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ 355 παρακεχωρηκότος διὰ τὸ γῆρας. θάρσος οὖν ἐπιγίνεται πολὺ τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀφίξιν τῆς κιβωτοῦ περιεστομένοις τῶν πολεμίων, κατεπλήγτοντο δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι δεδιότες τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις. ταῖς μέντοι γε ἑκατέρων προσδοκίαις οὐχ ὅμοιον ἀπήντησε τὸ 356 ἔργον, ἀλλὰ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἦν μὲν ἥλπιζον

¹ RO: pr. ol rell.

² ἐθελήσουσιν SP.

³ + ἐν τιμῇ SP.

^a Bibl. Aphek: in the plain of Sharon, perhaps the modern *el Mejdel*.

tines, taking the field against the Israelites, pitched ^{Philistines.}
^{1 Sam. iv. 1.} their camp over against the city of Amphekas.^a The Israelites having hastily confronted them, the armies met on the following day, and the Philistines were victorious, slaying some four thousand of the Hebrews and pursuing the remainder of the host to their camp.

(2) Fearing a complete disaster, the Hebrews ^{Further defeat of the Hebrews and capture of the ark.}
^{1 Sam. iv. 3.} sent word to the council of elders ^b and to the high priest to bring the ark of God, in order that, through its presence in their ranks, they might overcome their enemies, ignorant that He who had decreed their discomfiture was mightier than the ark, seeing that it was to Him indeed that it owed its being.^c And so the ark arrived, and with it the sons of the high priest, having received injunctions from their father, if they wished to survive the capture of the ark, not to venture into his sight. Phinees was already acting as high priest, his father having made way for him by reason of old age.^d Confidence then mightily revived among the Hebrews, who hoped through the coming of the ark to get the better of their enemies, while the enemy were in consternation, dreading that presence of the ark among the Israelites. Howbeit, the event did not answer to the expectations of either of them, but when the clash

^b In scripture the elders at the camp suggest that the ark be brought from Shiloh.

^c Or, according to another reading, "for His sake that it was held in veneration."

^d Amplification (along with the father's injunctions to his sons). Rabbinic tradition also states that Phinehas officiated as High Priest in the lifetime of Eli. The latter's blindness (1 Sam. iii. 3) would have disqualified him from office according to Jewish law (Lev. xxi. 18, Josephus, *B.J.* i. 270).

νίκην Ἐβραῖοι τῶν Παλαιστίνων αὕτη γίνεται,
ἥν δ' ἐφοβοῦντο ἥτταν οὗτοι, ταύτην Ἐβραῖοι
παθόντες ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς μάτην ἐπὶ τῇ κιβωτῷ
τεθαρσηκότας· ἐτράπησάν τε γὰρ εὐθὺς εἰς χεῖρας
ἔλθοντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀπέβαλον εἰς τρισ-
μυρίους, ἐν οἷς ἐπεσον καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως νίεῖς,
ἥ τε κιβωτὸς ἤγετο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων.

357 (3) Ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς ἥττης εἰς τὴν Σιλὼ
καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς κιβωτοῦ, Βενιαμίτης
γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἄγγελος ἀφικνεῖται νεανίας παρα-
τευχῶς τῷ γεγονότι, πένθους ἀνεπλήσθη πᾶσα
358 ἡ πόλις. καὶ Ἡλεὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ἐκαθέζετο γὰρ
καθ' ἑτέρας τῶν πυλῶν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ θρόνου, ἀκούσας
οἱμωγῆς καὶ νομίσας νεώτερόν τι πεπράχθαι περὶ
τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν νεανίαν,
ώς ἔγνω τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ράων ἦν ἐπὶ τε
τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς συνενηγμένοις¹ περὶ τὸ στρα-
τόπεδον ὡς ἀν προεγνωκώς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ
συμβησόμενον καὶ προαπηγγελκώς· συνέχει² γὰρ
ἱκανῶς³ τὰ παρὰ τὴν⁴ προσδοκίαν συντυχόντα τῶν
359 δεινῶν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἤκουσεν ἡχη-
λωτίσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ'
ἐλπίδας αὐτῷ τοῦτο προσπεσεῖν περιαλγήσας
ἀποκυλισθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου τελευτᾶ, ὀκτὼ καὶ
ἐνενήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη τὰ πάντα καὶ τούτων τὰ⁵
τεσσαράκοντα κατασχῶν τὴν ἀρχήν.

360 (4) Θινήσκει δὲ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἡ
Φινεέσου τοῦ παιδὸς γυνὴ μὴ καρτερήσασα ζῆν
ἐπὶ τῇ τάνδρὸς δυστυχίᾳ. κνουσῃ μὲν αὐτῇ

¹ Text doubtful: ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ συνενηγμένῳ
Niese.

² confundunt Lat.: συγχεῖ Naber.
³ ἀκριβῶς ROE. ⁴ τὰ κατὰ OE: τὰ R. ⁵ τὰ om. ROE.

came, that victory for which the Hebrews hoped went to the Philistines, and that defeat which these feared was sustained by the Hebrews, who learnt that their trust in the ark had been in vain. For soon as ever they closed with the enemy they were routed and lost some thirty thousand men, among the fallen being the sons of the high priest; and the ark was carried off by the enemy.

(3) When the defeat and the capture of the ark <sup>Death of Eli.
1 Sam. iv. 12.</sup> were reported in Silo—the news was brought by a young Benjamite who had been present at the action—the whole city was filled with lamentation. And Eli the high priest, who was sitting at one of the two gates on a lofty seat, hearing the wails and surmising that some grave disaster had befallen his offspring, sent for the young man; and when he learnt the issue of the battle, he bore with moderate composure the fate of his sons and that which had happened to the army, seeing that he had known beforehand from God and had forewarned them of that which was to come, for men are affected most by those shocks that fall unexpectedly. But when he heard moreover that the ark had been captured by the enemy, in an agony of grief at this unlooked for tidings, he tumbled from his seat and expired, having lived ninety and eight years in all and for ^{15.} forty ^a of them held supreme power.

(4) That same day died also the wife of his son <sup>Death of
the wife of
Phineas.
1 Sam. iv. 19.</sup> Phinees, having not the strength to survive her husband's misfortune. She was indeed with child

^a So Heb. and some mss. of LXX: the majority of the mss. of the Greek Bible read "twenty."

προσηγγέλη τὸ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πάθος, τίκτει δ' ἐπταμηνιαῖον παῖδα, ὃν καὶ ζήσαντα Ἰωχάβην προσηγόρευσαν, σημαίνει δὲ ἀδοξίαν τὸ ὄνομα, διὰ τὴν προσπεσούσαν δύσκλειαν τότε τῷ στρατῷ.

361 (5) Ἡρξε, δὲ πρῶτος Ἡλεὶς Ἰθαμάρου τῆς ἑτέρου τῶν Ἀαρᾶνος υἱῶν οἰκίας· ἡ γὰρ Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκία τὸ πρῶτον ἱερᾶτο παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐπιδεχόμενοι τὴν τιμὴν, ἐκεῖνός τε Φινεέση τῷ 362 παιδὶ αὐτοῦ παραδίδωσι, μεθ' ὃν Ἀβιεζέρης υἱὸς ὃν αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν παραλαβὼν παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Βόκκι τοῦνομα αὐτὴν κατέλιπε, παρ' οὐδὲ διεδέξατο Ὅζις υἱὸς ὃν, μεθ' ὃν Ἡλεὶς ἔσχε τὴν ἱερωσύνην, περὶ οὐ νῦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ³ Σολόμωνος βασιλείαν καιρῶν. τότε δὲ οἱ Ἐλεαζάρου πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀπέλαβον.

¹ v. ll. Ἰωχάβην, Ἰαχώβην etc.

² τοῦ om. MSPLE.

^a Unscriptural detail. Rabbinic tradition includes Samuel but not Ichabod, among seven months' children.

^b Bibl. I-chabod (= "no glory").

when she was told of his fate, and she gave birth to a seven months'^a son; and him, since he lived, they called Jochabes^b (a name signifying "in-gloryness") because of the ignominy that then befell the army.

(5) Eli was the first to bear rule of the house of Ithamar,^c the second^d of Aaron's sons; for the house of Eleazar held the high priesthood at the first, the dignity descending from father to son. Eleazar^e Chron. vi. 4 f. transmitted it to Phinees his son, after whom Abiezer^f his son received it, leaving it to his son, named Bokki,^f from whom Ozis^g his son inherited it; it was after him that Eli, of whom we have been speaking, held the priesthood, as also his posterity down to the times of the reign of Solomon. Then Cf. 1 Kings ii. 27, 35. the descendants of Eleazar once more recovered it.

^c Based not on Scripture, but on tradition (see M. Weill's note).

^d Gr. "one of two." Of the four sons of Aaron—Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar—the first two died young (1 Chron. xxiv. 1 f.).

^e Bibl. Abishua (1 Chron. vi. 4).

^f Bibl. Bukki.

^g Bibl. Uzzi.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Σ

(i. 1) Λαβόντες δ' οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων κιβωτὸν αἰχμάλωτον, ὡς προειρήκαμεν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, εἰς Ἀζωτον ἐκόμισαν πόλιν καὶ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν θεὸν ὥσπερ τι λάφυρον, Δαγὼν δ' οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, τιθέασι. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρχὴν εἰσιόντες εἰς τὸν ναὸν προσκυνῆσαι τὸν θεὸν ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιοῦντι τὴν κιβωτόν· ἐκειτο γὰρ¹ ἀποπεπτωκὼς τῆς βάσεως, ἐφ' ἧς ἐστὼς διετέλει· καὶ βαστάσαντες πάλιν ἐφιστᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταύτης, δυσφορήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ. πολλάκις δὲ φοιτῶντες παρὰ τὸν Δαγὼν καὶ καταλαμβάνοντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκυνοῦντος τὴν κιβωτὸν σχήματος κείμενον, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ δεινῇ καὶ συγχύσει 3 καθίσταντο. καὶ τελευταῖον ἀπέσκηψεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀζωτίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν φθορὰν τὸ θεῖον καὶ νόσον· ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ὑπὸ δυσεντερίας, πάθους χαλεποῦ καὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ὀξυτάτην ἐπιφέροντος πρὶν ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῖς εὐθανάτως ἀπολυθῆναι τοῦ σώματος, τὰ ἐντὸς ἀναφέροντες² διαβεβρωμένα καὶ παντοίως ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου διεφθαρμένα· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας μνῶν πλῆθος

¹ Ε: + ἀπ' αὐτῆς SP: + ἐπ' αὐτῆς rell.

² + ἐξεμοῦντες codd. (gloss).

BOOK VI

(i. 1) THE Philistines, having captured their enemies' The ark in Philistia and the plagues arising therefrom.
1 Sam. v. 1 ark, as we have said a while ago, carried it to the city of Azotus^a and placed it as a trophy beside their own god, who was called Dagon. But on the morrow, when all at break of day entered the temple to adore their god, they found him doing the like to the ark; for he lay prostrate, having fallen from the pedestal whereon he had always stood. So they lifted him and set him again thereon, sore distressed at what had passed. But when oft-times^b visiting Dagon they ever found him in a like posture of prostration before the ark, they were plunged into dire perplexity and dismay. And in the end the Deity launched upon the city of the Azotians and upon their country destruction and disease. For they died of dysentery,^c a grievous malady and inflicting most rapid dissolution, or ever their soul by blessed death was parted from the body, for they brought up their entrails all consumed and in every way corrupted by the disease. As for what was on the land, a swarm of v. 6 lxx.

^a The Greek (lxx) name for the Heb. Ashdod.

^b The Bible mentions only a second visit, adding details on the shattering of the image.

^c The word used in Scripture probably means "plague boils."

ἀνελθὸν¹ κατέβλαψε μήτε φυτῶν μήτε καρπῶν
 4 ἀποσχόμενον. ἐν δὴ τούτοις ὄντες τοῖς κακοῖς
 οἱ Ἀζώτιοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀντέχειν οὐ
 δυνάμενοι συνῆκαν ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ ταύτας αὐτοῦς
 ἀνασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ τὴν ταύτης αἰχμαλω-
 σίαν οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ γεγενημένην. πέμπουσιν οὖν
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσκαλωνίτας ἀξιοῦντες τὴν κιβωτὸν
 5 αὐτοὺς παρὰ σφᾶς δέχεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀηδῆς
 ἡ τῶν Ἀζωτίων δέσμις προσέπεσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπι-
 νεύουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν, λαβόντες δὲ τὴν
 κιβωτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅμοίοις δεινοῖς κατέστησαν· συνεξ-
 εκόμισε γὰρ αὐτῇ τὰ τῶν Ἀζωτίων ἡ κιβωτὸς
 πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ἀπ’ ἐκείνων αὐτὴν δεχομένους· καὶ
 πρὸς ἄλλους παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσιν Ἀσκαλω-
 6 νῖται. μένει δ’ οὐδὲ παρ’ ἐκείνοις· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν
 αὐτῶν παθῶν ἐλαυνόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἔχομένας
 ἀπολύουσι πόλεις. καὶ τοῦτον ἐκπεριέρχεται τὸν
 τρόπον τὰς πέντε τῶν Παλαιστίνων πόλεις ἡ
 κιβωτὸς ὥσπερ δασμὸν ἀπαιτοῦσα παρ’ ἐκάστης
 τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐλθεῖν ἀ δι’ αὐτὴν ἐπασχον.
 7 (2) Ἀπειρηκότες δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ πεπειρα-
 μένοι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν αὐτὰ διδασκαλίᾳ γινό-
 μενοι τοῦ μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὴν κιβωτὸν ποτε πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ μισθῷ καὶ τέλει, τὸ λοιπὸν
 ἐζήτουν μηχανὴν καὶ πόρον ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτῆς.
 8 καὶ συνελθόντες οἱ ἐκ τῶν πέντε πόλεων ἄρχοντες,
 Γίττης καὶ Ἀκκάρων καὶ Ἀσκάλωνος ἔτι δὲ

¹ Lat.: + ἐπὶ (τὰ ἐπὶ M, ἀπὸ E, ἐκ SP) τῆς γῆς codd.

mice,^a coming up from beneath, ravaged it all, sparing neither plant nor fruit. Being, then, in this evil plight and powerless to withstand their calamities, the Azotians understood that it was from the ark that they arose and that their victory and the capture of this trophy had not been for their welfare. They therefore sent to the men of Ascalon^b and begged them to receive the ark into their keeping. And these, listening not unwillingly to the request of the Azotians, consented to do them this service; but no sooner had they taken the ark than they found themselves in the like woes, for the ark carried along with it the plagues of the Azotians to those who received it from their hands. So the Ascalonites rid themselves of it, sending it off to others. But neither did it abide with these, for, being beset by the same sufferings, they dismissed it to the neighbouring cities. And on this wise the ark went the round of the five cities of the Philistines, exacting from each, as it were toll for its visit to them, the ills which it caused them to suffer.

(2) Exhausted by these miseries, the victims, whose fate was becoming a lesson to all who heard of it never to receive this ark among them at such a meed and price, henceforth sought ways and means to get rid of it. So the lords of the five cities—Gitta, Akkaron, Ascalon, along with Gaza and Azotus—

^a Josephus agrees with the LXX in mentioning the mice at this point: the Hebrew text only alludes to them later (vi. 4 f.).

^b In Scripture, after a meeting of the lords of the Philistines, the ark is sent first to Gath and then to Ekron (LXX Ascalon).

Γάζης καὶ Ἀζώτου, ἐσκόπουν τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔδόκει τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀποπέμπειν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ὡς ὑπερεκδικοῦντος αὐτὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συνεπιδημησάντων αὐτῇ τῶν δεινῶν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνεισβαλόντων μετ' ἐκείνης εἰς τὰς πόλεις ⁹ αὐτῶν· ἥσαν δὲ οἱ λέγοντες τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν μηδ' ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναφέροντας· οὐ γάρ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆ¹ καὶ τὴν ἴσχυν· οὐ γάρ ἂν ποτ' αὐτῆς κηδομένου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑποχείριον ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι. ἥσυχάζειν δὲ καὶ πράως ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι παρήνουν, αἰτίαν τούτων οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ μόνην λογιζομένους τὴν φύσιν, ἢ καὶ σώμασι καὶ γῇ καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς συνεστῶσι κατὰ χρόνων περιόδους τίκτει τοιαύτας μεταβολάς.

¹⁰ νικᾷ δὲ τὰς προειρημένας γνώμας ἀνδρῶν ἐν τε τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις συνέσει καὶ φρονήσει διαφέρειν² πεπιστευμένων συμβουλίᾳ καὶ τότε μάλιστα δοξάντων ἀρμοζόντως λέγειν τοῖς παροῦσιν, οἱ μήτ' ἀποπέμπειν ἔφασαν τὴν κιβωτὸν μήτε κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πέντε μὲν ἀνδριάντας ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης πόλεως χρυσοῦς ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ χαριστήριον, ὅτι προενόησεν αὐτῶν τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ κατέσχειν ἐν τῷ βίῳ διωκομένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ παθήμασιν, οἷς οὐκέτι ἦν ἀντιβλέψαι, τοσούτους δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν μύας χρυσοῦς τοῖς κατανεμηθεῖσιν αὐτῶν

¹ ex Lat. Hudson: ὑγιῆ codd.

² om. ROM.

^a In Scripture (vi. 2) the Philistines summon "the priests and the diviners," who propose the course which is followed. The meeting described in Josephus, with the views of the three parties, is an invention of the "Sophoclean" assistant: for a similar conflict of opinions cf. A. iii. 96 ff., where, as

met to deliberate what they ought to do.^a Their first resolution was to send the ark back to its own people, inasmuch as God was championing its cause and that was why these horrors had accompanied it and burst along with it into their cities. But there were others who said that they should not do thus nor be deluded into attributing the cause of their misfortunes to the ark: it possessed no such power and might, for, were it under the care of God, it would never have fallen into the hands of men. Their advice was to sit still and to bear these accidents with equanimity, accounting their cause to be no other than nature herself, who periodically produces such changes in men's bodies, in earth, and in plants and all the products of earth. However, both these proposals were defeated by the counsel of men who in times past had obtained credit for superior intelligence and sagacity, and who now above all seemed to say just what befitted the occasion. Their verdict was neither to send back the ark nor to detain it, but to dedicate to God five images^b of gold, one on behalf of each city, as a thank-offering^c to Him for His care for their salvation and for having kept them in the land of the living when they were like to be harried out of it by plagues which they could no longer face, and withal as many golden mice like to those that had overrun and ruined their here (§ 9), one party is for retaining composure (*πρᾶως ἔχειν*). This assistant's love of trichotomy extends to details, e.g. the *τριόδος* (§ 11) and the division of the 5 cities into 3 + 2 by the insertion of *ἔτι δὲ* (§ 8).

^b Statuettes in human form: bibl. "tumours" or rather "boils," LXX *ἔδρας* (models of the *anus*, as symbols of the plague).

^c In Scripture as a "guilt-offering" (vi. 3), in compensation for the wrong done to the ark.

11 καὶ διαφθείρασι τὴν χώραν ἐμφερεῖς· ἔπειτα βαλόντας εἰς γλωσσόκομον αὐτοὺς καὶ θέντας ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, ἄμαξαν αὐτῇ καινὴν κατασκευάσαι, καὶ βόας ὑποζεύξαντας ἀρτιτόκους τὰς μὲν πόρτις ἐγκλεῖσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν, μὴ τὰς μητράσιν ἐμποδὼν ἐπόμεναι γένωνται, πόθῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὁξυτέραν ποιῶνται τὴν πορείαν· ἔκείνας δὲ ἔξελάσαντας τὴν κιβωτὸν φερούσας ἐπὶ τριόδου καταλιπεῖν αὐταῖς ἐπιτρέψαντας ἦν βούλονται τῶν 12 ὁδῶν ἀπελθεῖν· κἄν μὲν τὴν Ἐβραίων ἀπίωσι καὶ τὴν τούτων χώραν ἀναβαίνωσιν, ὑπολαμβάνειν τὴν κιβωτὸν αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν, “Ἄν δὲ ἄλλην τράπωνται, μεταδιώξωμεν αὐτήν,” ἔφασαν, “μαθόντες δτὶ μηδεμίαν ἴσχὺν τοιαύτην ἔχει.”

13 (3) "Ἐκριναν δ' αὐτὰ καλῶς εἰρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις εὐθὺς τὴν γνώμην ἐκύρωσαν. καὶ ποιήσαντες μὲν τὰ προειρημένα προάγουσι τὴν ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ τὴν τριόδον καὶ καταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν, τῶν δὲ βοῶν τὴν ὄρθην ὁδὸν ὥσπερ ἡγουμένου τινὸς αὐταῖς ἀπιουσῶν, ἡκολούθουν οἱ τῶν Παλαιοτίνων ἄρχοντες, ποῦ ποτε στήσονται καὶ πρὸς τίνας 14 ἥξουσι βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν. κώμη δέ τίς ἔστι τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς Βήθης¹ ὄνομα· εἰς ταύτην ἀφικνοῦνται αἱ βόες, καὶ πεδίον μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν ἐκδεξαμένου παύονται προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, στήσασαι τὴν ἄμαξαν αὐτόθι. θέα δὲ ἦν τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἐγένοντο· θέρους γὰρ ὥρᾳ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν

¹ Βηθσάμη SP, Bethsamis Lat.

* Bibl. Beth-shemesh (LXX Βαιθσάμις), modern 'Ain Shems, on the border of Judah about 12 miles S.E. of Ekron.

country. Then, having placed these in a coffer and set it upon the ark, they should make for this a new wain, and should yoke thereto kine that had freshly calved, and should shut up and retain the calves, in order that these might not retard their mothers by following them, and they, through yearning for their young, might make the more speed upon their way. Then having driven them, drawing the ark, out to a place where three roads met, they should there leave them, suffering them to take which of the roads they would. Should the kine take the route to the Hebrews⁹, and mount into their country, they must regard the ark as the cause of all these ills; but should they turn elsewhere, "then," said they, "let us pursue after it, having learnt that it possesses no such power."

(3) Judging this to have been well spoken, they ^{Return of the ark to straightway ratified the counsel by acting thereon.} Beth-shemesh.
Having made the objects aforesaid, they conducted ^{1 Sam. vi. 10.} the wain to the cross-roads, where they left it and retired. Then, seeing the kine go straight on, as though someone were leading them, the lords of the Philistines followed, fain to find out where they would halt and to whom they would betake themselves. Now there is a village of the tribe of Judah by name Bethes^a: thither it was that the kine came: a great and beauteous plain awaited their footsteps^b—they would proceed no further but stayed the wagon there. A sight was this for the villagers and they were overcome with joy; for it being the summer season when all were out in the cornfields to gather

^b "The cart came into the field of Joshua the Bethshemite," 1 Sam. vi. 14.

ἐν ταῖς ἀρούραις ὑπάρχοντες, ὡς εἶδον τὴν κιβωτόν, ὥφ' ἥδονῆς ἀρπαγέντες καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφέντες ἔδραμον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμαξαν.
15 καὶ καθελόντες τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγγος, ὃ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας εἶχε καὶ τοὺς μύας, τιθέασιν ἐπὶ τυρού πέτρας, ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ θύσαιτε λαμπρῶς τῷ θεῷ καὶ κατευωχηθέντες τὴν τε ἄμαξαν καὶ τοὺς βόας ὠλοκαύτωσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἴδοντες οἱ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἄρχοντες ἀνέστρεψαν ὁπίσω.

16 (4) Ὁργὴ δὲ καὶ χόλος τοῦ θεοῦ μέτεισιν ἐβδομήκοντα τῶν ἐκ τῆς Βῆθης κώμης, οὓς¹ οὐκ ὅντας ἀξίους ἀψασθαι τῆς κιβωτοῦ, ἵερεῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν, καὶ προσελθόντας αὐτῇ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐκλαυσαν δὲ ταῦτα παθόντας αὐτοὺς οἱ κωμῆται, καὶ πένθος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς² ἤγειραν οἷον εὔκος ἐπὶ θεοπέμπτῳ κακῷ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἔκαστος ἀπεθρίγγει.
17 τοῦ τε μένειν τὴν κιβωτὸν παρ', αὐτοῖς ἀναξίους ἀποφαίνοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἐβραίων πέμψαντες ἐδήλουν ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν κιβωτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Παλαιστίνων. κάκενοι γνόντες τοῦτο ἀποκομίζοντες αὐτὴν εἰς Καριαθιαρεὶμ³ γείτονα πόλιν τῆς Βῆθης κώμης.⁴ ἔιθα τινὸς Λευίτου τὸ γένος Ἀμιναδάβον δόξαν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ καταβιοῦντος εἰς οἰκίαν

¹ Niese: ὡς codd.

² edd.: αὐτοῖς codd.

³ τῆς Β. κώμης] τοῖς Βηθσαμίταις M (Lat.): τοῖς Βηθάμης SP.

* "To Ekron," *ib.* 16.

⁴ Bibl. "seventy men (and) fifty thousand men" (similarly LXX); an impossible reading. The larger figure is commonly rejected as a gloss, from which, it appears, the Biblical text of Josephus was free.

* Not in Scripture, which merely says that "they had looked into (or rather "gazed upon") the ark." For the

in the crops, so soon as they saw the ark, they were transported with delight and, dropping their work from their hands, ran straight for the wain. Then, having taken down the ark and the vessel containing the images and the mice, they set them upon a rock which stood in the plain, and, after offering splendid sacrifice to God and keeping merry feast, consumed wagon and kine as a burnt-offering. And, having seen all this, the lords of the Philistines turned back again.^a

(4) Howbeit, the wrath and indignation of God The penalty for touching visited seventy^b of them of the village of Bethes, the ark: its removal to the house of Aminadab, 1 Sam. vi. 19.

which, not being priests,^c they were not privileged to touch. The villagers bewailed these victims, raising over them lamentation such as was fitting over a God-sent evil, and each man mourned for his own. Then, pronouncing themselves unworthy of retaining the ark among them, they sent word to the general assembly^d of the Hebrews that the ark had been restored by the Philistines. And these, on hearing vii. 1 thereof, conveyed it away to Kiriath-jearim,^e a neighbouring city of the village of Bethes; and since there lived there a man of the stock of Levi, Aminadab,^f reputed for his righteousness and piety,

Rabbinical opinions concerning the nature of their crime see M. Weill's note.

^a In Scripture (1 Sam. vi. 21) word is sent, not to all the Hebrews, but only to the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim.

^b So LXX: Heb. Kiriath-jearim, perhaps the modern *Kuryet el 'Enab*, some 9 miles N.E. of Beth-shemesh. Shiloh, the original home of the ark, was possibly now in Philistine hands.

^c So LXX: Heb. Abinadab. Scripture does not say that he was a Levite. A Levite Aminadab, contemporary with David, is mentioned in 1 Chr. xv. 11.

τὴν κιβωτὸν ἥγαγον, ὥσπερ εἰς πρέποντα τῷ θεῷ τόπον ἐν ᾧ κατώκει δίκαιος ἄνθρωπος. ἔθεράπευον δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν οἱ τούτου παῖδες, καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἦσαν ἐτῶν εἴκοσι προέστησαν· τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἐμεινεν ἐν τῇ Καριαθιαρεὶμ ποιήσασα παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις μῆνας τέσσαρας.

- 19 (ii. 1) Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, καθ' ὃν εἶχεν ἡ τῶν Καριαθιαριμιτῶν πόλις τὴν κιβωτόν, ἐπ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τραπέντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολλὴν ἐμφανίζοντος τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, ὁ προφήτης Σαμουὴλος ἵδων αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν, ὡς εὔκαιρον ὃν¹ πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας εἰπεῖν περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, χρῆται λόγοις οἷς ὢστο μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν προσάξεσθαι καὶ 20 πείσειν. “ἄνδρες,” γὰρ εἶπεν, “οἵς ἔτι νῦν βαρεῖς μὲν πολέμιοι Παλαιστῖνοι, θεὸς δὲ εὔμενής ἄρχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ φίλος, οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐλευθερίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιεῖν δι' ὃν ἂν ἔλθοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ βούλεσθαι μὲν ἀπηλλάχθαι δεσποτῶν ἐπιμένειν δὲ πράττοντας ἐξ ὃν οὗτοι διαμενοῦσιν. 21 ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε δίκαιοι, καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐκβαλόντες τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ θεραπεύοντες αὐτάς,² ὅλαις ταῖς διανοίαις προστρέπεσθε³ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τιμῶντες διατελεῖτε· ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῖν ποιοῦσιν ἥξει τὰ ἀγαθά, δουλείας ἀπαλλαγὴ καὶ νίκη πολεμίων, ἢ λαβεῖν οὕθ' ὅπλοις οὔτε σωμάτων

¹ conj. Niese.

² ex Lat. easque purgantes: καὶ θεραπεύοντες (-σαντες RO)
αὐτὴν codd.: καὶ θ. ἀρετὴν Weill.

³ Hudson: προτρέπεσθε codd.

* Bibl. “Eleazar his son.”

they brought the ark into his house, as to a place befitting God, being the abode of a righteous man. This man's sons^a tended the ark and had the charge of it for twenty years; for it remained all that time at Kariathaireim, after spending four months^b among the Philistines.

(ii. 1) Now throughout the time when the city Samuel exhorts the Hebrews and musters them to Mizpah. 1 Sam. vii. 2. of Kariathaireim had the ark in its keeping, the whole people betook themselves to prayer and the offering of sacrifices to God, and displayed great zeal in serving Him. So the prophet Samuel, seeing their ardour and reckoning the occasion meet, while they were of this mind, to speak to them of liberty and the blessings that it brings, addressed them in words which he deemed most apt to win and to persuade their hearts. “Sirs,” said he, “ye who yet to-day have grievous enemies in the Philistines, albeit God is beginning to be gracious to you and a friend, ye ought not to be content to yearn for liberty, but should do also the deeds whereby ye may attain it, nor merely long to be rid of your masters, while continuing so to act that they shall remain so. Nay, be ye righteous and, casting out wickedness^c from your souls and purging them,^d turn with all your hearts to the Deity and persevere in honouring Him. Do ye but so and there will come prosperity, deliverance from bondage and victory over your foes, blessings which are to be won neither by arms nor

^b Bibl. “seven months” (1 Sam. vi. 1).

^c Bibl. “put away the strange gods and the Ashtaroth from among you” (vii. 3).

^d Text a little doubtful: it has been proposed, by a slight change, to read “and cultivating virtue” (*ἀρετὴν* in place of *αὐτάς*).

ἀλκαῖς οὐτε πλήθει συμμάχων δυνατόν ἔστιν· οὐ γὰρ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ὑπισχνεῖται παρέξειν αὐτά, τῷ δὲ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ δικαίους. ἐγγυητὴς δὲ 22 αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἔγώ γίνομαι.” ταῦτ’ εἰ- πόντος ἐπευφήμησε τὸ πλῆθος ἡσθὲν τῇ παραινέσει καὶ κατέκενσεν αὐτὸν παρέξειν κεχαρισμένον τῷ θεῷ. συνάγει δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Σαμουῆλος εἰς τινα πόλιν λεγομένην Μασφάτην· κατοπτενόμενον τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἐβραίων γλώτταν· ἐντεῦθεν ὑδρευσάμενοί τε σπένδουσι τῷ θεῷ καὶ δια- νηστεύσαντες ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπ’ εὐχὰς τρέπονται.

23 (2) Οὐ λανθάνουσι δὲ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐκεῖ συναχθέντες, ἀλλὰ μαθόντες οὗτοι τὴν ἄθροισιν αὐτῶν, μεγάλη στρατιὰ καὶ δυνάμει κατ’ ἐλπίδα τοῦ μὴ προσδοκῶσι μηδὲ παρεσκευασμένοις ἐπι- 24 πεσεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐπέρχονται. καταπλήττει δ’ αὐτοὺς τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ταραχὴν ἄγει καὶ δέος, καὶ δραμόντες πρὸς Σαμουῆλον, ἀναπεπτωκέναι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἥττης ἔφασκον καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἡρεμεῖν, “ἴνα μὴ κινήσωμεν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν, σοῦ δ’ ἀναγαγόντος ἡμᾶς ἐπ’ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ ὄρκους γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀόπλοις ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἐλπὶς οὖν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀλλη σωτηρίας, ἢ μόνη ἡ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἰκετευθέντος ὑπὸ

^a Bibl. Mizrah (= “watch-tower,” “outlook-point”). LXX Μασ(σ)ηφάθ: identified by some scholars with modern *Neby Samwil*, 5 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, by others with *Tell-en-Naṣbeh*, about 8 miles due N. of Jerusalem.

^b Or “a conspicuous (place).”

^c Gr. “with a great army and strength,” an instance of hendiadys or the use of two words for one, which from

by personal prowess nor by a host of combatants; for it is not for these that God promises to bestow those blessings, but for lives of virtue and righteousness. And as surety for His promises, here I take my stand.” These words were acclaimed by the people, who were delighted with the exhortation and vowed to render themselves acceptable unto God. Samuel then vii. 5. gathered them to a city called Maspheṭ,^a which in the Hebrew tongue signifies “espied.”^b There, having drawn water, they made libations to God and, fasting throughout the day, gave themselves unto prayer.

(2) However their gathering at this spot did not Hebrew victory over the Philistines. 1 Sam. vii. 7. pass unperceived by the Philistines, who, having learnt of their mustering, advanced upon the Hebrews with an army mighty in strength,^c hoping to surprise them while off their guard and unprepared. Dismayed by this attack and plunged into confusion and alarm, the Hebrews, hastening to Samuel, declared that their courage had flagged through fear and the memory of their former defeat. “That,” said they, “was why we sat still, in order not to stir up the enemy’s forces. But, when thou hadst brought us up hither for prayers, sacrifices and oaths, now the enemy are upon us while we are naked and unarmed. Other hope of salvation therefore have we none, save from thee alone and from God, should He be entreated

this point onward characterizes this book: cf. § 24 ταραχὴ καὶ δέος, γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀόπλοις, § 25 νίκη καὶ κράτος etc. The preference for the double word distinguishes the writer of this portion—whether Josephus himself or another assistant—from the “Sophoclean” assistant who has a partiality for grouping in threes (e.g. § 21 τὰ ἀγαθά, δουλεῖας ἀπαλλαγὴ καὶ νίκη . . . οὐθὲ δυπλοῖς οὐτε σωμάτων ἀλκαῖς οὔτε πλήθει). See Vol. IV. Introduction.

25 σοῦ παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν διαφυγεῖν Παλαιστίνους.” ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε προτρέπεται καὶ βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαγγέλλεται, καὶ λαβὼν ἄρνα γαλαθηνὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅχλων θύει καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὸν θεὸν ὑπερσχεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν δεξιὰν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Παλαιστίνους μάχῃ καὶ μὴ περιῆδεν αὐτοὺς δεύτερον δυστυχήσαντας. ἐπήκοος δὲ γίνεται τῶν εὐχῶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ προσδεξάμενος εὑμενεῖ καὶ συμμάχω τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπινεύει νίκην αὐτοῖς καὶ 26 κράτος. ἔτι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν θυσίαν ἔχοντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μήπω πᾶσαν διὰ τῆς Ἱερᾶς φλογὸς ἀπειληφότος, προηλθεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις καὶ παρατάσσεται εἰς μάχην, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι μὲν νίκης, ὡς ἀπειλημμένων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μήτε ὅπλα ἔχόντων μήτε ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ ἐκεῖσε ἀπηντηκότων, περιπίπτουσι δὲ οἷς 27 οὐδὲ εἰ προύλεγέ τις ράδίως ἐπείσθησαν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς κλονεῖ σεισμῷ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς ὑπότρομον καὶ σφαλερὰν κινήσας τίθησιν, ὡς σαλευομένης τε τὰς βάσεις ὑποφέρεσθαι καὶ διϋσταμένης εἰς ἔνia τῶν χασμάτων καταφέρεσθαι, ἐπειτα βρονταῖς καταψοφήσας καὶ διαπύροις ἀστραπαῖς ὡς καταφλέξων αὐτῶν τὰς ὄψεις περιλάμψας καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκκροτήσας τὰ ὅπλα, 28 γυμνούς εἰς φυγὴν ἀπέστρεψεν. ἐπεξέρχεται δὲ Σαμουῆλος μετὰ τῆς πληθύνος καὶ πολλοὺς κατασφάξας κατακολουθεῖ μέχρι Κορραίων τόπου τινὸς οὗτω λεγομένου, καὶ καταπήξας ἐκεὶ λίθον ὥσπερ

^a Gr. “God still had the sacrifice upon the altar” etc.; a Semitic form of expression (sacrifice being conceived as the food of the Deity) here imported into the Biblical text, which has merely “And as Samuel was offering up the burnt-offering.”

by thee to afford us escape from the Philistines.” But Samuel bade them be of good cheer and promised that God would succour them. Then, taking a sucking lamb, he sacrificed it on behalf of the throng and besought God to extend His right hand over them in the battle with the Philistines and not suffer them to undergo a second reverse. And God hearkened to his prayers and, accepting the sacrifice in gracious and befriending spirit, gave them assurance of victory and triumph. God's victim was still upon the altar ^{vii. 10.} and He had not yet wholly consumed it through the sacred flame,^a when the enemy's forces issued from their camp and drew up for battle, expectant of victory, thinking to have caught the Jews ^b in a hopeless plight, seeing that they were without arms and had assembled there with no intention of battle. But the Philistines encountered what, had one foretold it, they would scarcely have believed. For, first, God vexed them with earthquake,^c rocking and making tremulous and treacherous the ground beneath them, so that from its reeling their footsteps staggered and at its parting they were engulfed in sundry of its chasms. Next He deafened them with thunder-claps, made fiery lightning to flash around them as it were to burn out their eyes, struck the arms from their hands, and so turned them weaponless to flight. But Samuel now rushed upon them with his people and, having massacred many, pursued them to a certain place called Korraea^d; and there he set up

^b A recurrent anachronism for “Hebrews” or “Israelites” (§§ 30, 40 etc.).

^c Scripture mentions only “a great thunder.”

^d Bibl. Beth-car, LXX Βαιθχέρ: possibly modern ‘Ain Karim, some 5 miles S. of Mizpah, and due W. of Jerusalem.

όρον τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς φυγῆς τῶν πολεμίων, ἵσχυρὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύει, σύμβολον τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένης αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἴσχύος.

- 29 (3) Οἱ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν πληγὴν οὐκέτ' ἐστράτευσαν¹ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μνήμης τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἡσύχαζον. ὁ δ' ἦν πάλαι θάρσος τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους, τοῦτ' ἐκείνων μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐγένετο. καὶ Σαμουὴλος στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖ πολλοὺς καὶ τὰ φρονήματ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ταπεινοῖ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀφαιρεῖται, ἥν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπετέμοντο πρότερον κρατήσαντες τῇ μάχῃ αὕτη δ' ἦν μέχρι πόλεως Ἀκκάρων ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Γίττης ὄρων ἐκτεταμένη. ἥν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν φίλια τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα τῶν Χαναναίων.
- 31 (iii. 1) Ὁ δὲ προφήτης Σαμουὴλος διακοσμήσας τὸν λαὸν καὶ πόλιν ἐκάστοις² ἀποδοὺς εἰς ταύτην ἐκέλευσε συνερχομένοις περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κρίνεσθαι διαφορῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ δι' ἔτους³ ἐπερχόμενος τὰς πόλεις ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλὴν ἐβράβευεν εὐνομίαν ἐπὶ χρόνον πολύν. (2) ἐπειθ' ὑπὸ γῆρας βαρυνόμενος καὶ τὰ συνήθη πράττειν ἐμποδίζομενος, τοῖς νιόις τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν προ-
- 32

¹ οὐκέτ' ἐστράτ. Niese: οὐκ ἐπεστράτευσαν codd.

² conj.: αὐτοῖς codd.

³ δι' ἔτους RO: δἰς τοῦ ἔτους rell., Lat., E (vid.).

^a Bibl. Eben-'ezer (= "stone of help"), LXX 'Αβενέζερ (adding the translation λίθος τοῦ βοηθοῦ, "stone of the helper"); in place of 'ezer Josephus probably read 'oz ("strength").

a stone as landmark of the victory and of the flight of the foe, and called it "Strong (stone)," ^a in token of the strength which God had lent them against their enemies.

(3) Those enemies, after that discomfiture, invaded the Israelites no more, but through fear and a remembrance of what had befallen them remained still; and that confidence which of old had animated the Philistines against the Hebrews passed after this victory to their opponents. And so Samuel, taking the field against them, slew multitudes, utterly humbled their pride, and took from them the country which they had erstwhile torn from the Jews after their victory in battle, to wit the region extending from the borders of Gitta to the city of Akkaron.^b And at that time there was amity between the Israelites and the remnant of the Canaanites.^c

(iii. 1) Moreover, the prophet Samuel, having divided the people and assigned a city to each group,^d bade them resort thither for trial of the differences that arose between them. He himself going annually ^e on circuit to these cities judged their causes and so continued for long to administer perfect justice.

(2) Thereafter, oppressed with age and impeded from following his wonted course, he consigned the

Samuel
recovers
conquered
territory.
Sam. vii. 13.

^b i.e. "from Ekron even unto Gath" (1 Sam. vii. 14).

^c Bibl. "And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites."

^d With slight emendation of the Greek, which reads "a city to them." Scripture mentions three cities—Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah—which Samuel annually visited from his home at Ramah.

^e Another reading is "twice a year." M. Weill, adopting this text, suggests that it is "a Haggadic deduction from the repetition of the word *shanah* (year) in the Hebrew (LXX κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐνιαυτόν)."

στασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους¹ παραδίδωσιν, ὃν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἰοῦλος² προσηγορεύετο, τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ Ἀβίρᾳ³ ὄνομα ἦν. προσέταξε δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐν Βεθῆλῳ πόλει καθεζόμενον κρίνειν, τὸν δ' ἔτερον ἐν Βερσουβεὶ⁴ μερίσας τὸν ὑπακουσόμενον ἐκατέρῳ λαόν. ἐγένοντο δὲ σαφὲς οὗτοι παράδειγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦ μὴ τὸν τρόπον ὁμοίους τοῖς φύσασι γίνεσθαι τινας, ἀλλὰ τάχα μὲν χρηστοὺς καὶ μετρίους ἐκ πονηρῶν, τότε μέν γε φαύλους ἐξ ἀγαθῶν παρέσχον αὐτοὺς γενομένους· τῶν γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκτραπόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὅδὸν ἀπελθόντες δώρων καὶ λημμάτων αἰσχρῶν καθυφίεντο τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος ποιούμενοι καὶ πρὸς τρυφὴν καὶ πρὸς διαίτας πολυτελεῖς ἀπονενευκότες, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπεναντία ταῦτα ἐπρασσον τῷ θεῷ, δεύτερον δὲ τῷ προφήτῃ πατρὶ δ' ἑαυτῶν, ὃς πολλὴν καὶ τοῦ τὸ πλήθος εἶναι δίκαιον σπουδὴν εἰσεφέρετο καὶ πρόνοιαν.

35 (3) Οἱ δὲ λαὸς ἔξυβριζόντων εἰς τὴν προτέραν κατάστασιν καὶ πολιτείαν τῶν τοῦ προφήτου παΐδων, χαλεπῶς τε τοῖς πραττομένοις ἔφερε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συντρέχοντι, διέτριβε δ' ἐν Ἀρμαθᾷ πόλει, καὶ τὰς τε τῶν νιῶν παρανομίας ἔλεγον καὶ ὅτι γηραιὸς ὃν αὐτὸς ἥδη καὶ παρειμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν προεστάναι δύναται τρόπον· ἐδέοντό τε καὶ ἱκέτευον ἀποδεῖξαι τινα αὐτῶν βασιλέα, ὃς ἄρξει τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τιμωρήσεται Παλαιστίνους ὀφείλοντας ἐπ' αὐ-

¹ RO: πλήθους rell. ² RO: Οὐηλος vel Ἰώηλος (Ἰωήλ) rell.
³ M(SP): Ἐβίρα RO: Ἀβίας E Lat.: Ἀβία Zon.
⁴ Βερσουβεὶ MSP: Bersabe Lat.

government and direction of the nation to his sons, ^{1 Sam. viii. 1.} of whom the elder was called Iulus^a and the younger bore the name of Abira^b; and he charged the one to sit in judgement at the city of Bethel and the other at Bersubēi,^c apportioning the people that should come under the jurisdiction of each. Howbeit these youths furnished a signal illustration and proof that sons need not be like in character to their sires, nay, that maybe good, honest folk are sprung from knaves, while the offspring of virtuous parents have proved depraved. For they, turning from their father's ways and taking the contrary road, betrayed justice for bribes and filthy lucre, pronounced judgement with regard not to the truth but to their own profit, and abandoned themselves to luxury and sumptuous fare, thereby acting in defiance first of God and secondly of the prophet, their own father, who was devoting much zeal and care to instilling even into the multitude the idea of righteousness.

(3) But the people,^d seeing these outrages upon ^{The people's demand for a king. 1 Sam. viii. 4.} their former constitution and government committed by the prophet's sons, brooked their proceedings ill and together sped to Samuel, then living in the city of Armatha.^e They told him of his sons' iniquities and added that, old as he now was and enfeebled by age, he could no longer himself direct affairs as aforetime; they therefore begged and implored him to appoint from among them a king, to rule the nation and to wreak vengeance on the Philistines,

^a Bibl. Joel.

^b Bibl. Abijah (LXX Ἀβιά, with v.l. Ἀβειρά as in Josephus).

^c Bibl. "They were judges in Beer-sheba" (Bethel not being mentioned).

^d Bibl. "all the elders of Israel."

^e Ramah.

τοῖς δίκας τῶν προτέρων ἀδικημάτων. ἐλύπησαν δὲ σφόδρα τὸν Σαμουῆλον οἱ λόγοι διὰ τὴν σύμφυτον δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας μῆσος· ηττητο γὰρ δεινῶς τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὡς θείας καὶ μακαρίους ποιούσης τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῆς τῇ 37 πολιτείᾳ. ὑπὸ δὲ φροντίδος καὶ βασάνου τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὔτε τροφῆς ἐμνημόνευσεν οὔτε ὅπνου, δι’ ὅλης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς στρέφων τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐννοίας διεκαρτέρει.

38 (4) "Ἐχοντι δὲ οὕτως ἐμφανίζεται τὸ θεῖον καὶ παραμυθεῖται μὴ δυσφορέīν ἐφ’ οἷς ἡξίωσε τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς οὐκ ἔκεινον ὑπερηφανήσαντας ἀλλ’ ἔαυτόν,¹ ἵνα² μὴ βασιλεύσῃ³ μόνος· ταῦτα δὲ ἀφ’ ἡς ἡμέρας ἔξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἀπ’ Αἴγυπτου μηχανᾶσθαι τὰ ἔργα· λήψεσθαι μέντοι γε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μετάνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἐπίπονον, "ὑφ' ἡς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀγένητον ἔσται τῶν ἐσομένων, ἐλεγχθήσονται δὲ καταφρονήσαντες καὶ βουλὰς οὐκ εὐχαρίστους πρὸς 39 ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν προφητείαν λαβόντες. κελεύω δή σε⁴ χειροτονεῖν αὐτοῖς δὸν ἀν ἐγώ⁵ προείπω βασιλέα προδηλώσαντα ποταπῶν τε πειραθήσονται βασιλεύμενοι κακῶν καὶ διαμαρτυράμενον ἐφ’ οἵαν σπεύδουσι μεταβολήν."

40 (5) Ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας Σαμουῆλος ἄμα ἔῳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀποδείξειν αὐτοῖς βασιλέα ὡμολόγησεν, ἐφη δὲ δεῖν πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκδιηγήσασθαι τὰ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐσόμενα καὶ ὅσοις συνενεχθήσονται κακοῖς· "γινώσκετε γὰρ

¹ ἢ αὐτὸν SP: εἰς αὐτὸν E: αὐτὸν M.

² εἰ RO.

³ βασιλεύσει R: βασιλεὺς γ SP.

⁴ σοι SE.

⁵ +σοι SPE.

who yet owed them an accounting for past injuries. These words sorely grieved Samuel by reason of his innate righteousness and his hatred of kings; for he was keenly enamoured of aristocratic government, accounting it divine and productive of bliss to those who adopted it. So, from the anxiety and the torment which these speeches caused him, he had no thought for food or sleep, but passed the whole night turning over these matters in his mind.^a

(4) Such was his state when the Deity appeared and consoled him, telling him not to take these demands of the multitude amiss, since it was not him whom they had spurned, but God Himself, not wishing Him to reign alone; these deeds, moreover, they had (He said) been devising from the day when He had brought them forth from Egypt; howbeit they would ere long be seized with painful remorse, "a remorse by which nought will be undone of that which is to be, but which will convict them of contempt and of adopting a course ungrateful toward Me and to thy prophetic office. I therefore now charge thee to elect for them whomsoever I shall name as king, after forewarning them what ills they will suffer under kingly rule and solemnly testifying into what a change they are rushing."

(5) Having heard these words, Samuel at daybreak called the Jews^b together and consented to appoint them a king, but he said that he must first set forth to them what would befall them at the hands of their kings and how many ills they would encounter. "For ye must know," said he, "that first they will

^a Amplification (*cf. A. ii. 171*): Scripture says merely "And Samuel prayed unto the Lord" (1 Sam. viii. 6).

^b See § 26 note.

God charges
Samuel to
elect a king.
1 Sam. viii. 7.

ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῶν ἀποσπάσουσι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἄρματηλάτας εἶναι κελεύσουσι, τοὺς δ' ἵππεῖς καὶ σωματοφύλακας, δρομεῖς δὲ ἄλλους καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ἔκατοντάρχους, ποιήσουσι δὲ καὶ τεχνίτας ὁπλοποιὸς καὶ ἄρματοποιὸς καὶ ὄργάνων τέκτονας γεωργούς τε καὶ τῶν ἴδιων 41 ἄγρῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ σκαπανεῖς ἀμπέλων, καὶ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ κελεύμενοι ποιήσουσιν ἀνδραπόδων ἀργυρωνήτων τρόπον· καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας δ' ὑμῶν μυρεψοὺς ἀποφανοῦσι καὶ ὄφοποιοὺς καὶ σιτοποιούς, καὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὃ θεραπαινίδες ἔξ ἀνάγκης πληγὰς φοβούμεναι καὶ βασάνους ὑπηρετήσουσι. κτῆσιν δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφαιρήσονται καὶ ταύτην εὐνούχους καὶ σωματοφύλαξι δωρήσονται καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλας τοῖς αὐτῶν προσνεμοῦσι. 42 συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν, δουλεύετε μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑμετέρων τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν¹ τοῖς αὐτῶν οἰκέταις· ὃς γενόμενος² μνήμην ὑμῖν τῶνδε τῶν λόγων γεννήσει καὶ τῷ³ πάσχειν αὐτὰ μεταγινώσκοντας ἱκετεῦσαι τὸν θεὸν ἐλεῆσαι τε ὑμᾶς καὶ δωρήσασθαι ταχεῖαν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν βασιλέων· ὃ δ' οὐ προσδέξεται τὰς δεήσεις, ἀλλὰ παραπέμψας ἔάσει δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ὑμᾶς τῆς αὐτῶν κακοβούλιας.”

43 (6) Ἡν δ' ἄρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς προρρήσεις τῶν συμβησομένων ἀνόγτον τὸ πλῆθος καὶ δύσκολον ἔξελεūν τῆς διανοίας κρίσιν ἥδη παρὰ τῷ λογισμῷ καθιδρυμένην· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐπεστράφησαν οὐδὲ ἐμέλη-

¹ καὶ MSP: om. Lat.² ὃς γενόμενος] ίσοι γενόμενοι M Lat. (+ καὶ Lat. ut vid.).³ τῷ ROSP.^a “Hundreds” as in LXX (1 Sam. viii. 12), whereas the Heb. has “fifties.”

carry off your children and will order some of them to be charioteers, others horsemen and bodyguards, others runners or captains of thousands or of hundreds^a; they will make of them craftsmen also, makers of armour, of chariots and of instruments; husbandmen too, tillers of their estates, diggers of their vineyards; nay, there is nothing which your sons will not do at their behest, after the manner of slaves bought at a price. Of your daughters also they will make perfumers, cooks and bakers, and subject them to every menial task which handmaids must perforce perform from fear of stripes and tortures. They will moreover rob you of your possessions and bestow them upon eunuchs and bodyguards, and confer your herds of cattle upon their retainers. In a word, ye with all yours will be bond-servants to the king along with your own domestics; and he, when he is come,^b will beget in you a memory of these words of mine and (cause you) through these sufferings to repent and to implore God to take pity on you and to grant you speedy deliverance from your kings. Howbeit He will not hearken to your prayers, but will disregard them and suffer you to pay the penalty for your own perversity.”

(6) Yet even to these predictions of what was to come the multitude was deaf and obstinately refused^c to their insistence. to eradicate from their minds a resolution now deeply seated in their calculations. Nay, they would not be turned, nor recked they aught of the words of Samuel,

^b Text doubtful. According to another reading, “ . . . to the king, being made equal to your own domestics; and your suffering will beget, etc., . . . and (cause you) to repent, etc.”^c Or “and it was difficult.”

σεν αὐτοῖς τῶν Σαμουῆλου λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο λιπαρῶς καὶ χειροτονεῦν ἡξίουν ἥδη τὸν βασιλέα 44 καὶ μὴ φροντίζειν τῶν ἐσομένων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τιμωρίᾳ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἀνάγκη τὸν πολεμήσοντα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον εἶναι τῶν πλησιοχώρων βασιλευομένων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν. ὅρῶν δ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ἀπεστραμμένους ὁ Σαμουῆλος, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένοντας "νῦν μέν," εἶπεν, "ἄπιτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔκαστος, μεταπέμψομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰς δέον, ὅταν μάθω παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τίνα δίδωσιν ὑμῖν βασιλέα."

45 (iv. 1) Ἡν δέ τις ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς ἀνὴρ εὗ γεγονὼς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὸ ἥθος, Κεὶς ὄνομα· τούτῳ παῖς ὑπῆρχεν, ἦν δὲ νεανίας τὴν μορφὴν ἄριστος καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας, τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὴν 46 διάνοιαν ἀμείνων τῶν βλεπομένων· Σαοῦλον αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. οὗτος ὁ Κεὶς, ὃνων αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς νομῆς καλῶν ἀποπλανηθεισῶν, ἥδετο γὰρ αὐταῖς ὡς οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ τῶν κτημάτων, τὸν νιὸν μεθ' ἐνὸς θεράποντος ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν κτηνῶν ἔξέπεμψεν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν πάτριον περιῆλθε φυλὴν ἔξερευνῶν τὰς ὄνους¹ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀφίκετο, οὐδ' ἐν ταύταις δ' ἐπιτυχών ἀπιέναι² διεγνώκει, μὴ ποιήσῃ περὶ 47 αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ λοιπὸν φροντίδα. τοῦ δ' ἐπομένου θεράποντος ὡς ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμαθὰ πόλιν εἶναι προφήτην ἐν αὐτῇ φήσαντος ἀληθῆ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν βαδίζειν συμβουλεύσαντος, γνώσεσθαι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τῶν ὄνων τέλος, οὐθὲν ἔχειν

¹ ἔξερ. τ. ὄνους om. RO.

² ἀπιέναι conj. Boysen.

^a Gr. Keis (with LXX): Heb. Kish.

but pressed him importunately and insisted that he should elect their king forthwith, and take no thought for the future ; since for the punishment of their foes they must needs have one to fight their battles with them, and there could be nothing strange, when their neighbours were ruled by kings, in their having the same form of government. So Samuel, seeing that even by his predictions they were not turned from their intent but persisted therein, said, " For the present, depart ye each to his home : I will summon you at need, when I shall have learnt from God whom He gives you for your king."

(iv. 1) Now there was a man of the tribe of Benja- ^{SAUL, in} min of good birth and virtuous character, named Kis.^a ^{quest of his} father's asses, ^{encounters} Samuel. ^{1 Sam. ix. 1} He had a son, a youth of a noble presence and tall stature, and withal gifted with a spirit and mind surpassing these outward advantages ; they called him Saul. This Kis, one day when some fine asses of his had strayed from the pastures, in which he took more delight than in all that he possessed, sent off his son with one servant in search of the beasts. And he, after going all over his father's tribe in quest of the asses, passed to the other tribes and failing there also to find them, resolved to return, lest he should now cause his father anxiety concerning himself. But when they were come over against the city of Armatha,^b the servant who accompanied him told him that there was there a true prophet, and counselled that they should go to him, since they would learn from him what had become of the asses. Whereto

^b Ramah (v. 342 note, vi. 35) : bibl. "when they were come to the land of Zuph" (1 Sam. ix. 5), naming the district in Ephraim wherein Ramah lay, cf. 1 Sam. i. 1 "a certain man of Ramathaim-zophim."

πορευθέντας εἴπεν ἀντὶ τῆς προφητείας ὁ παράσχωσιν αὐτῷ· κεκενώσθαι γὰρ ἥδη τῶν ἐφοδίων.
 48 τοῦ δὲ οἰκέτου τέταρτον αὐτῷ παρεῖναι σίκλου φήσαντος καὶ τοῦτο δώσειν, ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀγνοίας τοῦ μὴ λαμβάνειν τὸν προφήτην μισθὸν ἐπλανῶντο, παραγίνονται καὶ πρὸς τὰς πύλας παρατυγχάνοντες παρθένοις ἐφ' ὅδωρ βαδιζούσαις ἐρωτῶσιν αὐτὰς τοῦ προφήτου τὴν οἰκίαν. αἱ δὲ σημαίνουσι καὶ σπεύδειν παρεκελεύσαντο πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον κατακλιθῆναι· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἔστιαν καὶ 49 προκατακλίνεσθαι τῶν κεκλημένων. ὁ δὲ Σαμουῆλος διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔστιαν τότε συνήγαγε· δεομένω γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ προειπεῖν τίνα ποιήσει βασιλέα τῇ παρελθούσῃ τοῦτον μηνύσαντος, πέμψειν γὰρ αὐτὸς τινα νεανίσκον ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὥραν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος καθεζόμενος ἔξεδέχετο τὸν καιρὸν γενέσθαι, πληρωθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπορεύετο. συναντᾷ δὲ τῷ Σαούλῳ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ σημαίνει τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἄρξειν μέλλοντα. Σαούλος δὲ πρόσεισι τῷ Σαμουῆλῷ καὶ προσαγορεύσας ἐδεῖτο μηνύειν τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ προφήτου· 50 ξένος γὰρ ὃν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφασκε. τοῦ δὲ Σαμουῆλου αὐτὸν εἶναι φράσαντος καὶ ἀγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ὡς τῶν ὄνων ἐφ' ὃν τὴν ζήτησιν ἐκπεμφθείη σεσωσμένων τά τε πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν αὐτῷ κεκυρωμένα, ὑποτυχών¹ “ἄλλ’ ἥττων,” εἶπεν, “ἐγώ, δέσποτα, ταῦτης τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ φυλῆς

¹ Holwerda: προστυχών codd.

* Scripture does not say that Samuel accepted no reward.
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Saul replied that, if they went to the prophet, they had nothing to offer him in return for his oracle, since their supplies were by now exhausted. However, the servant said that he had a quarter of a shekel and would present that—for their ignorance that the prophet accepted no reward misled them ^a—and so they went and, meeting at the gates maidens going to draw water, they asked them which was the prophet's house. And these pointed it out and bade them make speed ere he sat down to supper, for he was entertaining many and would take his seat before his invited guests.^b Now the reason why Samuel had at that hour assembled so many to the feast was this: he had been praying daily to God to reveal to him whom He would make king and, on the day before, God had announced him, saying that He would Himself send him a young man of the tribe of Benjamin at that selfsame hour. So, seated upon the housetop, Samuel was awaiting the coming of the time, and when the hour was ripe he descended to go to the supper. And he met Saul, and God revealed to him that this was he that was to rule. But Saul approached Samuel and greeting him prayed him to show him the prophet's house, for he said that as a stranger he was ignorant of it. Samuel then told him that he was the prophet and led him to the supper, assuring him that the asses in quest of which he had been sent were safe and that for him (Saul) were destined all good things ^c; whereat Saul broke in, “Nay, master, I am too lowly to hope for this, I come of a

^a According to Scripture, Samuel was not the host, but attended the feast as one in charge of public sacrifice.

^b The text is a little awkward, but the meaning is clear. Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 20, “To whom belong all the desirable things of Israel, if not to thee (Saul) and thy father's house?”

μικροτέρας ἢ βασιλέας ποιεῖν καὶ πατριᾶς ταπει-
νοτέρας τῶν ἄλλων πατριῶν. σὺ δὲ παιζεῖς καὶ
γέλωτά με τίθεσαι περὶ μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ τὴν
52 ἐμὴν χώραν¹ διαλεγόμενος.” ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἀγα-
γὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν κατακλίνει καὶ τὸν
ἄκολουθον ἐπάνω τῶν κεκλημένων· οὗτοι δ’ ἡσαν
ἔβδομήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν προστάσσει δὲ τοὺς
διακόνους παραθεῖναι τῷ Σαούλῳ μερίδα βασιλικήν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ κοίτης ὥρᾳ προσῆγεν, οἱ μὲν ἀναστάντες
ἀνέλυνον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔκαστοι, ὁ δὲ Σαούλος παρὰ
τῷ προφήτῃ σὺν τῷ θεράποντι κατεκοιμήθη.

53 (2) “Αμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Σαμουῆλος ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν
ἐκ τῆς κοίτης προύπεμπε καὶ γενόμενος ἔξω τῆς
πόλεως ἐκέλευσε τὸν μὲν θεράποντα ποιῆσαι
προελθεῖν, ὑπολείπεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτῷ
54 τι φράσαι μηδενὸς ἄλλου παρόντος,² καὶ ὁ μὲν
Σαούλος ἀποπέμπεται τὸν ἄκολουθον, λαβὼν δ’ ὁ
προφήτης τὸ ἀγγεῖον,³ ἔλαιον καταχεῖ τῆς τοῦ
νεανίσκου κεφαλῆς καὶ κατασπασάμενος “ἴσθι,”
φησί, “βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένος
ἐπὶ τε Παλαιστίνους καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἐβραίων
ἀμυναν. τούτων δὲ ἔσται σοι σημεῖον ὁ σε
55 βιούλομαι προγινώσκειν· ὅταν ἀπέλθῃς ἐντεῦθεν
καταλήψῃ τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ ὅδῷ προσκυνῆσαι
τῷ θεῷ πορευομένους εἰς Βέθηλα, ὧν τὸν μὲν
πρώτον τρεῖς ἄρτους ὄψει κομίζοντα, τὸν δὲ
δεύτερον ἔριφον, ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἀσκὸν οἶνον φέρων

¹ χρείαν MSP.³ ROE Lat. (cf. 1 Sam. x. 1, LXX τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ἔλαιου):
Ἄγιον rel.

tribe too little to create kings, and of a family of humbler sort than all others. Thou but mockest and makest sport of me in speaking of matters too high for my station.” Howbeit the prophet led him to the banquet-chamber, gave him and his attendant places above the invited guests, who were seventy^a in number, and charged his henchmen to set a royal portion before Saul. Then, when bedtime came, the rest arose and departed each to his own home, but Saul and his servant slept at the prophet’s house.^b

(2) At break of day Samuel roused him from his bed, escorted him on his way, and, when outside the town, bade him cause his servant to go on before <sup>Samuel
anooints
Saul.
1 Sam.
ix. 26.</sup> and to remain behind himself, for he had somewhat to tell him privately. So Saul dismissed his companion, and the prophet, taking his vial, poured oil ^{x. 1.} upon the young man’s head and kissed him and said : “Know that thou art king, elected of God to combat the Philistines and to defend the Hebrews. And of this there shall be unto thee a sign which I would have thee learn beforehand. When thou art departed hence, thou shalt find on thy road three men^c going to worship God at Bethel ; the first thou shalt see carrying three loaves, the second a kid,^d and the third

^a So LXX : Heb. “about thirty,” 1 Sam. ix. 22.^b After LXX, which here preserves the true text, *καὶ διεστρωσαν τῷ Σαούλ ἐπὶ τῷ δώματι καὶ ἐκοιμήθη*, Heb. “he communed with S. upon the housetop,” 1 Sam. ix. 25. In the Biblical narrative the sacrifice and subsequent feast are held at “the high place,” whence Samuel and Saul descend to the city to the prophet’s house.^c Josephus reverses the Biblical order of the first two incidents : there the meeting with the messenger at Rachel’s tomb comes first.^d “One carrying three kids and another carrying three loaves,” 1 Sam.

ἀκολουθήσει. ἀσπάσονται δέ σε οὗτοι καὶ φιλοφρονήσονται καὶ δώσουσί σοι ἄρτους δύο, σὺ δὲ λήψῃ. κακεῖθεν ἥξεις εἰς τὸ Ῥαχήλας καλούμενον μημεῖον, ὃπου συμβαλεῖς τῷ σεσῶσθαι σου τὰς ὄνους εὐαγγελιουμένω· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐλθὼν εἰς Γαβαθᾶ¹ προφήταις ἐκκλησιάζουσιν ἐπιτεύξῃ καὶ γενόμενος ἐνθεος προφητεύσεις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὡς πάνθ' ὅντιν² ὁρῶντα ἐκπλήττεσθαι τε καὶ θαυμάζειν λέγοντα “πόθεν εἰς τοῦτο εὑδαιμονίας ὁ Κεισαίον πᾶς παρῆλθεν;” ὅταν δέ σοι ταῦτα γένηται τὰ σημεῖα, τὸν θεὸν ἴσθι μετὰ σοῦ τυγχάνοντα, ἀσπασαὶ τε τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς. ἥξεις δὲ μετάπεμπτος εἰς Γάλγαλα ὑπὸ³ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα χαριστήρια τούτων θύσωμεν τῷ θεῷ.” φράσας ταῦτα καὶ προειπὼν ἀποπέμπει τὸν νεανίσκον· τῷ Σαούλῳ δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὴν Σαμουὴλον προφητείαν ἀπήντησεν.

58 (3) ‘Ως δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, τοῦ συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ Ἀβηνάρου, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἔστεργεν, ἀνερωτῶντος περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν⁴ γεγονότων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἀπεκρύψατο οὐδέν ὡς ἀφίκοιτο παρὰ Σαμουὴλον τὸν προφήτην οὐδέν ὡς ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ σεσῶσθαι τὰς ὄνους ἔφρασε, περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτήν, ἀ⁵ φθόνον ἀκούο-

¹ Γεβαθᾶ RO: Γαιβαθᾶ SP.

² + οὖν MSP.

³ ἐξ OE.

⁴ αὐτὸν ROE.

⁵ & καὶ MSP Lat.

^a Bibl. “two men.”

^b Bibl. “to Gibeah (or “the hill,” LXX τὸν βουνόν) of God.” Cf. on § 95.

^c These last words are amplification. Scripture has “do what thy hand shall find.”

will follow bearing a wine-skin. These men will salute thee, show thee kindness and give thee two loaves; and thou shalt accept them. And thence² thou shalt come to the place called ‘Rachel’s tomb,’ where thou shalt meet one^a who will bring thee news that thy asses are safe. Thereafter, on coming thence to Gabatha,^b thou shalt light upon an assembly⁵ of prophets and, divinely inspired, thou shalt prophesy with them, insomuch that whosoever beholdeth thee cf. 11 f. shall be amazed and marvel, saying, ‘How hath the son of Kis come to this pitch of felicity?’ And when⁷ these signs are come unto thee, know thou that God is with thee; and go to salute thy father and thy kinsfolk.^c But thou shalt come, when summoned by me, to Galgala, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these mercies.” After these declarations and predictions he let the young man go; and everything befell Saul as Samuel had foretold.

(3) But when he entered his^d house and his kinsman Abēnar^e—for he was of all his relatives the one whom he loved the best—questioned him concerning his journey and the events thereof, Saul concealed from him nothing of all the rest, how he had visited Samuel the prophet and how he had told him that the asses were safe. But concerning the kingdom and all relating thereto, deeming that the recital

^a Gr. “the”; perhaps render “the house of his kinsman A. . . . and he questioned him.” Josephus appears to have read in 1 Sam. x. 13 “he came to the house” (a reading preferred by modern critics) instead of “he came to the high place.”

^b Scripture mentions his “uncle,” here unnamed but elsewhere called Ner. Josephus speaks of his cousin Abner, the son of Ner and afterwards captain of Saul’s host, 1 Sam. xiv. 50. Cf. § 130.

μενα και ἀπιστίαν ἔχειν ὡς το, σιωπᾶ πρὸς αὐτὸν
και οὐδὲ πρὸς εὔνουν σφόδρα δοκοῦντα εἶναι
και περισσότερον τῶν ἀφ' αἰματος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
στεργόμενον ἀσφαλὲς ἢ σῶφρον ἔδοξε μηνύειν
λογισάμενος, οἷμαι, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν οἴα ταῖς
ἀληθείαις ἐστίν, ὅτι βεβαίως οὐδὲὶς εὔνους¹ οὔτε
φίλων οὔτε συγγενῶν οὐδὲ ἄχρι τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ
λαμπρῶν ἀποσώζει τὴν διάθεσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς
ὑπεροχὰς κακοήθεις τυγχάνουσιν ἥδη και βάσκανοι.

50 (4) Σαμουῆλος δὲ συγκαλεῖ² τὸν λαὸν εἰς
Μασφαθὰ πόλιν και πρὸς αὐτὸν διατίθεται λόγος,
οὓς κατ' ἐντολὴν φράζειν ἔλεγε τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνου παρασχόντος και τοὺς
πολεμίους δουλώσαντος ἀμνημονήσειαν τῶν εὐ-
εργεσιῶν, και τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀποχειροτονοῦσι τῆς
βασιλείας οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς συμφορώτατον ὑπὸ τοῦ
51 πάντων ἀρίστου προστατεῖσθαι, θεὸς δὲ πάντων
ἄριστος, αἱροῦνται δ' ἔχειν ἄνθρωπον βασιλέα, ὃς
ὡς κτήματι³ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους κατὰ βούλησιν
και ἐπιθυμίαν και τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ὄρμην
χρήσεται τῆς ἔξουσίας ἀφειδῶς ἐμφορούμενος, ἀλλ'
οὐχ ὡς ἴδιον ἔργον και κατασκεύασμα τὸ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων γένος οὕτως διατηρῆσαι σπουδάσει, ὁ
θεὸς δὲ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἀν⁴ κήδοιτο.
“ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δέδοκται ταῦτα ὑμῖν και κεκράτηκεν ἡ
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὕβρις, τάχθητε πάντες κατὰ φυλάς
τε και σκῆπτρα και κλήρους βάλετε.”

¹ εὔνους om. ROE.

² καλεῖ RO : ἐκάλει E.

³ κτήμασι ed. pr. : jumentis Lat.

⁴ ἀν om. codd.

^a The renewed strictures of Samuel are an amplification of Scripture. His earlier warning (1 Sam. viii. 10) is given above in § 40.

thereof would excite jealousy and distrust, he held his peace ; nay, even to one who seemed most loyal of friends and whom he loved more affectionately than all those of his blood, he judged it neither safe nor prudent to disclose this secret—reflecting, I ween, on what human nature in truth is, and how no one, be he friend or kinsman, shows unwavering loyalty or preserves his affection when brilliant distinctions are bestowed by God, but all men straightway regard these eminences with malice and envy.

(4) Samuel now called the people together to the city of Maspetha and made them an address, which he delivered, as he told them, at the commandment of God. He said that, albeit God had granted them liberty and enslaved their enemies, they had been unmindful of His benefits and rejected His sovereignty, unaware that it was to their highest interest to have the best of all rulers at their head and that the best of all was God ; nay, they chose to have a man for their king, who would treat his subjects as chattels at his will and pleasure and at the impulse of his other passions, indulging his power to the full ; one who, not being the author and creator of the human race, would not lovingly study to preserve it, while God for that very reason would cherish it with care.^a “Howbeit,” he added, “since it pleases you thus, and this intent to outrage God has prevailed, range yourselves all of you by tribes and families^b and cast lots.”

^b The Gr. σκῆπτρον, lit. “staff,” is the usual LXX rendering of Heb. *shēbet* which means both “staff” and “tribe.” Josephus here reverses the order of words in the LXX, 1 Sam. x. 19, where σκῆπτρον = “tribe” and φυλή = “family”; φυλή in the LXX usually = “tribe,” less often = “family.”

62 (5) Ποιησάντων δὲ τοῦτο τῶν Ἐβραίων ὁ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος κλῆρος ἔξέπεσε, ταύτης δὲ κληρωθείσης ἔλαχεν ἡ Ματρὶς καλουμένη πατριά, ἡς κατ' ἄνδρα κληρωθείσης λαγχάνει ὁ Κεισαίου βασιλεύειν πᾶς Σαοῦλος. γνοὺς δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ νεανίσκος φθάσας ἐκποδῶν αὐτὸν ποιεῖ μὴ βουλόμενος, οἶμαι, δοκεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκῶν λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην ἐνεδείξατο ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ὥστε τῶν πλείστων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μικρᾶς εὐπραγίας τὴν χαρὰν κατασχεῖν δυναμένων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶσι γενέσθαι φανεροὺς προσπιπτόντων,¹ ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐνέφηνε τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τῷ τοσούτῳ καὶ τηλικούτῳ ἐθνῶν ἀποδεδείχθαι δεσπότης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν βασιλευθσομένων ἔξεκλεψεν καὶ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ 64 τοῦτο πονεῦν παρεσκεύασεν. ὧν ἀμηχανούντων καὶ φροντιζόντων ὁ τι καὶ² γένοιτο ἀφανῆς ὁ Σαοῦλος, ὁ προφήτης ἱκέτευε τὸν θεὸν δεῖξαι ποῦ ποτ' εἴη καὶ παρασχεῖν εἰς ἐμφανὲς τὸν νεανίσκον. 65 μαθὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν τόπον ἔνθα κέκρυπται³ ὁ Σαοῦλος πέμπει τοὺς ἄξοντας αὐτὸν καὶ παραγενόμενον ἵστησι μέσον τοῦ πλήθους. ἔξειχε δὲ ἀπάντων καὶ τὸ ὑψος ἦν βασιλικώτατος.

66 (6) Λέγει δὲ ὁ προφήτης· “τοῦτον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε βασιλέα· ὅρατε δὲ ὡς καὶ κρείττων ἐστὶ πάντων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄξιος.” ὡς δὲ ἐπευφήμησε τῷ βασιλεῖ σωτηρίαν ὁ λαός, τὰ μέλλοντα συμβῆσεσθαι καταγράψας αὐτοῖς ὁ προφήτης ἀνέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκροωμένου καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τίθησιν

¹ RE: προσπιπτόντων rell.

² καὶ om. MSP: ἔτι μὴ conj. Schmidt.

³ κρύπτεται ROE.

(5) The Hebrews having so done, the lot fell to Saul chosen king.
for it the family called Matris^a was successful; and lots being cast for the individuals of that family Saul son of Kis obtained the kingdom. Learning thereof, the young man promptly took himself away, not wishing, I imagine, to appear eager to take the sovereignty. Nay, such was the restraint and modesty^b displayed by him that, whereas most persons are unable to contain their joy over the slightest success but rush to display themselves before all the world, he, far from showing any such pride on obtaining a kingdom and being appointed lord of all those mighty peoples, actually stole away from the view of his future subjects and forced them to search for him, not without trouble. These being baffled and perplexed at Saul's disappearance, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was and to bring him before their eyes. And having learnt from God the place where Saul lay in hiding, he sent to fetch him and, when he was come, set him in the midst of the throng. And he overtopped them all and in stature was indeed most kingly.

(6) Then said the prophet, “This is he whom God^c Saul is acclaimed and returns home.
hath given you for king; see how he both excels all and is worthy of sovereignty!” But after the acclamations of the people, “Long live the king!” the prophet, having put in writing for them all that should come to pass, read it in the hearing of the king^e and then laid up the book in the tabernacle of

^a Bibl. Matri, LXX Ματταρεῖ, etc.

^b Rabbinic tradition (cf. Ginzberg, vi. 231) also emphasizes Saul's modesty.

^c 1 Sam. x. 25 “Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom and wrote it in a book.”

ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σκηνῇ ταῖς μετέπειτα γενεαῖς
 67 μαρτύριον ὅν προείρηκε. ταῦτ' ἐπιτελέσας ὁ
 Σαμουῆλος ἀπολύει τὴν πληθύν· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς
 Ἀρμαθὰ παραγίνεται πόλιν, πατρὶς γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ,
 Σαούλῳ δὲ ἀπερχομένῳ εἰς Γαβαθήν, ἐξ ἧς
 ὑπῆρχε, συνήρχοντο πολλοὶ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ τὴν
 προσήκουσαν βασιλεῖ τιμὴν νέμοντες, πονηροὶ δὲ
 πλείους, οἵ καταφρονοῦντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους¹ ἔχλεύαζον καὶ οὕτε δῶρα προσέφερον
 οὗτ' ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ ἀρέσκεσθαι τὸν
 Σαούλον ἐτίθεντο.

68 (v. 1) Μηρὶ δ' ὕστερον ἄρχει² τῆς παρὰ πάντων
 αὐτῷ τιμῆς ὁ πρὸς Ναάσην πόλεμος τὸν τῶν
 Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα· οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς
 πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ κατώκημένους τῶν
 Ιουδαίων διατίθησι, μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ μαχίμου
 69 στρατεύματος διαβάς ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ τὰς πόλεις
 αὐτῶν εἰς δουλείαν ὑπάγεται, ἵσχυν μὲν καὶ
 βίᾳ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοὺς χειρωσάμενος, σοφίᾳ
 δὲ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ αὖθις ἀποστάντας
 δυνηθῆναι τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ δουλείαν διαφυγεῖν ἀσθε-
 νεῖς ποιῶν· τῶν γὰρ ἡ κατὰ πίστιν ὡς αὐτὸν
 ἀφικνουμένων ἡ λαμβανομένων πολέμου νόμῳ τοὺς
 70 δεξιοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς ἔξεκοπτεν. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦθ',
 ὅπως τῆς ἀριστερᾶς αὐτοῖς ὄψεως ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν
 71 καλυπτομένης ἀχρηστοὶ παντελῶς εἰεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλεὺς ταῦτ' ἐργασάμενος τοὺς
 πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλαδηνοὺς λεγο-

¹ πολλοὺς ROE.

² SP: ἀρχὴ rell.

^a Josephus follows the LXX, which begins a new chapter (1 Sam. xi.) with the words μετὰ μῆνα, probably reading *mi-hôdesh* “after a month,” whereas the Heb. (x. 27 = end of 200

God, as a testimony to after generations of what he had foretold. That task accomplished, Samuel dismissed the multitude and betook himself to the city of Armatha, his native place. Saul, for his part, departed for Gabatha, whence he was sprung; he was accompanied by many honest folk, tendering him the homage due to a king, but by knaves yet more, who, holding him in contempt, derided the rest and neither offered him presents nor took any pains or care to gain the favour of Saul.

(v. 1) However, a month later,^a he began to win war with the esteem of all by the war with Naas,^b king of the Ammonites.
 Nahash the Ammanite.
 1 Sam. xi. 1

For this monarch had done much harm to the Jews who had settled beyond the river Jordan, having invaded their territory with a large and warlike army. Reducing their cities to servitude, he not only by force and violence secured their subjection in the present, but by cunning and ingenuity weakened them in order that they might never again be able to revolt and escape from servitude to him; for he cut out the right eyes of all who either surrendered to him under oath or were captured by right of war. This he did with intent—since the left eye was covered by the buckler—to render them utterly unserviceable. Having then so dealt with the people beyond Jordan,^c the Ammanite king carried his arms against those called Galadenians.^d

preceding chapter) has *maharish* “was silent,” referring to Saul’s attitude toward the disaffected elements.

^b Bibl. Nahash, LXX Ναᾶς.

^c These earlier conquests of Nahash are not mentioned in Scripture.

^d Bibl. Jabesh Gilead, that is the city Jabesh (perhaps modern *Wady Yâbis*) in Gilead, the country east of the Jordan, extending north and south of the river Jabbok.

μένους ἐπεστράτευσε καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τὴν μητροπόλει τῶν πολεμίων, Ἰαβίς δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις κελεύων ἥδη¹ παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς δεξιοὺς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔξορύζαι, η̄ πολιορκήσειν² ἡπείλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἀναστήσειν· τὴν δ' αἰρεσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, πότερόν ποτε βραχύ τι τοῦ σώματος ἀποτεμένη θέλουσιν η̄ παντάπασιν³ ἀπολωλέναι.

72 οἱ δὲ Γαλαδηνοὶ καταπλαγέντες πρὸς οὐδέτερον μὲν ἐτόλμησαν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, οὔτ' εἰ παραδιδόσιν αὐτοὺς οὔτ' εἰ πολεμοῦσιν, ἀνοχὴν δ' ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ λαβεῖν ἦξιώσαν, ἵνα πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ὅμοφύλους παρακαλέσωσι συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔλθοι βοήθεια πολεμῶσιν, εἰ δ' ἄπορα εἴη τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων, παραδώσειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασκον ἐπὶ τῷ παθεῖν ὅ τι ἀν αὐτῷ δοκῇ.

73 (2) Ὁ δὲ Ναάσης καταφρονήσας τοῦ τῶν Γαλαδηνῶν πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως αὐτῶν, δίδωσι τε αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀνοχὴν καὶ πέμπειν πρὸς οὓς ἂν θέλωσι συμμάχους ἐπιτρέπει. πέμψαντες⁴ οὖν εὐθὺς κατὰ πόλιν τοῦς Ἰοραγλίταις διήγγελον⁵ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ναάσου καὶ τὴν ἀμηχανίαν ἐν η̄ καθειστή-
74 κεσαν. οἱ δ' εἰς δάκρυα καὶ λύπην ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῶν περὶ τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς προήχθησαν καὶ πέρα τούτων οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἄλλο πράττειν συνεχώρει τὸ δέος· γενομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐν τῇ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως πόλει καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐν οἷς εἶναι συνέβαινε τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς φρασάντων, ὁ μὲν λαὸς ταῦτα τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπασχεν· ὠδύρετο γὰρ

¹ RO: η̄ rell. ² conj. Niese: πολιορκήσαι codd.
³ πάντες MSP Lat. ⁴ πέμπουσιν ROE.
⁵ οἱ ἡγγελον RO.

Pitching his camp near the capital of his enemies, to ^{1 Sam. xi. 2} wit Jabis, he sent envoys to them, bidding them instantly to surrender on the understanding that their right eyes would be put out: if not, he threatened to besiege and overthrow their cities: it was for them to choose, whether they preferred the cutting out a small portion of the body or to perish utterly. The Galadenians, terror-struck, durst not reply at all to either proposal, whether they would surrender or whether they would fight; but they asked for a seven days' respite, in order to send envoys to their countrymen and solicit their support: if assistance were forthcoming they would fight, but if there should be no hope from that quarter, they undertook to deliver themselves up to suffer whatsoever should seem good to him.

(2) Naas, contemptuous of these Galadenian people ^{Saul learns of the Gileadites plight.} and their answer, gave them their respite and permission to send to whatever allies they would. They ^{1 Sam. xi. 4} therefore straightway sent messengers to each city of the Israelites to report the menaces of Naas and the desperate straits whereto they were reduced. These, on hearing of the plight of the men of Jabis, were moved to tears and grief, but, beyond that, fear permitted them to do no more. When, however, the messengers reached the city of king Saul and recounted the peril wherein they of Jabis lay, the people here too were moved even as were those others,

75 τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν τῶν συγγενῶν· ὁ δὲ Σαοῦλος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν παραγενόμενος ἔργων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτυγχάνει κλαίουσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις, καὶ πυθόμενος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συγχύσεως καὶ κατηφείας αὐτῶν μανθάνει τὰ παρὰ τῶν 76 ἀγγέλων. καὶ ἐνθεος γενόμενος ἀποπέμπει μὲν τοὺς Ἰαβισηνούς, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς ἵξειν βοηθὸς τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν κρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα καὶ νενικηκότας ἥδη καὶ τῶν φόβων ἀπηλλαγμένους ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιτείλας ἴδῃ· ὑπομεῖναι δ' ἐκέλευσέ τινας αὐτῶν ἡγησομένους τῆς ὁδοῦ.

77 (3) Βουλόμενος δὲ φόβῳ ζημίας τὸν λαὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀμμανίτας ἐπιστρέψαι πόλεμον καὶ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ὀξύτερον, ὑποτεμὼν τῶν αὐτοῦ βοῶν τὰ νεῦρα ταῦτα¹ διαθήσειν ἡπείλησε τοὺς ἀπάντων, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ὥπλισμένοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀπαντήσουσιν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀκολουθήσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ Σαμουὴλ τῷ προφήτῃ, ὅπου 78 ποτ'² ἀν αὐτοὺς ἀγάγωσι. τῶν δὲ δι' εὐλάβειαν τῆς κατεπηγγελμένης ζημίας εἰς τὸν ὥρισμένον καιρὸν συνελθόντων ἔξαριθμεῖται ἐν Βαλᾶ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλῆθος· εὑρίσκει δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν χωρὶς τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς εἰς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας συνειλεγμένους, τῆς δὲ φυλῆς ἐκείνης ἥσαν μυριάδες ἑπτά. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἰόρδανον καὶ σχοίνων

¹ Niese: ταῦτα RO Lat.: ταῦτὸ SPE: τοῦτο M.

for they bewailed the calamity of their brethren ; but Saul, entering the city from his labours in husbandry, encountered his fellow-citizens in tears and, on asking the reason for their distress and dejection, learnt the messengers' report. Thereon, divinely inspired, he dismissed the men from Jabis with a promise to come to their aid on the third day^a and ere sunrise to defeat the foe, so that the ascending sun should see them already victors and freed from their fears. Some, however, among them he bade remain with him so that they might guide him on his march.

(3) Then wishing to urge the people, through fear of the penalty, to the war against the Ammanites and that they might come together more quickly he cut the sinews^b of his own oxen and threatened to do the like to the beasts of all who should fail to appear at the Jordan in arms on the following day and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. But when they, through fear of the threatened penalty, mustered at the appointed hour, he had the host numbered at the^c city of Bala^d and found them to have gathered together to the number of 700,000,^e apart from the tribe of Judah : of that tribe there were 70,000.^f Then crossing the Jordan and accomplishing in an all-

^a In Scripture (1 Sam. xi. 9) Saul (or, in the Heb., the Israelites) promises that deliverance will come on the morrow; moreover, the promise is made after the tribes are summoned.

^b In Scripture (1 Sam. xi. 7) Saul dismembers a team of oxen and sends the pieces throughout the borders of Israel.

^c Bibl. Bezek, LXX Βέζεκ ('Αβιέζεκ etc.) ἐν Βαμά, perhaps the modern *Khirbet Ibzīq*, about twelve miles N.E. of Shechem and a little W. of the Jordan, opposite Jabesh Gilead.

^d Heb. 300,000, LXX 600,000.

^e Heb. 30,000, LXX 70,000.

δέκα δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνύσας ὅδὸν φθάνει μὲν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τριχῇ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα διελὼν ἐπιπίπτει πανταχόθεν αἰφνιδίως οὐ προσδοκῶσι τοῖς ἔχθροῖς, καὶ συμβαλὼν εἰς μάχην ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνει τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν καὶ Ναάσην
80 τὸν βασιλέα. τοῦτο λαμπρὸν ἐπράχθη τῷ Σαούλῳ τὸ ἔργον καὶ πρὸς πάντας αὐτὸν διήγγειλε τοὺς Ἐβραίους ἐπαινούμενον καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἀπολαύοντα δόξης ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ· καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινες ἦσαν οἱ πρότερον αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνουν, τότε μετέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ πάντων ἄριστον νομίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς σεσωκέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσας χώρα
81 πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρέφεται καὶ πολλὴν λαβὼν λείαν λαμπρὸς¹ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψεν. ὁ δὲ λαὸς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τῶν Σαούλῳ κατωρθωμένων ἔχαιρε μὲν ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔχειροτόνησε βασιλέα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οὐδὲν ὅφελος αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι λέγοντας ἐβόων “ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν οὗτοι” καὶ “δότωσαν δίκην” καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα φιλεῖ λέγειν ὄχλος ἐπ' εὐπραγίαis ἡρμένος πρὸς τοὺς ἔξευτε-
82 λίζοντας ἔναγχος τοὺς τούτων αἰτίους. Σαούλος δὲ τούτων μὲν ἡσπάζετο τὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν προθυμίαν, ὥμοσε δὲ μήτινα περιόψεσθαι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀναιρούμενον ἐπ' ἔκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας· ἀποτον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένην νίκην αἷματι φῦραι καὶ φόνῳ τῶν ἐκ

¹ λαμπρῶς ROME.

night march a distance of ten *schoenoi*,^a he arrived before the sun was up and, dividing his army into three, fell suddenly from all sides upon the foe, who looked for no such thing, and having joined battle he slew multitudes of the Ammanites and king Naas himself.^b This brilliant exploit achieved by Saul spread his praises throughout all the Hebrews and procured him a marvellous renown for valiance; for if there were some who before despised him, they were now brought round to honour him and to deem him the noblest of all men. For, not content with having rescued the inhabitants of Jabis, he invaded the country of the Ammanites, subdued it all, and, having taken much booty, returned in glory to his own land.^c The people, in their delight at Saul's achievements, exulted at having elected such a king, and, turning upon those who had declared that he would bring no profit to the state, they cried, “Where now are those men?”, “Let them pay for it!”—in short all that a crowd, elated by success, is wont to utter against those who were of late disparaging the authors of it. But Saul, while welcoming their goodwill and devotion to himself, yet swore that he would not suffer one of his countrymen to be put to death that day, for it were monstrous to defile that God-given victory with bloodshed and murder of men of

^a The *schoenos* varied in length between thirty and forty stades, that is, roughly between four and five miles. The length of Saul's march, not given in Scripture, was, therefore, between forty and fifty miles. The distance between the supposed sites of Bezek and Jabesh Gilead is less than twenty miles.

^b 1 Sam. xi. 1 “not two men were left together.”

^c This conquest of Ammonite territory is not mentioned in Scripture.

Saul's
victory over
Nahash the
Ammonite.
1 Sam. xi. 12

ταύτου γένους αὐτοῖς, πρέπειν δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἄλλήλους εὐμενῶς διακειμένους¹ ἔοργάζειν.

83 (4) Σαμουῆλου δὲ φῆσαντος καὶ δευτέρᾳ δεῦν χειροτονίᾳ Σαούλῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπικυρώσαι συνίασι πάντες εἰς Γάλγαλα πόλιν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθεῖν. καὶ πάλιν ὀρῶντος τοῦ πλήθους ὁ προφήτης χρίει τὸν Σαούλον τῷ ἀγίῳ ἐλαίῳ καὶ δεύτερον ἀναγορεύει βασιλέα. καὶ οὕτως ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων πολιτεία εἰς βασιλείαν 84 μετέπεσεν. ἐπὶ γὰρ Μωυσέος καὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἦν στρατηγός, ἀριστοκρατούμενοι διετέλουν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου² τελευτὴν ἔτεσι τοῖς πᾶσι δέκα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὀκτὼ τὸ 85 πλήθος αὐτῶν ἀναρχία κατέσχε. μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἐπανῆλθον πολιτείαν τῷ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρίστῳ δόξαντι γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κατ’ ἄνδρείαν περὶ τῶν ὅλων δικάζειν ἐπιτρέποντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῆς πολιτείας κριτῶν ἐκάλεσαν.

86 (5) Ἐκκλησίαν δὲ Σαμουῆλος ποιήσας ὁ προφήτης τῶν Ἑβραίων “ἐπόμνυμαι,”³ φησίν, “ὑμῖν τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, ὃς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς⁴ ἐκείνους, λέγω δὴ Μωυσῆν καὶ Ἀαρῶνα, παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐξήρπασεν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς δουλείας, μηδὲν μήτ’ αἰδοῖ χαρισαμένους μήτε ὑποστειλαμένους φόβῳ μήτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ πάθει παραχωρήσαντας εἰπεῖν, εἴ⁵ τί μοι πέπρακται σκαιὸν καὶ ἄδικον ἡ κέρδους ἔνεκα ἡ 87 πλεονεξίας ἡ χάριτος τῆς πρὸς ἄλλους· ἐλέγξαι δέ

¹ τῶν ἐκ ταύτου . . . διακειμένους SP: τῶν πρὸς ἄλλήλους συγγενῶν RO. ² ἐκείνων SP Lat. ³ ἐπόμνυμι SPE.

⁴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς om. RO.

⁵ εἰ om. ROME.

their own race, and it better beseemed them to keep feast in a spirit of mutual goodwill.^a

(4) Samuel having now declared it necessary to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second election, proclaims all assembled at the city of Galgala,^b for thither had he bade them come. So yet again, in the sight of all the people, the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil, and for the second time proclaimed him king. And thus was the government of the Hebrews transformed into a monarchy. For under Moses and his disciple Joshua, who was commander-in-chief, they remained under aristocratic rule: after Joshua's death for full eighteen years^c the people continued in a state of anarchy: whereafter they returned to their former polity, entrusting supreme judicial authority to him who in battle and in bravery had proved himself the best; and that is why they called this period of their political life the age of Judges.

(5) Samuel the prophet now called an assembly of the Hebrews and said: “I adjure you by the most High God, who brought those excellent brothers, I mean Moses and Aaron, into this world, and rescued our fathers from the Egyptians and bondage beneath their yoke, that without showing favour through respect, without suppressing aught through fear, without giving room to any other feeling, ye tell me if I have done anything sinister and unjust through love of lucre or cupidity or out of favour to others.

^a Variant reading (after “bloodshed”); “and to celebrate it (the victory) with the murder of their kinsmen.”

^b Bibl. Gilgal. Probably the city near Jericho is meant. Cf. A. v. 20.

^c The only basis for this number seems to be the interval of Moabite oppression after the death of Kenaz, the first judge (according to Josephus). Cf. A. v. 187.

εὶ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τι προσηκάμην, μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον, ἢ πρὸς τροφὴν ἀνεμέσητον δοκεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἢ εἴ τυνος ὑποζύγιον εἰς ἐμὴν ἀποσπάσας χρείαν ἐλύπησα, τούτων ἐν τι κατειπεῖν παρόντος ὑμῶν τοῦ βασιλέως.” οἱ δὲ ἀνέκραγον τούτων οὐδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι, προστῆναι δὲ ὁσίως αὐτὸν καὶ δικαίως τοῦ ἔθνους.

88 (6) Σαμουῆλος δὲ ταύτης ἐξ ἀπάντων τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῷ γενομένης “ἐπεὶ δεδώκατέ μοι,” φησί, “τὸ μηδὲν ἄτοπον ἔθ’ ὑμᾶς περὶ ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν, φέρε νῦν μετὰ παρρησίας ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος, ὅτι μεγάλα ἡσεβήσατε εἰς 89 τὸν θεόν, αἰτησάμενοι βασιλέα. διαμνημονεύειν δὲ ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν, ὅτι σὺν ἔβδομήκοντα μόνοις ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ὁ πάππος Ἰάκωβος διὰ λιμὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἤλθε, κάκει πολλῶν μυριάδων ἐπιτεκνωθεισῶν, ἃς εἰς δουλείας καὶ χαλεπὰς ὑβρεῖς ἥγαγον οἱ Αἴγυπτοι, ὁ θεὸς εὐξαμένων τῶν πατέρων χωρὶς βασιλέως παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ρύσασθαι τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸ πλῆθος, Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀαρὼνα πέμψας ἀδελφούς, οἱ ἥγαγον ὑμᾶς 90 εἰς τὴνδε τὴν γῆν, ἦν νῦν ἔχετε. καὶ τούτων ἀπολαύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προδεδώκατε τὴν θρησκείαν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχειρίους γενομένους ἤλευθέρωσε πρῶτον μὲν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἴσχύος ὑπερτέρους ἀπεργασάμενος, ἐπειτα Ἀμμανιτῶν κρατῆσαι παρασχὼν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν καὶ τελευταίων¹ Παλαιστίνων. καὶ ταῦτ’ οὐ βασιλέως ἥγουμένου διεπράξασθε, ἀλλ’ Ἰεφθάου καὶ Γε-

¹ τελευταῖον MSP.

Convict me if I have accepted aught of such things, heifer or sheep, the acceptance of which for food is yet deemed void of offence ; or if I have aggrieved any man by purloining his beast of burden for my own use, convict me of any one such crime here in the presence of your king.” Thereat all cried out that he had done none of these things, but had governed the nation with holiness and justice.

(6) Then Samuel, having received this testimony from them all, said : “ Seeing that ye grant me that ye can lay no crime to my charge to this day, come now and hearken while I tell you with all boldness what great impiety ye have shown towards God in asking for a king. Nay, it behoved you to remember how that with but seventy souls of our race our grandsire Jacob, through stress of famine, came into Egypt ; and how there, when his posterity, increased by many myriads, had been subjected to bondage and grievous outrage by the Egyptians, God, at the prayer of our fathers, without any king, brought deliverance to the multitude from their distress by sending to them the brothers Moses and Aaron, who brought you into this land which ye now possess. And yet after enjoying these things from God, ye have been traitors to His worship and His religion. Yet for all that, when ye were fallen under the hand of your enemies, He delivered you, first by causing you to triumph over the Assyrians^a and their might, then by granting you victory over the Ammanites and Moabites, and last over the Philistines. And all this ye accomplished, not under the leadership of a king, but with Jephthah

^a A reference to the victory over King Cushan of Aram-Naharaim (Jd. iii. 8), whom Josephus, A. v. 180, calls “king of the Assyrians.”

91 δεῶνος στρατηγούντων. τίς οὖν ἔσχεν ὑμᾶς ἄνοια φυγεῖν μὲν τὸν θεόν, ὑπὸ βασιλέα δὲ εἶναι θέλειν; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέδειξα τοῦτον δν αὐτὸς ἐπελέξατο. ἵνα μέντοι γε φανερὸν ὑμῶν¹ ποιήσω τὸν θεὸν ὀργιζόμενον καὶ δυσχεραίνοντα τῇ τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν αἰρέσει, δηλῶσαι τοῦθ' ὑμῶν τὸν θεὸν² παρασκευάσω διὰ σημείων ἐναργῶς· ὁ γὰρ οὐδέπω πρότερον εἶδεν³ ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς ἐνταῦθα γεγενημένον, θέρους ἀκμῆ χειμῶνα, αἰτησάμενος τὸν θεὸν 92 παρέξω τοῦτο νῦν ὑμῖν ἐπιγνῶναι.” καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ Σαμουὴλου, βρονταῖς σημαίνει τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀστραπᾶς καὶ χαλάζης καταφορᾷ τὴν τοῦ προφήτου περὶ πάντων ἀλήθειαν, ὡς τεθαμβηκότας αὐτοὺς καὶ περιδεεῖς γινομένους ἀμαρτεῖν τε ὅμολογεῖν καὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν εἰς τοῦτο προπεσεῖν, καὶ ἱκετεύειν τὸν προφήτην ὡς πατέρα χρηστὸν καὶ ἐπιεικῆ, τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς εὔμενή καταστῆσαι καὶ ταύτην ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐξύβρισαν ἄλλοις καὶ παρ- 93 ηνόμησαν προσεξειργάσαντο. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ παρακαλέσειν τὸν θεὸν συγγνῶναι περὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς καὶ πείσειν, συνεβούλευε μέντοι δικαίους εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μημονεύειν ἀεὶ τῶν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς κακῶν συμπεσόντων καὶ τῶν σημείων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Μωυσέος νομοθεσίας, εἰ σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐδαιμονίας ἔστιν ἐπιθυμία. 94 εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσουσιν, ἔλεγεν ἥξειν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ μεγάλην ἐκ θεοῦ πληγήν. καὶ ὁ⁴ Σαμουὴλος μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς Ἐβραίοις προφη-

¹ ὑμῶν om. RO.² τὸν θεόν om. Niese.³ τὸν θεόν om. RO.⁴ ὁ om. RO.

and Gedeon for generals. What madness then possessed you to flee your God and to wish to be under a king? Nay, I have appointed him whom He Himself hath chosen. Howbeit, to manifest to you that God is wroth and ill-content at your choice of kingly rule, I will prevail with Him to reveal this to you by signs clearly. For that which not one of you ever saw befall here before—a tempest at midsummer—that through prayer to God I shall cause you now to witness.” Scarce had Samuel spoken these words to the people, when the Deity by thunderings, lightning, and a torrent of hail, attested the truth of all that the prophet had said; whereat astounded and terrified they confessed their sin, into which, they said, they had fallen through ignorance, and implored the prophet, as a kind and gentle father, to render God gracious to them that He might forgive this sin which they had committed in addition to all their other insolences and transgressions. And he promised that he would beseech God to pardon them in this thing and would withal move Him thereto; howbeit, he exhorted them to be righteous and good, and ever to remember the ills that their transgression of virtue had brought upon them, the miracles of God and the legislation of Moses, if they had any desire for continued salvation and continued felicity under their king. But should they neglect these things, there would come, said he, both on them and on their king a great visitation from God. And after thus prophesying to the Hebrews, Samuel dismissed them to their

The storm
attests
God's dis-
pleasure.
1 Sam. xii.
18.

τεύσας ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα βεβαιώσας
ἐκ δευτέρου τῷ Σαούλῳ τὴν βασιλείαν.

95 (vi. 1) Οὗτος δ' ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς
περὶ¹ τρισχιλίους, τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ὥστε
σωματοφυλακεῦν αὐτὸν² λαβὼν αὐτὸς διέτριβεν
ἐν πόλει Βεθῆβῳ,³ Ἰωνάθη δὲ τῷ παιδὶ τοὺς
λοιποὺς δοὺς ὥστε σωματοφυλακεῦν αὐτὸν εἰς
Γέβαλ⁴ ἔπειμψεν. ὁ δ' ἐκπολιορκεῖ τι φρούριον
96 τῶν Παλαιστίνων οὐ πόρρω Γεβάλων. οἱ γὰρ⁵
Παλαιστῖνοι καταστρεφόμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τά
τε ὅπλα αὐτοὺς ἀφηροῦντο καὶ τοὺς ὄχυρωτάτους
τῆς χώρας τόπους φρουρᾶς κατελαμβάνοντο καὶ
σιδηροφορεῖν χρῆσθαι⁶ τε καθάπαξ ἀπηγόρευον
σιδήρῳ, καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόρρησιν⁷ οἱ γεωργοί,
εἴποτε δεήσει⁸ αὐτοὺς ἐπισκευάσαι τι τῶν ἔργα-
λείων, ἢ ὥντιν ἢ δίκελλαν⁹ ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰς γεωργίαν
χρησίμων, φοιτῶντες εἰς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ταῦτα
97 ἔπραττον. ὡς δὲ ἡκούσθη τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἡ
τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀναίρεσις ἀγανακτήσαντες καὶ δεινὴν
ὕβριν τὴν καταφρόνησιν ἡγησάμενοι στρατεύουσιν
ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πεζῶν μὲν τριάκοντα μυριάσιν
ἄρμασι δὲ τρισμυρίοις, ἵππον δὲ ἔξακισχιλίαν
98 ἔπηγοντο· καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαμένων¹⁰ πρὸς πόλει
Μαχμά, τοῦτο Σαούλος ὁ τῶν Ἐβραίων βασιλεὺς

¹ περὶ om. RO.² ὥστε . . . αὐτὸν om. Lat.³ Bethleem Lat.⁴ Γαβᾶς MSP: Gabatha Lat.⁵ + τῆς Γαβᾶς MSP: Lat.⁶ κεχρῆσθαι Schmidt cum RO.⁷ πρόρρησιν RO: causam Lat.⁸ RO: μάκελλαν (-ην) rell.⁹ στρατοπεδεύονται MSP Lat.¹⁰ Gr. Bethēbos, bibl. Bethel.^b The repetition of the Greek phrase "to guard his body" indicates a text corruption.

homes, having for the second time confirmed the kingdom to Saul.

(vi. 1) But Saul chose out of the multitude some Saul pre-
three thousand men, and taking two thousand for his pares for
bodyguard abode for his part in the city of Bethēl(os)^a; war with
the rest he gave as guards^b to his son Jonathan and 1 Sam. xiii. 2,
sent him to Gebala.^c And Jonathan besieged and
took a fortress of the Philistines not far from Gebala.
For the Philistines, in their subjugation of the Jews,^d 19.
had deprived them of their arms and occupied the strongest positions in the country with garrisons,
further forbidding the vanquished to carry any weapon of iron or to make any use at all of iron. In
consequence of this interdict, whenever the peasantry
needed to repair any of their tools, ploughshare or
mattock or other agricultural instrument, they would
go to the Philistines to do this. So when the Philis-^{5.}
tines heard of the destruction of their garrison,
infuriated and deeming such scorn of them a mon-
strous affront, they marched against the Jews with
300,000 footmen,^d 30,000 chariots, and 6000 horse to
support them, and pitched their camp beside the
city of Machma.^e On learning of this, Saul, king of ^{3.}

^a Bibl. Gibeath Benjamin, LXX Γαβαὶ (Γαβαὶ etc.) τοῦ Βενιαμεῖν, perhaps a different site from the Gaba (bibl. Gibeah) mentioned in A. v. 140. Gibeath (of which Gibeath is a construct form in Hebrew) and Gaba or Geba are related words meaning "hill," cf. LXX βουνός. The relation of various sites by these names in the same territory is uncertain because of their confusion in Scripture.

^b Scripture gives no number for the foot-soldiers. Cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 5 "and people like the sand on the seashore in multitude."

^c Bibl. Michmash, LXX Μαχεμᾶς, Μαχμᾶς, etc., modern Mukhmās, about two miles N.W. of the supposed site of Geba, and eight miles N.W. of Jerusalem.

μαθὼν εἰς Γάλγαλα καταβαίνει πόλιν καὶ διὰ πάσης
κηρύσσει τῆς χώρας, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καλῶν τὸν
λαὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Παλαιστίνους, τὴν
δύναμιν ἐκφαντίζων αὐτῶν καὶ διασύρων ὡς οὐκ
ἀξιόλογον οὐδὲ ὥστε φοβεῖσθαι διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς
99 αὐτούς. κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὸ πλήθος τῶν Παλαι-
στίνων οἱ τοῦ Σαούλου κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν
εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τοὺς ὑπονόμους ἔκρυψαν
αὐτούς, οἱ πλείους δὲ εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
γῆν ἔφυγον· αὕτη δ' ἦν Γάδου καὶ Ῥουβήλου.

100 (2) Πέμψας δὲ Σαούλος πρὸς τὸν προφήτην
ἐκάλει πρὸς αὐτὸν συνδιασκεψόμενον περὶ τοῦ
πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ περιμένειν
αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόθι καὶ παρασκευάζειν θύματα·
μετὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ἔξι¹ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤξειν, ὅπως
θύσωσι τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐπειθ' οὗτως
101 συμβάλωσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ περιμένει μὲν ὡς
ὅ προφήτης ἐπέστειλεν, οὐκέτι μέντοι γε διατηρεῖ
τὴν ἐντολήν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔώρα βραδύνοντα μὲν τὸν
προφήτην, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατα-
λειπόμενον, λαβὼν τὰ θύματα τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετέλει².
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Σαμουῆλον ἤκουσε προσιόντα ὑπ-
102 αντησόμενος ἐξῆλθεν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ὄρθως αὐτὸν ἔφη
πεποιηκέναι παρακούσαντα ὥν ἐπέστειλεν αὐτὸς
καὶ φθάσαντα τὴν παρουσίαν, ἦν κατὰ βούλησιν
γινομένην τοῦ θείου πρὸς τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς
θυσίας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους προλάβοι, κακῶς
103 ἱερουργήσας καὶ προπετής γενόμενος. ἀπολογου-
μένου δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου καὶ περιμεναὶ μὲν τὰς

¹ om. RO: septem Lat.

² προσήγαγεν MSP.

the Hebrews, came down to the city of Galgala and sent heralds throughout all the country to call up the people in the name of liberty to the war against the Philistines, belittling and disparaging their strength as inconsiderable and not such that they need fear to hazard battle with them.^a But, on perceiving that 6. host of Philistines, Saul's recruits were in consternation ; and while some hid themselves in the caverns and cavities, the more part fled beyond the Jordan into the territory of Gad and Rubel.^b

(2) Saul then sent word to the prophet, summoning Saul's
him to his presence to confer with him concerning premature
the war and the situation. Samuel bade him wait sacrifice.
^{1 Sam. xiii. 8.} where he was and make ready victims for sacrifice,
for after six days he would come to him, that so they x. 8.
might sacrifice on the seventh day and, that done,
join battle with the enemy. So Saul waited awhile
as the prophet had enjoined upon him; then, however,
he would observe his command no longer, but when
he saw that the prophet tarried and that his own
soldiers were deserting him, he took the victims and xiii. 9.
performed the sacrifice himself. Then, hearing that
Samuel was approaching, he went out to meet him.
But the prophet told him that he had not done rightly
in disobeying his injunctions and anticipating his
advent: he was paying that visit in accordance with
the will of the Deity to preside at the prayers and
the sacrifices on behalf of the people, and now he had
forestalled him by having offered sacrifice wrongly
and by his precipitate haste. Thereat Saul excused
himself, saying that he had waited during those

^a Saul's disparaging remarks about the Philistines are an addition to Scripture.

^b 1 Sam. xiii. 7 “and the land of Gad and Gilead.”

ἡμέρας ὃς ὥρισε λέγοντος, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως μὲν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν διὰ φόβου, στρατοπεδείας δὲ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐν Μαχμᾶ καὶ ἄκοῆς τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Γάλυαλα καταβάσεως ἐπειχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ
 104 Σαμουῆλος "ἄλλὰ σύγε," φησάν, "εἰ δίκαιος ἦσθα καὶ μὴ παρήκουσας ἐμοῦ μηδ' ὅντες ὑπέθετο μοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὁ θεὸς ὠλιγώρησας ταχύτερος ἢ συνέφερε τοῖς πράγμασι γεγονώς, σοὶ τ' αὐτῷ πλεῖστον ἄν βασιλεῦσαι χρόνον ἔξεγένετο
 105 καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἐγγόνοις."¹" καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνεχώρησε παρ' αὐτόν, Σαοῦλος δὲ εἰς Γαβαῶν πόλιν ἔχων ἔξακοσίους² μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἤκε σὺν Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ παιδί. τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείους οὐκ εἶχον ὅπλα, τῆς χώρας σπανιζούσης σιδήρου καὶ τῶν ὅπλα χαλκεύειν δυναμένων· οὐ γὰρ εἴων οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ταῦτα εἶναι, καθὼς³ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν δεδηλώκαμεν. διελόντες δ' εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν στρατιὰν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ κατὰ τοσαύτας ὁδοὺς ἐπερχόμενοι τὴν τῶν Ἐβραίων χώραν ἐπόρθουν, βλεπόντων τε Σαούλον τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου ἀμῦναί τε τῇ γῇ, μεθ' ἔξακοσίων γὰρ μόνων ἦσαν, οὐ δυναμένων. καθεζόμενοι δ' αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀχίας,⁴ ἀπόγονος ὅν Ἡλί τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐπὶ βουνοῦ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ τὴν γῆν λεηλατουμένην ὄρωντες ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ δεινῇ καθεστήκεσαν. συντίθεται δὲ ὁ Σαούλον παῖς τῷ ὄπλοφόρῳ, κρύφα πορευθέντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβολὴν ἐκδρα-

¹ ἐκγόνοις MSP.² + καὶ SP: καθὰ καὶ M.³ διακοσίους E.⁴ Ἐχίας RO.

days which Samuel had appointed, but that necessity, the desertion of his terrified troops, the enemy's encampment at Machma and a report of their intended descent upon him at Galgala, had impelled him to speed the sacrifice. Then Samuel rejoining, "Nay, but for thy part," said he, "hadst thou been righteous and not disobeyed me nor lightly regarded the counsels which God has given me touching the present matter, by acting more hastily than befitted the matter, then would it have been given thee to reign exceeding long, and to thy posterity as well." So Samuel, vexed at what had befallen, returned Saul and Jonathan encamp at Gibeah. ^a 1 Sam. xiii. 16. to his home, while Saul, with but six hundred followers, came with his son Jonathan to the city of Gabaon.^a Most of his men had no arms, the country being destitute of iron and of men capable of forging arms; for the Philistines had prohibited this, as we said just now.^b And now, dividing their army into three companies and advancing by as many routes,^c the Philistines proceeded to ravage the country of the Hebrews under the eyes of Saul, their king, and of his son Jonathan, who, with but six hundred followers, were powerless to defend their land. Seated on a lofty hill, Saul and his son and the high priest Achias,^d a descendant of Eli the high priest, as they watched the devastation of the land, were in a state of deepest anguish. Saul's son then proposed to his armour-bearer that ^e Jonathan's exploit. 1 Sam. xiv. 1 they should secretly sally out alone into the enemy's

^a Bibl. Gibeath Benjamin. Cf. on § 95.^b § 96.^c 1 Sam. xiii. 17 specifies the roads to Ophrah, Beth Horon and "the way of the border looking toward the valley of Zeboim"—all in the territory N. of Jerusalem.^d Bibl. Ahiah. His genealogy is given in 1 Sam. xiv. 3. Cf. on § 122.

μεῖν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ θόρυβον αὐτοῖς.¹
 108 τοῦ δὲ ὁπλοφόρου προθύμως ἐφέκεσθαι² φήσαντος
 ὅποι ποτ' ἀν ἥγηται, καν ἀποθανεῖν δέη, προσ-
 λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου συνεργίαν καὶ καταβὰς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ βουνοῦ πρὸς τὸν πολεμίους ἐπορεύετο.
 ἦν δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ κρημνοῦ,³
 τρισὶν ἄκραις εἰς λεπτὸν ἀπηκονημέναις μῆκος
 πέτρας ἐν κύκλῳ περιστεφανούσης ὥσπερ πρ-
 109 βόλοις τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἀπομαχόμενον. ἔνθεν συ-
 ἔβαινεν ἡμελῆσθαι τὰς φυλακὰς τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 διὰ τὸ φύσει περιεῖναι τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν
 καὶ παντὶ⁴ νομίζειν ἀμήχανον εἶναι κατ' ἐκείνας
 110 οὐκ ἀναβῆναι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προσελθεῖν. ὡς
 οὖν ἦκον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὁ Ἰωνάθης παρ-
 εθάρσυνε τὸν ὁπλοφόρον καὶ “προσβάλωμεν τοὺς
 πολεμίους,” ἔλεγε, “καν μὲν ἀναβῆναι κελεύσωσι
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἰδόντες, σημεῖον τοῦτο νίκης
 ὑπολάμβανε,⁵ ἐὰν δὲ φθέγξωνται μηδὲν ὡς οὐ
 111 καλοῦντες ἡμᾶς, ὑποστρέψωμεν.”⁶ προσιόντων δὲ
 αὐτῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων ὑποφαι-
 νούσης ἥδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἰδόντες οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι,
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον ἐκ τῶν ὑπονόμων καὶ τῶν⁷
 σπηλαίων προϊέναι τὸν ‘Ἐβραίον, καὶ πρὸς
 ’Ιωνάθην καὶ τὸν ὁπλοφόρον αὐτοῦ “δεῦτ”,⁸ ἔφασαν,
 “ἀνέλθετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τιμωρησώμεθα
 112 τῷ τετολμημένῳ ἀξίως.” ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τὴν
 φωνὴν ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς ὡς νίκην αὐτῷ ση-
 μαίνουσαν, παραυτίκα μὲν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ οὖπερ

¹ αὐτοῖς om. RO.

² S: κρημνῷ rell.

³ M: ὑπολαμβάνειν SP.

⁷ τῷ om. RO.

⁸ SP: ἐπεσθαι rell.

⁴ πάντη M: valde Lat.

⁶ ὑποστρέψομεν RO.

camp and create confusion and panic among them. When the armour-bearer replied that he would gladly follow whithersoever he led, though it were to his death, Jonathan, having gained the young man's support, descended from the hill and set off towards the enemy. Now the enemy's camp lay on a cliff, enclosed in a ring of rocks, with three^a peaks tapering to a long narrow ridge and serving as a bulwark to beat off all attacks. Consequently it came about that no care had been taken to guard the camp, because nature had given the place security and it was believed to be absolutely impossible for any man not merely to scale those crags but even to approach them. When therefore they were nearing the encampment, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, saying: “Now let us attack the enemy; and if, on seeing us, they bid us mount up to them, take that for a presage of victory, but if they utter not a word, as though they invited us not, let us then return.” But, as they drew nigh to the enemy's camp, just at the dawn of day,^b the Philistines espied them and said one to another, “Here are the Hebrews coming out of their holes and caverns,” and then to Jonathan and his armour-bearer, “Come on,” they cried, “come up to us, to receive the due punishment for your audacity.”^c But Jonathan and his armour-bearer rout the
 113 καλοῦντες ἡμᾶς, ὑποστρέψωμεν.”⁶ προσιόντων δὲ
 αὐτῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων ὑποφαι-
 νούσης ἥδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἰδόντες οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι,
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον ἐκ τῶν ὑπονόμων καὶ τῶν⁷
 σπηλαίων προϊέναι τὸν ‘Ἐβραίον, καὶ πρὸς
 ’Ιωνάθην καὶ τὸν ὁπλοφόρον αὐτοῦ “δεῦτ”,⁸ ἔφασαν,
 “ἀνέλθετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τιμωρησώμεθα
 112 τῷ τετολμημένῳ ἀξίως.” ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τὴν
 φωνὴν ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς ὡς νίκην αὐτῷ ση-
 μαίνουσαν, παραυτίκα μὲν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ οὖπερ

^a Scripture mentions only two peaks, Bozez and Seneb.

^b The time of the attack is not given in Scripture.

^c 1 Sam. xiv. 12, “come up and we will show you a thing.”

ώφθησαν τόπου τοῖς πολεμίοις, παραμεψάμενοι¹ δὲ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν ἥκον² ἔρημον οὖσαν τῶν 113 φυλαττόντων διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα. κακεῖθεν ἀνερπύσαντες μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐβιάσαντο τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ὡς³ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν πολεμίον, ἐπιπεσόντες δ' αὐτοῖς κοιμωμένοις ἀποκτείνουσι μὲν ὡς εἴκοσι, ταραχῆς δὲ καὶ ἐκπλήξεως αὐτοὺς ἐγέμισαν, ὡς τινὰς μὲν φυγεῖν τὰς παν- 114 οπλίας ἀπορρύφαντας, οἵ δὲ πολλοὶ μὴ γνωρίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν εἶναι, πολεμίους ὑπονοοῦντες ἀλλήλους, καὶ γὰρ⁴ εἴκαζον ἀναβῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἐβραίων οὐ⁵ δύο μόνους, εἰς μάχην ἐτράποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθνησκον κτεινόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ φεύγοντες κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν ὀθούμενοι κατεκρημνίζοντο.

115 (3) Τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου κατασκόπων τεταράχθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Παλαιστίνων φρασάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ, Σαούλος ἡρώτα μή τις εἴη τῶν αὐτοῦ κεχωρισμένος. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸν νιὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν ὄπλοφόρον ἀπεῖναι, κελεύει τὸν ἀρχιερέα λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν προφητεύειν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων. τοῦ δὲ νίκην ἔσεσθαι καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων φράσαντος ἐπεξέρχεται τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις καὶ τεταραγμένοις

¹ παραμεψάμενος MSP.

² conj. Niese: ἥκεν codd. Lat.

⁴ + οὐκ SP.

³ ὡς om. RO.

⁵ οὐ om. SP.

^a Details of the fight are an amplification, in harmony with Josephus's rationalizing tendency.

^b The unscriptural details about the rocks are perhaps suggested by the LXX rendering, in some mss. (*ἐν πετροβόλοις*), of the obscure Hebrew text of 1 Sam. xiv. 14.

had been sighted by the enemy and, turning aside Philistines.
from it, reached the rock which by reason of its 1 Sam. xiv. 12. strength had been left destitute of guards. Thence, creeping up with great labour, they forced their way over the difficulties of the ground and mounted up to the enemy; falling upon these as they slept, they slew some twenty of them and filled the host with such tumult and alarm, that some flung off all their arms and fled, while the more part, not recognizing their comrades, because of the many nationalities of which their army was composed, and taking each other for enemies—for they did not suppose that there had come up against them two only of the Hebrews—they turned to fight one another.^a And some of them perished by the sword, others as they fled were driven over the rocks and hurled headlong.^b

(3) Saul's spies having now reported to the king Saul's oath of allegiance.
that there was a commotion in the camp of the 1 Sam. xiv. 16. Philistines, Saul inquired whether any of his men had gone from him. Then, on hearing that his son and, with him, his armour-bearer were absent, he ordered the high priest to don his high-priestly robes^c and to prophesy to him what would befall. The high priest having declared that it would be victory and triumph over his enemies, the king set off against the Philistines and fell upon them while they were yet panic-

^c In agreement with the LXX which reads "ephod" against the Heb. which has "ark," although the ark was presumably still at Kirjath Jearim. Josephus may, however, have read 'ephod for 'aron (ark) in his Heb. text, in which some scholars suspect a deliberate alteration to obviate the inference that there was more than one ark. (Cf. W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*.) The rabbinic commentaries on this passage explain that the ephod with the Urim and Thummim was in the ark.

116 προσβάλλει καὶ φονεύουσιν ἀλλήλους. προσρέουσι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ πρότερον εἴς τε τοὺς ὑπονόμους καὶ εἴς τὰ σπῆλαια συμφυγόντες, ἀκούσαντες ὅτι νικᾶ Σαοῦλος· γενομένων δὲ ὡς μυρίων ἥδη τῶν Ἐβραίων διώκει τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐσκορπισμένους τὴν χώραν. εἴτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαρᾶς οὕτω παραλόγως γενομένη (συμβάνει γάρ μὴ κρατεῖν τοῦ λογισμοῦ τοὺς οὕτως εὐτυχήσαντας) εἴθ' ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας, εἰς δεινὸν προ-
 117 πίπτει¹ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχον κατάμεμψιν ἔργον· βουλό-
μενος γὰρ αὐτῷ τε τιμωρῆσαι καὶ δίκην ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπαράται τοῖς Ἐβραίοις,
ιν' εἴ τις ἀποσχόμενος τοῦ φονεύειν τοὺς ἔχθροὺς φάγοι² μέχρι³ νῦξ ἐπελθοῦσα τῆς ἀναιρέσεως καὶ τῆς διώξεως αὐτοὺς παύσει τῶν πολεμίων,
 118 οὗτος ἐπάρατος ἦ. τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τοῦτο φήσαν-
τος, ἐπεὶ κατά τινα δρυμὸν ἐγένοντο βαθὺν καὶ μελισσῶν γέμοντα τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας, ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς οὐκ ἐπακηκοὼς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἄρας οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὄμολογίας,
 119 ἀποθλήψας τι κηρίον τοῦ μέλιτος ἤσθιε. μεταξὺ δὲ γνοὺς ὅτι μετὰ δεινῆς ἄρας ὁ πατὴρ ἀπεῖπε μὴ γεύσασθαι τινα πρὸ ἥλιον δυσμῶν, ἐσθίων μὲν ἐπαύσατο, ἔφη δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς⁴ κωλῦσαι τὸν πατέρα· μετὰ μεῖζον γὰρ. ἵσχυος ἀν καὶ πρ-

¹ προσπίπτει MSP.² + καὶ μὴ codd. Glycas: an leg. καὶ δὴ?
³ μέχρις οὖ ΜSP Glycas: ἕως οὖ E: antequam Lat.⁴ + τοῦτο MSP

stricken and massacring one another. Moreover those who earlier had taken refuge in the tunnels and caves, on hearing that Saul was victorious, came streaming toward him; and with now some ten thousand^a Hebrews at his back, he pursued the enemy scattered over the whole countryside. But, whether through exultation at a victory so unexpected—for men are apt to lose control of reason when thus blest by fortune—or through ignorance,^b he rushed into a dreadful and very blameworthy deed. For, in his desire to avenge himself and to exact punishment from the Philistines, he invoked a curse upon the Hebrews, that should any man desist from slaughtering the foe and take food, before oncoming night should stay them from carnage and the pursuit of the enemy, he should be accursed. Now after that Saul had so spoken, when they were come to a dense oak-coppice^c swarming with bees in the portion of Ephraim,^d Saul's son, not having heard his father's curse nor the people's approbation thereof, broke off^e a piece of a honeycomb and began to eat it. But learning, as he did so, how his father under a dire curse had forbidden any man to taste aught before sunset, he ceased to eat,^f but said that his father's interdict was not right, for they would have had more strength and ardour for the pursuit, had they

^a So in the LXX; Heb. omits the number.^b Cf. LXX, 1 Sam. xiv. 24 Σαούλ ἤγνοησεν ἀγνοιαν μεγάλην: Heb. has nothing corresponding.^c The “oak-coppice” is taken from the LXX; Heb. has *ya'ar* which may mean either forest (so the Targum here) or honeycomb.^d So the LXX, 1 Sam. xiv. 23; not mentioned in Heb.^e 1 Sam. xiv. 27, “put forth the end of the staff that was in his hand and dipped it in the honeycomb.”^f Scripture does not say that he ceased to eat.

θυμίας διώκοντας, εἰ τροφῆς μετελάμβανον, πολλῷ πλείονας καὶ λαβεῖν τῶν ἔχθρῶν καὶ φονεῦσαι.

120 (4) Πολλὰς γοῦν¹ κατακόψαντες μυριάδας τῶν Παλαιστίνων, δεῖλης ὄψις ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Παλαιστίνων τρέπονται, καὶ λείαν πολλὴν καὶ βοσκήματα λαβόντες κατασφάζουσι καὶ ταῦτ' ἔναιμα² κατήσθιον. ἀπαγγέλλεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματέων ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἔξαμαρτάνει θῦσαν καὶ πρὶν ἦ τὸ αἷμα καλῶς ἀποπλύναι καὶ τὰς σάρκας ποιῆσαι καθαρὰς ἐσθίον. καὶ ὁ Σαοῦλος κελεύει κυλισθῆναι λίθον μέγαν εἰς μέσον καὶ κηρύσσει θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄχλον τὰ ιερεῖα, καὶ τὰ κρέα μὴ σὺν τῷ αἷματι δαίνυσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον. τοῦτο δὲ πάντων κατὰ τὴν πρόσταξιν τοῦ βασιλέως ποιησάντων ἴστησιν ἐκεῖ βωμὸν ὁ Σαοῦλος καὶ ὠλοκαύτωσεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ³ τῷ θεῷ. τοῦτον πρῶτον βωμὸν κατεσκεύασεν.

122 (5) Ἀγειν δ' εὐθὺς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βουλόμενος πρὶν ἡμέρας, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀκνούντων ἔπεσθαι, πολλὴν δ' εἰς ἀ προστάττει προθυμίαν ἐνδεικνυμένων, καλέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀχίτωβον τὸν ἀρχιερέα κελεύει⁴ αὐτὸν γνῶναι εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ συγχωρεῖ βαδίσασιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν ἔχθρῶν

¹ RO: δ' οὖν MSP: οὖν E.² SPE: ἐν αἷματι rell.³ ἐκεῖ secl. edd.; cf. LXX, 1 Sam. xiv. 34.⁴ ἐκέλευσεν MSP.

partaken of food, and would thus have captured and slain many more of the foe.

(4) Many, for all that, were the myriads of Philistines whom they cut down ere at dusk they turned to the pillage of the enemy's camp; where, having taken much booty and cattle, they slaughtered and set to devouring them all reeking with blood. Thereupon it was reported to the king by the scribes,^a that the host were sinning against God in that, having sacrificed, they were now eating, before they had duly washed away the blood and made the flesh clean.^b Then Saul ordered a great stone to be rolled into the midst and made proclamation to the throng to sacrifice their victims thereon and not to feast upon the flesh with the blood, since that was not well-pleasing to God. And when all had so done in obedience to the king's command, Saul set up an altar there and offered burnt-offerings^c thereon to God. This was the first altar that he built.

(5) Being now desirous to lead his army forthwith to the enemy's encampment to plunder everything therein before daybreak, and seeing that his soldiers, far from hesitating to follow him, showed great alacrity to obey his orders, the king summoned Achitob^d the high priest and bade him ascertain whether God would grant and permit them to proceed to the camp of the foe and destroy such as were

^a Not mentioned in Scripture.^b Cf. A. iii. 260 on Lev. xix. 26, Deut. xii. 16.^c Scripture does not specify that the sacrifices were burnt-offerings, as do Josephus and the rabbis in their discussion of this passage, Bab. Talmud, Zebahim 120 a.^d Priest's name not mentioned in Scripture; according to § 107, the high priest at this time was Achias (bibl. Ahiah), the son of Achitob (bibl. Ahitub).

123 διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τυγχάνοντας. εἰπόντος
δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως μὴ ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὸν θεόν “ἀλλ’ οὐ
δίχα αἴτιας,¹” εἶπεν ὁ Σαοῦλος, “πυνθανομένοις
ἡμῖν φωνὴν οὐ δίδωσιν ὁ θεός, ὃς πρότερον αὐτὸς
προεμήνυσε πάντα καὶ μηδὲ ἐπερωτῶσιν ἔφθασε²
λέγων, ἀλλ’ ἔστι τι λανθάνον ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀμάρτημα
124 πρὸς αὐτὸν αἴτιον τῆς σιωπῆς. καὶ ὅμνυμί γε
τοῦτον αὐτόν, ἥ μην κἄν ὁ παῖς ὁ ἔμος Ἰωνάθης ἥ
τὸ ἀμάρτημα τοῦτο ἐργασάμενος ἀποκτείνειν³
αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ἴλλασσθαι,⁴ ὡς ἀν εἰ καὶ
παρ’ ἀλλοτρίους καὶ μηδὲν ἔμοι προσήκουντος τὴν
125 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δίκην ἀπελάμβανον.” τοῦ δὲ πλήθους
τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπιβοήσαντος, παραχρῆμα πάντας
ἴστησιν εἰς ἕνα τόπον, ισταται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν
τῷ παιδὶ κατ’ ἄλλο μέρος καὶ κλήρῳ τὸν ἡμαρτη-
κότα μαθεῖν ἐπεζήτει· καὶ λαγχάνει δοκεῖν οὗτος
126 εἶναι Ἰωνάθης. ἐπερωτώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
τί πεπλημμέληκε καὶ τί⁵ παρὰ τὸν βίον οὐκ
ὅρθως οὐδὲ ὄσιας αὐτῷ διαπραξαμένω συνέγνωκε
“πάτερ,” εἶπεν, “ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν,” ὅτι δὲ χθὲς
ἀγνοῶν τὴν ἀρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ὄρκον μεταξὺ
διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγεύσατο κηρίων. Σαοῦλος
δ’ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ὅμνυσι καὶ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ
127 τῆς φύσεως τῶν φίλτρων ἐτίμησε⁶ τὸν ὄρκον. ὁ
δ’ οὐ καταπλήττεται τὴν ἀπειλὴν τοῦ θανάτου,
παραστησάμενος δ’ εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως
“οὐδὲ ἐγώ σε,” φησίν, “ἴκετεύσω φείσασθαι μου,
πάτερ, ἥδιστος δέ μοι ὁ θάνατος ὑπέρ τε τῆς σῆς

¹ +τινός SP.² edd.: ἔφθανε MSP: φθάσαι RO.³ codd.: ἀποκτείνειν Hudson.⁴ ἴλλασσθαι Naber.⁵ τί περ RO: τί πεποίηκε καὶ τί SP Glycas.⁶ προτιμήσας ed. pr.: praeponeret Lat.

found therein. The priest having reported that there was no response from God, “Nay, but it is not without cause,” said Saul, “that God gives no answer to our inquiry, He who ere now forewarned us of all Himself and spoke to us even before we inquired of Him. Nay, it is some secret sin against Him on our part that is the cause of this silence.^a Aye and I swear by God Himself that verily, be it my own son Jonathan who hath committed this sin, I will slay him and thus propitiate God, even as though it were from a stranger without kinship with me that I was taking vengeance on His behalf.” The multitude thereon calling upon him so to do, he forthwith caused them all to stand in one place, and stood himself with his son in another, and sought by the lot to discover the sinner; and the lot indicated Jonathan. Being asked by his father wherein he had gone astray and of what wrong or unholy act in all his life he was conscious, “Of nothing, father,” said he, “save that yesterday, all ignorant of that imprecation and oath of thine,^b while in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted a honeycomb.” Saul thereat swore to slay him, respecting his oath more than the tender ties of fatherhood and of nature. Yet Jonathan quailed not before this menace of death, but surrendering himself nobly and magnanimously, “Neither will I,” said he, “entreat thee to spare me, father. Very sweet to me were death undergone for thy

^a First part of Saul’s speech is an addition to Scripture.^b Here the Gr. changes to indirect speech.

εὐσεβείας γινόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ νίκη λαμπρῷ μέγιστον
γάρ παραμύθιον τὸ καταλιπεῖν Ἐβραίους Παλαι-
128 στίνων κεκρατηκότας.” ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ λαὸς πᾶς
ἥλυγησε καὶ συνέπαθεν, ὥμοσέ τε μὴ περιόψεσθαι
τὸν αἴτιον τῆς νίκης Ἰωνάθην ἀποθανόντα. καὶ τὸν
μὲν οὕτως ἔξαρπάζουσι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἄρας, αὐτὸι
δὲ εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεανίσκου ποιοῦνται τῷ θεῷ
ῶστ’ αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος.

129 (6) Καὶ ὁ Σαούλος εἰς τὴν ἕαυτοῦ πόλιν ὑπ-
έστρεψε διαφθείρας ὡσεὶ μυριάδας ἐξ τῶν πολε-
μίων. βασιλεύει δὲ εὐτυχῶς, καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα
τῶν ἔθνων πολεμήσας χειροῦται τό τε Ἀμμανιτῶν
καὶ Μωαβιτῶν καὶ¹ Παλαιστίνους, Ἰδουμαίους τε
καὶ² Ἀμαληκίτας³ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Σωβᾶς.⁴
ἥσαν δὲ παῖδες αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν ἄρσενες Ἰωνάθης
καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ Μέλχισος, θυγατέρες δὲ Μερόβη
καὶ Μιχαάλ.⁵ στρατηγὸν δὲ εἶχε τὸν τοῦ θείου
130 παῖδα Ἀβήναρον. Νήρος δ’ ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο,
Νήρος δὲ καὶ Κεὶς ὁ Σαούλου πατὴρ ἀδελφοὶ
ἥσαν, υἱοὶ δ’ Ἀβελίου.⁶ ἦν δὲ καὶ πλῆθος ἄρ-
μάτων Σαούλῳ καὶ ἵππεων, οἷς⁷ δὲ⁸ πολεμήσειε
νικήσας ἀπηλλάσσετο, καὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους εἰς
εὐπραγίας καὶ μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας προηγάγετο
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέδειξεν ἔθνων δυνατωτέρους,⁹
καὶ τῶν¹⁰ νέων τοὺς δὴ καὶ μέγεθει καὶ κάλλει
διαφέροντας φύλακας τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο.

¹ καὶ om. RO.

² τε καὶ SP: om. rell.

³ om. Lat.: + τε ROME.

⁴ Bosius ex Lat.: ὠβᾶς codd. E: σουβᾶ Zon.

⁵ M: μελχαὰ SP: χθαάλ RO.

⁶ Abihel Lat.: Ἀβήνλου conj. Hudson ex LXX. ⁷ οὖς SE.

⁸ RO: δ' ἀν rell. ⁹ ROE: δυνατωτάτους rell. Lat.

¹⁰ καὶ τῶν RO: τῶν δὲ MSP.

piety’s sake and after brilliant victory ; for highest consolation were it to leave Hebrews triumphant over Philistines.”^a Thereupon all the people were moved to grief and sympathy and they swore that they would not suffer Jonathan, the author of that victory, to die. Thus then did they snatch him from his father’s curse, and themselves offered prayers^b for the young man to God, that He would grant him absolution from his sin.

(6) So Saul returned to his own city after destroying some sixty thousand of the enemy. He then reigned happily and, having made war on the neighbouring nations, subdued those of the Ammanites and Moabites, besides Philistines, Idumaeans and Amalekites, and the king of Sōba. He had three sons, Jonathan, Jesus^c and Melchis,^d and his daughters were Merobe^e and Michaal.^f For commander of his army he had Abēnar,^g his uncle’s son ; that uncle was named Ner, and Ner and Kis, the father of Saul, were brothers, sons of Abelios.^h Saul had, moreover, abundance of chariots and horsemen, and with whomsoever he fought he returned victorious ; and he brought the Hebrews to greatness of success and prosperity and rendered them more powerful than the other nations, and of the young men such as excelled in stature and beauty he took for his bodyguards.

^a Jonathan’s speech is unscriptural.

^b “snatch” and “offered prayers” combine the Heb. “redeemed” (or “rescued”) and the LXX “prayed for” of 1 Sam. xiv. 45.

^c Bibl. Ishui, Heb. Yishwi, LXX Ἰεσσιούλ (v.l. Ἰσουεῖ).

^d Bibl. Melchishua, LXX Μελχεισά.

^e Bibl. Merab, LXX Μερόβη.

^f Bibl. Michal, LXX Μελχάλ.

^g Bibl. Abner, Heb. Abīner, LXX Ἀβεννήρ. Cf. § 58.

^h Bibl. Abiel.

Saul's
victories.
1 Sam. xiv
46.

131 (vii. 1) Σαμουῆλος δὲ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως αὐτὸν ὑπομνήσῃ ὅτι βασιλέα προκρίνας αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ὁ θεὸς ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πείθεσθαι καὶ κατήκοον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, ὡς αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχοντος τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίαν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τὴν καὶ¹ ἔκείνου καὶ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων. λέγειν τούνναν ἔφασκε τὸν θεόν· “ἐπεὶ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς Ἐβραίους Ἀμαληκίται διέθηκαν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον, ὅτε ἐξελθόντες ἀπ’ Αἴγυπτου εἰς τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς ἐστέλλοντο χώραν, κελεύω πολέμῳ τιμωρησάμενον τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας 133 καὶ κρατήσαντα μηδέν² αὐτῶν ὑπολιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάσης διεξελθεῖν ἥλικίας, ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν κτείνειν καὶ νηπίων καὶ τοιαύτην ὑπὲρ ὅν τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν εἰργάσαντο τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, φείσασθαι δὲ μήτε ὑποζυγίων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ κτῆσιν ἴδιαν, ἀπαντα δ’ ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸ Ἀμαλήκου ὄνομα ταῖς Μωυσέος κατακολουθήσαντ’ ἐντολαῖς ἔξαλεῖψαι.”

134 (2) ‘Ομολογεῖ δὲ ποιήσειν Σαοῦλος τὰ προστασόμενα, τὴν δὲ πειθαρχίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας στρατείαν λογιζόμενος εἶναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα καὶ τὸ τάχος ἀναβολῆς οὐ προσούσης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμφανίζειν,³ ἀθροίζει τε πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ταύτην ἔξαριθμήσας ἐν Γαλγάλοις εὑρίσκει τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἔξω τῆς Ἰουδαίας φυλῆς περὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας· ηδε γάρ ή φυλὴ καθ’

¹ τὴν καὶ conj. Niese: καὶ τὴν κατ' codd.

² S: μηδὲν rell.

³ τῷ τὴν . . . ἐμφανίζειν ex Lat.: τὴν . . . ἐμφανίζει codd.

(vii. 1) Samuel now came to Saul and said that he Samuel sends Saul had been sent to him by God to recall to him that to exterminate the God had preferred him above all others and created Amalekites him king, and that he ought therefore to obey and give ear to Him, for, while he had dominion over the nations, God had dominion both over him and over the universe. He thereupon announced that God had spoken thus: “Forasmuch as the Amalekites did much evil to the Hebrews in the wilderness, when they were come out of Egypt and on their way to the land that now is theirs, I command thee to take vengeance on the Amalekites in war and, when victorious, to leave not one of them remaining; but you shall deal death to all of every age, beginning with the women and infants, and in this wise take vengeance for what they did to your forefathers; thou art to spare neither beasts of burden nor any cattle at all for private profit or possession, but to devote all to God and, in compliance with the behests of Moses,^a to blot out the name of Amalek.”

(2) These injunctions Saul promised to fulfil; and reflecting that obedience to God lay not merely in making this campaign against the Amalekites, but would be displayed yet more by an alacrity and haste that brooked no delay, he mustered all his forces and, having numbered them at Gilgal,^b found that the Israelites, apart from the tribe of Judah, were some 400,000 men; that tribe by itself furnished 30,000

^a Cf. A. iii. 60 on Ex. xvii. 14, and A. iv. 304 on Deut. xxv. 17. Moses is not mentioned in Scripture at this point.

^b So the LXX; Heb. has Telaim, a city in southern Judah.

135 αὐτήν ἔστι στρατιῶται τρισμύριοι. Σαοῦλος δ' ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν χώραν ἐνέδρας πολλὰς καὶ λόχους περὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν τίθησιν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μαχόμενος¹ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶσι κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιπίπτων καὶ κυκλούμενος² ἀναιρεῖν· καὶ δὴ συμβαλὼν αὐτοὺς εἰς μάχην τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαφθείρει πάντας, φεύγουσιν ἐπ-
136 ακολουθῶν. ὡς δ' ἐκεῦνο τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν ἔχώρησε, ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν προσέβαλε καὶ τὰς μὲν μηχανῆμασι, τὰς δὲ ὄρυγμασιν ὑπονόμοις καὶ τείχεσιν ἔξωθεν ἀντωκοδομημένοις, τὰς δὲ λιμῷ καὶ δύψει, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοις τρόποις ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ λαβὼν κατὰ κράτος, ἐπὶ σφαγὴν γυναικῶν καὶ νηπίων ἔχώρησεν, οὐδὲν ὡμὸν οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνης σκληρότερον διαπράσσεσθαι φύσεως ἥγονόμενος, πρῶτον μὲν πολεμίους ταῦτα δρῶν, ἐπειτα προστάγματι θεοῦ, ὡς
137 τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι κίνδυνον ἔφερε. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἔχθρῶν "Αγαγον αἰχμάλωτον, οὐθαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας ἄξιον ἔκρινεν, οὐκέτι τοῦτο ποιῶν κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, πάθει δὲ νικώμενος ἴδιω καὶ χαριζόμενος ἀκαίρως περὶ ὅν οὐκ εἶχεν
138 ἀκίνδυνον ἔξουσίαν οἴκτω. ὁ μὲν³ γάρ θεὸς οὕτως ἐμίσησε τὸ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἔθνος, ὡς μηδὲ

¹ conj. Niese ex Lat.: μαχομένους codd.

² conj. Niese: ἐπιπίπτειν καὶ κυκλουμένους codd.

³ μὲν om. MSP.

^a Both numbers in agreement with most mss. of the LXX; Heb. has 200,000 and 10,000 respectively.

^b Josephus here omits Saul's invitation to the Kenites to separate themselves from Amalek (1 Sam. xv. 6), before his
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combatants.^a Having then invaded the country of the Amalekites,^b Saul posted numerous pickets and ambuscades around the ravine,^c with intent not only to molest them in open warfare, but also to fall upon them unexpectedly on the roads and envelop and destroy them; and in fact, on joining battle with them he routed the enemy and, pursuing the fugitives, destroyed them all. That task having, in accordance with God's prediction, been successfully achieved, he attacked the cities of the Amalekites; and when, some by engines of war, others by mining operations and exterior opposing walls, others by hunger and thirst, and yet others by other means,^d he had carried and stormed them all, he then proceeded to the slaughter of women and infants, deeming naught therein cruel or too savage for human nature to perform, first because they were enemies whom he was treating thus, and then because of the commandment of God, whom it was dangerous to disobey. But he also took prisoner the enemy's king, Agag,
Saul captures Agag.
1 Sam. xv. 8.

attack upon the latter. In § 140 he alludes to this scriptural

passage in mentioning the Sikimites. Cf. note *ad loc.*

^e Scripture does not tell us what ravine (Heb. *nahal*, "bed of a stream," cf. Arabic *wady*) is meant; the geographical

details are vague throughout this account.

^a Details of the invasion and sieges are an amplification.

^e Saul's aesthetic motive for sparing Agag is an invention of Josephus.

νηπίων φείσασθαι κελεῦσαι πρὸς ἄ μᾶλλον ἔλεος γίνεσθαι πέφυκε, Σαοῦλος δὲ αὐτῶν¹ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν εἰς Ἐβραίους κακῶν ἔσωσε, τῆς μνήμης ὥν ἐπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ τοῦ πολεμίου 139 κάλλος ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησάμενος. συνεξήμαρτε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐφείσαντο καὶ διήρπασαν, μὴ τηρεῖν αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἔξεφόρησαν, εἰ δέ τι μὴ σπουδῆς ἦν ἀξιον ὥστε κεκτῆσθαι διέφθειραν.

140 (3) Νικήσας δὲ Σαοῦλος ἄπαντας τοὺς ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου τῆς Αἰγύπτου καθήκοντας ἕως τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης διέφθειρε πολεμίους,² παραλιπὼν τὸ τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἔθνος· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μαδινῇ χώρᾳ μέσοι κατώκηνται. πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης πέμψας παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρεῖν, μὴ τοῖς Ἀμαληκίταις κοιωνήσωσι συμφορᾶς· συγγενεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὅντας Ἀραγουῆλου τοῦ Μωυσέος πενθεροῦ σώζειν αἰτίαν ἔχειν.

141 (4) Καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν ὡς μηδενὸς παρακούσας ὧν ὁ προφήτης ἐπέστειλε μέλλοντι τὸν πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις ἀκριβῶς πεφυλαγμένοις νενικηκὼς τοὺς πολεμίους οἴκαδε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψε χαίρων

¹ αὐτὸν R¹S: regem Agag Lat.

² RO Lat.: τὴν τῶν πολεμίων M (+ χώραν E): τὰ τῶν πολεμίων SP.

^a 1 Sam. xv. 7 “from Havilah until thou comest to Shur over against Egypt”; Josephus reverses the directions, assuming that Shur corresponds to Pelusium and that Havilah is somewhere near the Red Sea.

^b 1 Sam. xv. 6 “Kenites.” “Sikimites,” which is geographically impossible (=inhabitants of Shechem), may

even the infants, to whom it is more natural that pity should be shown; but Saul saved their king, the author of all the injuries to the Hebrews, having had more regard for the beauty of his enemy than for memory of what God enjoined. The people too were his partners in sin; for they spared the beasts and the cattle and took for their prey what God had forbidden to be preserved, and carried off all the chattels and riches beside; but whatever was not worth coveting as a possession that did they destroy.

(3) Conquering the whole district extending from Saul's Pelusium in Egypt to the Red Sea,^a Saul destroyed further conquests. the inhabitants as enemies, saving only the race¹ Sam. xv. of the Sikimites,^b who had settled in the heart of 6, 7. the country of Midian. To these he had, before the combat, sent messengers admonishing them to withdraw, lest they should share the fate of the Amalekites; for, being kinsmen of Raguel, the father-in-law of Moses, he had, as he said, good reason to spare them.^c

(4) So Saul, as though he had neglected none God's anger at Saul's transgression. of the injunctions which he had received from the prophet when embarking on his campaign against the Amalekites, but had strictly observed them all 1 Sam. xv. 10. in having conquered his enemies, returned homeward

be due to corruption in Josephus's text. Rappaport makes the interesting suggestion that either Josephus wrote “Silmites,” the Greek form of the Targum’s name “Shalma’ah” for the Kenites, and that this was corrupted to “Sikimites,” or that he connected Shalma’ah with Shechem on the basis of Gen. xxxiii. 18 “Shalem a city of Shechem.”

^a Cf. A. v. 127. The reference to the kinship with Moses is paralleled in rabbinic tradition. Scripture ascribes Saul's consideration to the Israelites' memory of services rendered them by the Kenites in the Exodus.

142 ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἄχθεται τῇ τε¹ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν σωτηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν βοσκημάτων διαρπαγῇ τοῦ πλήθους, ὅτι μὴ συγχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτ’ ἐπράχθη· δεινὸν γὰρ ἥγεντο νικᾶν μὲν καὶ περιγύνεσθαι τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐκείνου τὴν ἴσχὺν διδόντος αὐτοῖς, καταφρονεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ παρακούεσθαι μηδὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπον βασιλέα.

143 μετανοεῦν οὖν ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Σαμουῆλον ἐπὶ τῷ χειροτονῆσαι βασιλέα τὸν Σαοῦλον, μηδὲν ὅν αὐτὸς κελεύει πράττοντα, τῇ δ’ οἰκείᾳ βουλήσει χρώμενον. σφόδρα ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας ὁ Σαμουῆλος συνεχύθη² καὶ δι’ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς παρακαλεῖν ἤρξατο τὸν θεὸν καταλλάττεσθαι τῷ Σαοῦλῳ καὶ 144 μὴ χαλεπαίνειν. ὁ δὲ τὴν συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐπένευσεν εἰς τὸν Σαοῦλον αἴτουμένῳ τῷ προφήτῃ, λογισάμενος οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον ἀμαρτήματα³ χαρίζεσθαι παραιτήσει⁴. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς φύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ καταμαλακίζεσθαι⁵ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους. Θηρωμένους γὰρ δόξαν ἐπιεικείας καὶ χρηστότητος λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς⁶ ταῦτα γεννῶντας.

145 ὡς οὖν ἀπέιπεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ τοῦ προφήτου δεήσει καὶ δῆλος ἦν⁷ μεταμελόμενος, ἀμ’ ἡμέρᾳ Σαμουῆλος εἰς Γάλγαλα παραγίνεται πρὸς Σαοῦλον. θεασάμενος δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς προστρέχει καὶ κατασπασάμενος “τῷ θεῷ,” φησίν, “εὐχαριστῶ δόντι μοι τὴν νίκην, ἀπαντα μέντοι γε τὰ κελευσθέντα 146 ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πέπρακται.⁸” Σαμουῆλος δὲ πρὸς τοῦθ’ ὑπολαβὼν “πόθεν οὖν ἀκούω θρεμμάτων,” εἶπε,

¹ M Suidas: τῇ ROE: ἐπὶ τε τῇ SP.

² διεχύθη RO.

³ ed. pr.: ἀμαρτήμασι codd.

⁴ Niese: παραιτησιν codd. (-τῆσειν ed. pr.).

⁵ μαλακίζεσθαι O.

⁶ P²: αὐτοὺς rell.

⁷ + μὴ MSP Lat. vid.

⁸ O: πεπρᾶχθαι rell.

exultant at his success. But God was ill pleased at his sparing the life of the king of Amalek and at the people's making plunder of the cattle, because these things had not been permitted by Him; for He deemed it an outrage that when they had conquered and defeated the foe through the might which He had given them, He should meet with such contempt and disobedience as they would show to no human king. He therefore told the prophet Samuel that He repented of having elected Saul as king, since he was in no wise executing His commands, but doing according to his own pleasure. On hearing this Samuel was sore troubled, and all night long set himself to entreat God to be reconciled to Saul and not wroth with him. But God would grant no pardon to Saul at the prophet's request, accounting it not just to condone sins at the intercession of another; for nothing more favoured their growth than laxity on the part of the wronged, who in seeking a reputation for mildness and kindness are unwittingly the begetters of crime. When therefore God had refused the prophet's prayer and showed that He repented Himself,^a Samuel at break of day repaired to Gilgal prophesies Saul's doom. 1 Sam. xv. 12. Galgala to meet Saul. At sight of him, the king ran to him and embraced him. “I render thanks,” said he, “to God who has given me victory; and moreover, all His commands have been performed.” Whereto Samuel replied, “Whence comes it then

^a i.e. of having made Saul king, cf. 1 Sam. xv. 35. The variant text δῆλος ἦν μὴ μεταμελόμενος “and showed no change of mind” is probably due to scribes who thought that Josephus was referring to God's decision to punish Saul in spite of Samuel's intercession.

" καὶ ὑποζυγίων βοῆς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ; " ὁ δὲ τὸν λαὸν ταῦτ' εἰς θυσίας ἀπεκρίνατο τετηρηκέναι· τὸ μέντοι γε τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν γένος ἅπαν ἔξη-
φανίσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ περιλείπεσθαι ἄλλον
μηδένα, πρὸς δ' αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν μόνον τηρήσαντα
αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα, περὶ οὐ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν βουλεύσε-
147 σθαι¹ πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἔφασκεν. ὁ δὲ προφήτης
οὐχὶ θυσίαις ἔλεγεν ἥδεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δικαίοις οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν οἱ τῇ βουλήσει
καὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ κατακολουθοῦντες καὶ
μηδὲν ἄλλο πραχθῆσεσθαι καλῶς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν νομί-
ζοντες ἡ ὁ τι ἀν ποιήσωσι τοῦ θεοῦ κεκελευκότος·
καταφρονεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχ ὅταν αὐτῷ μὴ θύῃ τις,
148 ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀπειθεῖν δοκῇ. " παρὰ δὲ τῶν οὐχ
ὑποτασσομένων οὐδ' ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνην τῷ θεῷ
κεχαρισμένην θρησκευόντων θρησκείαν, οὔτ' ἀν
πολλὰ καὶ πιμελῆ καταθύσασιν ἵερεῖα, οὔτ' ἀν
κόσμον ἀναθημάτων ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ πε-
ποιημένων προσφέρωσι, δέχεται ταῦτ' εὐμενῶς,
ἀλλ' ἀποστρέφεται καὶ δείγματα τῆς πονηρίας οὐκ
149 εὐσέβειαν ἡγεῖται. τοῖς δ' ἐν καὶ μόνον τοῦθ' ὁ τι
περ ἀν φθέγξηται καὶ κελεύσῃ ὁ θεὸς διὰ μνήμης
ἔχουσι καὶ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ παραβῆναι τι τούτων
αἵρουμένοις ἐπιτέρπεται, καὶ οὕτε θυσίαν ἐπιζητεῖ
παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ θυόντων δέ, κἄν ἢ λιτά, τῆς
πενίας ἥδιον τὴν τιμὴν ἢ παρὰ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων
150 δεξιοῦται. σὺ τούνν ἴσθι σαντὸν δι' ὄργης ὅντα
τῷ θεῷ· κατεφρόνησας γὰρ καὶ κατημέλησας ὡν
ἐπέστειλε. πῶς οὖν οἴει τὴν θυσίαν ἀν αὐτὸν
προσβλέπειν ἐξ ὧν κατέκρινεν ἀπολέσθαι γινο-

¹ Ernesti ex Lat.: βουλεύεσθαι codd.

that I hear sounds of cattle and beasts of burden in the camp ? " The king answered that the people had reserved these for sacrifice, but that the race of the Amalekites had been utterly exterminated in accordance with the divine command, and that not one had been left alive, save only their king, whom he had preserved and brought to Samuel, and concerning whose fate they would, he said, take counsel together. But the prophet answered that the Deity took not delight in sacrifices, but in good and righteous men, namely such as follow His will and His commandments and deem that no act of theirs will have been rightly done save what they do at God's bidding ; for contempt of God, he said, is shown not in withholding sacrifice but in appearing to disobey Him. " And from such as submit not nor offer the true worship that alone is acceptable to God, even though they sacrifice many fat victims, even though they present to Him sumptuous offerings wrought of silver and gold, yet does He not receive these gifts graciously, but rejects them and regards them as tokens of iniquity rather than as piety. But they who are mindful of this one thing alone, to wit what God has spoken and commanded, and who choose rather to die than to transgress aught thereof, in them does He rejoice ; from them He requires no sacrifice, or, should they offer any, however modest, more gladly does He welcome this homage from poverty than that of the wealthiest. Know, then, that thou thyself hast incurred the wrath of God, for thou hast held lightly and neglected His commandments. How thinkest thou that He could look upon a sacrifice offered from those things which He doomed

μένην; πλὴν εἰ μὴ νομίζεις ὅμοιον ὀλέθρῳ¹ τὸ θύεσθαι ταῦτα τῷ θεῷ. προσδόκα τοίνυν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφαιρεθῆσόμενος καὶ τὴν ἔξουσίαν, ἀφ' ἣς ὄρμώμενος τοῦ παρασχόντος σοι θεοῦ ταύτην 151 ἡμέλησας.” Σαοῦλος δὲ ἀδικεῖν ὥμολόγει καὶ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἡρνεῖτο· παραβῆναι γὰρ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ προφήτου· κατὰ μέντοι γε δέος καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβον μὴ κωλῦσαι διαρπάζοντας αὐτοὺς τὴν λείαν μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν. “ἀλλὰ συγγίνωσκε καὶ πρᾶος ἵσθι.” φυλάξεσθαι γὰρ εἰς τούπιὸν ἀμαρτεῖν, παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν προφήτην ὑποστρέψαντα θυσίας χαριστηρίους ἐπιτελέσαι τῷ θεῷ· ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἔώρα τὸν θεὸν διαλλαττόμενον, ἀπῆγε πρὸς ἑαυτόν.

152 (5) Σαοῦλος δὲ κατασχεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν Σαμουὴλον ἐλλαμβάνεται² τῆς διπλοῖδος, καὶ βιαίας τῆς ὀλκῆς διὰ τὸ μεθ' ὄρμῆς ἀπιέναι³ τὸν Σαμουὴλον γενομένης διασχίζει τὸ ἱμάτιον. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτως αὐτοῦ διασχισθῆναι φήσαντος καὶ λήψεσθαι ταύτην ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ἐμμένειν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκριμένοις, ὡς τοῦ μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ στρέφειν τὴν γνώμην 153 ἀνθρωπίνου πάθους ὄντος οὐχὶ θείας ἴσχύος, ὁ⁴ Σαοῦλος ἀσεβῆσαι μὲν ἔλεγεν, ἀγένητα δὲ ποιῆσαι τὰ πεπραγμένα μὴ δύνασθαι· τιμῆσαι γε μὴν αὐτὸν παρεκάλει, τοῦ πλήθους ὄρῶντος, σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενόμενον τὸν θεὸν προσκυνῆσαι. δίδωσι δὲ τοῦτο Σαμουὴλος αὐτῷ καὶ συνελθὼν προσκυνεῖ τῷ θεῷ.

¹ SPM¹: ὀλέθρου M²: ὀλεθρον O.

² ἐπιλαμβάνεται S² Zon (cf. LXX codd.).

³ Dindorf: ἀπεῖναι codd.

⁴ + δὲ codd.

to destruction? Unless it be that thou regardest the sacrificing of them to God as equivalent to destroying them! Expect, therefore, that thou wilt be deprived of thy kingship and of the power upon which thou hast presumed in neglecting the God who gave it thee.” Saul admitted that he had done wrong and did not deny his sin; yes, he said, he had transgressed the prophet’s commands; yet indeed it was from fear and dread of his soldiers that he had not prevented them from plundering the spoils nor restrained them. “But,” said he, “pardon me and be merciful,” and promised to beware of offending in future. Then he besought the prophet to return (with him) and sacrifice thank-offerings^a to God. But Samuel, seeing that God was not to be reconciled, departed to his home.

(5) Then Saul, seeking to detain Samuel, laid hold upon his mantle and, since Samuel was hastening to be gone, pulled it so violently that he rent the garment in twain. Whereat the prophet said that even so had his kingdom been rent from him, and that one would succeed to it who was virtuous and just, for God would abide by what He had decreed concerning him, as change and reversal of judgement were the part of human frailty and not of divine power. Saul replied that, impious though he had been, he could not undo what had been done; however he besought him at least to do him honour in the eyes of the multitude by coming with him to worship God.^b Samuel granted him this request and went with him and worshipped God. Then too was

^a 1 Sam. xv. 25 “that I may worship the Lord.”

^b Josephus infers that Samuel also worshipped. Scripture says that Samuel returned with Saul and “Saul worshipped the Lord.”

155 ἄγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἄγαγος πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ πυνθανομένου πῶς εἴη πικρὸς ὁ θάνατος, εἶπεν “ ὡς σὺ πολλὰς μητέρας Ἐβραίων ἐπὶ τέκνοις ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ πένθος ἄγειν ἐποίησας, οὕτως ὀδυνήσεις ἐπὶ σαυτῷ διαφθαρέντι τὴν μητέρα.” καὶ κελεύει παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἐν Γαλγάλοις ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Ἀρμαθὰν πόλιν ἀπαλλάσσεται.

156 (viii. 1) Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰσθόμενος ὅντιν¹ πειραθείη κακῶν ἔχθρὸν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν κατασκευάσας, εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἀναβαίνει Γαβᾶ, σημαίνει² βουνὸν ἔρμηνευόμενον τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνην οὐκέτι τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς ὅψιν ἔρχεται τῷ 157 προφήτῃ. Σαμουήλῳ δὲ λυπουμένῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι μὲν τῆς φροντίδος ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός, λαβόντι δὲ τὸ ἄγιον ἔλαιον³ εἰς Βηθλέμην ἀπελθεῖν πόλιν πρὸς Ἰεσσαῖον παῖδα Ὁβήδον καὶ χρῖσαι τῶν νιών αὐτοῦ δὲν ἀν αὐτὸς ἐπιδείξῃ βασιλέα γενησόμενον. ὁ δὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι φήσας, μὴ τοῦτο μαθὼν Σαοῦλος ἀνέλῃ λοχήσας αὐτὸν ἦ καὶ φανερῶς, ὑποθεμένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δόντος ἀσφαλείας ὁδὸν ἥκειν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν. καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν ἡσπάζοντό τε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀφίξεως ἀνηρώτων, ἔλεγε δὲ ἥκειν ἵνα θύσῃ τῷ θεῷ. ποιήσας οὖν τὴν θυσίαν καλεῖ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ⁴ καὶ θεασάμενος

¹ Δην ins. Niese.

² + δὲ MSP.

³ ἄγιον ἔλαιον] ἄγγειον τοῦ ἔλαιου E Lat.

⁴ ἱερεῖα MSP.

So, apparently, the LXX and Targum of 1 Sam. xv. 32. The Hebrew is obscure and is variously explained by Jewish interpreters.

brought to him Agag, king of the Amalekites ; and when the prisoner asked what manner of bitter death his would be,^a Samuel said, “ As thou hast made many mothers of Hebrews to lament and mourn for their children, so shalt thou cause thy mother to grieve over thine own destruction.” He then ordered him instantly to be put to death^b in Galgala, and he himself departed to the city of Armatha.

(viii. 1) But King Saul, perceiving what ills he had incurred in making God his enemy, went up to his palace at Gaba^c (a name which is interpreted to mean “ hill ”) and from that day onward came no more into the prophet’s sight. As Samuel, however,^d yet grieved for him, God bade him banish his care and, taking the holy oil, to repair to the city of Bethlehem to Jesse son of Obed,^e and to anoint from among his sons him whom He Himself should point out as the future king. Samuel replied that he was fearful lest Saul on learning of this should slay him by ambush or even openly ; but, God having advised him^f and provided him a way of safety, he came to the city aforesaid. Here all greeted him and questioned him concerning the cause of his coming, and he said that he was come to sacrifice to God. Having then performed the sacrifice, he called Jesse with his children to the sacred feast, and when

^b Josephus discreetly passes over the details ; 1 Sam. xv. 33 “ and Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord.” Rabbinic tradition states that the execution was not in accordance with Jewish forms of justice.

^c So LXX ; Heb. Gibeah of Saul. Cf. § 95 note.

^d 1 Sam. xvi. 1 “ Jesse the Bethlehemite.” His father’s name is given earlier, A. v. 336 (Ruth iv. 22).

^e Scripture explains more fully by mentioning, at this point, the pretext of sacrificing.

Samuel goes to Bethlehem to anoint a son of Jesse as king.
1 Sam. xv. 34.

αὐτοῦ τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν νίων εὐμεγέθη καὶ καλόν, εἴκασεν ἐκ τῆς εὐμορφίας τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν. διαμαρτάνει δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας· ἐπερωτήσαντι γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰ χρίσει τῷ ἔλαιῳ τὸν νεανίσκον δὸν αὐτός ἐτεθαυμάκει¹ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιον ἔκρινεν, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ βλέπειν ἀνθρώπους εἶπε καὶ θεόν· “ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπιδὼν τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ δὴ τοῦτον ἡγγί ἄξιον τοῦ βασιλεύειν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ σωμάτων εὐμορφίας ἐπαθλον ποιοῦμαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀλλὰ ψυχῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ ζητῶ ὅστις ταύτης² ἐστὶ τελέως εὐπρεπῆς, εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ πειθοῖ, ἐξ ὧν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς συνίσταται κάλλος, 161 κατακεκοσμημένος.” ταῦτα φράσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ πάντας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον τοὺς νίοὺς ἐπιδεῖξαι Σαμουῆλος· ὃ δὲ πέντε ἄλλους ἐποίησεν ἐλθεῖν, ὃν δὲ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἐλίαβος,³ ὃ δεύτερος Ἀμινάδαβος, Σάμαλος ὁ τρίτος, ὃ τέταρτος Ναθαναῆλος, καὶ Ῥάηλος ὁ πέμπτος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὃ δὲ 162 ἕκτος Ἀσαμος. ἴδων δὲ καὶ τούτους ὁ προφήτης μηδὲν χείρους τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου⁴ ταῖς μορφαῖς ἐπηρώτησε τὸν θεὸν τίνα τούτων αἱρεῖται βασιλέα. εἰπόντος δὲ οὐδένα, πινθάνεται τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου, μὴ 163 πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι παῖδες εἰσι. φήσαντος δὲ εἶναι Δαυὶδην⁵ τοῦνομα, ποιμαίνειν δὲ καὶ τῆς

¹ αὐτός τε θαυμάζει RO.² ταύτη Coccceji: ταύτη Ernesti.³ Ταλλαβος RO.⁴ πρεσβυτάτου Niese.⁵ Δαβὶδην RO et sic infra.^a His name, Eliab, is given below, § 161.^b These virtues, perhaps intended to correspond to the

he beheld his eldest son,^a well-grown and fair, he surmised from his comeliness that this was the destined king. But he mistook God's design; for, when he asked Him whether he should anoint with the oil this young man whom he himself had admired and accounted worthy of the kingship, He replied that men and God see not the same things. “Nay, thou, looking upon this young man's beauty, thinkest none other than him worthy to be king; but I make not of the kingdom a prize for comeliness of body, but for virtue of soul, and I seek one who in full measure is distinguished by this, one adorned with piety, justice, fortitude and obedience, qualities^b whereof beauty of soul consists.” When God had thus spoken, Samuel bade Jesse bring all his sons before him, and he caused five^c others to appear. The eldest was called Eliab, the second Aminadab,^d the third Samal,^e the fourth Nathanael, the fifth Rael,^f and the sixth Asam.^g The prophet, seeing these to be in no way inferior to the eldest in appearance, asked God which among them He chose for king. When God answered, “None,” he inquired of Jesse whether he had yet other children. He said that he had one named David, but that he was a

Platonic-Stoic cardinal virtues, are, of course, not specified in Scripture.

^a 1 Sam. xvi. 10 (cf. xvii. 12) mentions seven sons excluding David, and the chapter gives the names of only the three eldest; the others' names are supplied from 1 Chron. ii. 13 ff. which tells us that there were seven sons altogether.

^b So LXX; Heb. Abinadab.

^c Bibl. Shammah (Chron. Shim'a), LXX Σαμά (v.l. Σαμαά κτλ.).

^d Bibl. Raddai, LXX Ζαδδαί (v.l. Ζαβδαί, 'Ραδδαί), Luc. Ρεηλαῖ.

^e Bibl. Ozem (Heb. 'Osem), LXX Ἀσομ, Luc. "Ασαμ.

τῶν βοσκημάτων φυλακῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, κελεύει
καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τάχει· κατακλιθῆναι γὰρ εἰς
εὐωχίαν οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς ἔκεινον μὴ
164 παρόντος. ὡς δ' ἦκεν ὁ Δαυίδης μεταπεμφθεὶς
ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, παῖς ξανθὸς μὲν τὴν χρόαν γοργὸς
δὲ τὰς ὄψεις καὶ καλὸς ἄλλως “οὗτός ἐστιν,”
εἰπὼν ἡσυχῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαμουῆλος, “ὁ βασιλεὺειν
ἀρέσας τῷ θεῷ,” κατακλίνεται μὲν αὐτός, κατα-
κλίνει δ' ὑφ' αὐτὸν τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον
165 μετὰ καὶ τῶν παίδων. ἔπειτα λαβὼν ὄρωντος τοῦ
Δαυΐδου τὸ ἔλαιον ἀλείφει τ' αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ
οὖς ἡρέμα λαλεῖ καὶ σημαίνει τοῦθ', ὅτι βασιλεύειν
αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἥρηται. παρήνει δ' εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ
κατήκοον αὐτοῦ τῶν προσταγμάτων· οὕτως γὰρ
αὐτῷ παραμενεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς πολὺν χρόνον
καὶ τὸν οἶκον λαμπρὸν καὶ περιβόητον γενήσεσθαι,¹
καταστρέψεσθαι² δὲ καὶ Παλαιστίνους, καὶ οἷς ἂν
ἔθνεσι πολεμῇ νικῶντα καὶ περιόντα τῇ μάχῃ
κλέος ἀοίδιμον ζῶντά τε ἔξειν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν
ἀπολεύσειν.

166 (2) Καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ἀπαλλάσσεται ταῦτα
παραινέσσας, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαυίδην μεταβαίνει τὸ
θεῖον καταλιπὸν Σαοῦλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν προφητεύειν
ἥρξατο τοῦ θείου πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν μετοικισα-
μένου· τὸν Σαοῦλον δὲ περιήρχετο πάθη τινὰ καὶ
δαιμόνια πνιγμοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ στραγγάλας ἐπι-
φέροντα, ὡς τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἄλλην μὲν αὐτῷ θερα-
πείαν μὴ ἐπινοεῖν, εἰ δέ τίς ἐστιν ἔξαρδειν δυνάμενος
καὶ ψάλλειν ἐπὶ κινύρᾳ τοῦτον ἐκέλευσαν ζητή-

¹ Dindorf: παραμένειν . . . γενέσθαι codd.

² ed. pr.: καταστρέψασθαι MSP.

* 1 Sam. xvi. 12 “with beautiful eyes.”

shepherd and busied with keeping the flocks ; whereat Samuel bade him call him in haste, for it was not possible for them to sit down to the feast without him. Now so soon as David appeared at his father's summons,—a lad of ruddy colour, with piercing ^a eyes and in other ways handsome,—“This,” said Samuel ^{Samuel anoints David.} softly to himself,^b “is he whom it has pleased God to make king” ; and he sat himself down and made the youth sit beside him, and then Jesse with his other sons. Then, in the sight of David, he took the oil and anointed him and spoke low into his ear, explaining that God had chosen him to be king. He also exhorted ^c him to be righteous and obedient to His commandments, for so would the kingship long continue to be his, and his house would become splendid and renowned ; he would subdue the Philistines and, victorious and triumphant over all nations with whom he might wage war, he would in his life-time attain glorious fame and bequeath it to his posterity.

(2) So, after these exhortations, Samuel went his ^{Saul takes David as his way,}^d and the Deity abandoned Saul and passed over to David, who, when the divine spirit had removed to him, began to prophesy.^e But as for Saul, he was beset by strange disorders and evil spirits which caused him such suffocation^f and strangling that the physicians^g could devise no other remedy save to order search to be made for one with power to charm away spirits and to play upon the harp, and, whenso-

^b In Scripture, God prompts Samuel to recognize David.

^c The exhortation is unscriptural. ^d To Ramah.

^e Scripture does not say that David prophesied.

^f After the LXX of 1 Sam. xvi. 14 ἐπνιγεν ; Heb. has simply “troubled.”

^g Bibl. “the servants of Saul.”

σαντας, ὅπόταν αὐτῷ προσίη¹ τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ ταράττῃ,² ποιεῦν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς στάντα φάλλειν τε 167 καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους ἐπιλέγειν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ ζητεῖσθαι προσέταξε τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον· φήσαντος δέ τινος αὐτῷ τῶν παρόντων ἐν Βηθ- λεέμῃ πόλει τεθεᾶσθαι Ἰεσσαίου μὲν νιὸν ἔπι παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, εὐπρεπῆ δὲ καὶ καλὸν τά τε ἄλλα σπουδῆς ἀξιον καὶ δὴ καὶ φάλλειν εἰδότα καὶ ἄδειν ὕμνους καὶ πολεμιστὴν ἄκρον, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ἰεσσαίου ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστέλλειν αὐτῷ τὸν Δανίδην τῶν ποιμνίων ἀποσπάσαντα· βού- λεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἵδεῖν, περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας καὶ 168 τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀκούσας τοῦ νεανίσκου. ὁ δὲ Ἰεσσαῖος πέμπει τὸν νιὸν καὶ ξένια δοὺς κομίσαι τῷ Σαούλῳ. ἐλθόντι δὲ ἥσθη καὶ ποιῆσας ὅπλο- φόρον διὰ πάσης ἥγε³ τιμῆς· ἐξήδετο γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων ταραχήν, ὅπότε αὐτῷ ταῦτα προσέλθοι, μόνος ἴατρὸς ἦν λέγων τε τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ φάλλων ἐν τῇ κινύρᾳ 169 καὶ ποιῶν ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι τὸν Σαούλον. πέμπει τοίνυν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰεσσαίου ἔᾶσαι παρ’ αὐτῷ τὸν Δανίδην κελεύων· ἥδεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ βλεπομένῳ καὶ παρόντι· τὸν δ’ οὐκ ἀντειπεῖν⁴ τῷ Σαούλῳ, συγχωρῆσαι⁵ δὲ κατέχειν.

170 (ix. 1) Χρόνοις δ’ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς οἱ Παλαι- στῖνοι πάλιν συνελθόντες καὶ δύναμιν ἀθροίσαντες μεγάλην ἐπίασι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίταis καὶ μεταξὺ Σωχοῦς καὶ Ἀζηκοῦς⁶ καταλαμβανόμενοι στρατο-

¹ προστοι SPE.² ταράττοι codd. E.³ εἶχε MSP.⁴ τὸν δ’ οὐκ ἀντ.] δ δὲ οὐκ ὅν ἀντειπεῖν Holwerda.⁵ RO: συνεχώρησε MSP (+ δὴ Holwerda).⁶ Azeca Lat.

ever the evil spirits should assail and torment Saul, to have him stand over the king and strike the strings and chant his songs. Saul did not neglect this advice, but ordered search to be made for such a man. And when one of those present said that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, a mere boy in years, but of pleasing and fair appearance and in other ways worthy of regard, who was, moreover, skilled in playing on the harp and in the singing of songs, and an excellent soldier, Saul sent to Jesse and ordered him to take David from the flocks and send him to him; he wished, he said, to see the young man, having heard of his comeliness and valour. So Jesse sent his son, also giving him presents to carry to Saul. When he came, Saul was delighted with him, made him his armour-bearer and held him in the highest honour, for his illness was charmed away by him; and against that trouble caused by the evil spirits, whenever they assailed him, he had no other physician than David, who, by singing his songs and playing upon the harp, restored Saul to himself. He accordingly sent to Jesse, the lad's father, desiring him to leave David with him, since the sight of the boy and his presence gave him pleasure. Jesse would not gainsay Saul, but permitted him to keep David.

(ix. 1) Not long afterwards the Philistines again assembled and mustered a great force, and marched against the Israelites; occupying the ground between Sochūs^a and Azēkūs^b they established their

Goliath challenges the Hebrews to combat.
1 Sam. xvii. 1.

^a Bibl. Sochoh (A.V. Shochoh), lxx Σοκχώθ.^b Bibl. Azekah. Both places are in the valley of Elah (1 Sam. xvii. 2) on the border of Judah and Philistia, about 15 miles due W. of Bethlehem.

πεδεύονται. ἀντεπεξάγει δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ Σαούλος καὶ ἐπί τινος ὄρους στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀναγκάζει τοὺς Παλαιστίνους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον στρατόπεδον καταλιπεῖν, ὅμοιως δ' ἐπί τινος¹ ὄρους ἀντικρὺ τοῦ καταληφθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου 171 στρατοπεδεύσασθαι. διέστησε² δ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα μέσος αὐλῶν τῶν ὄρων ἐφ' ᾧν ἦν. καταβὰς οὖν τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Παλαιστίνων στρατοπέδου, Γολίαθος³ ὄνομα πόλεως δὲ Γίττης, ἀνὴρ παμμεγεθέστατος· ἦν γὰρ πηχῶν τεσσάρων καὶ σπιθαμῆς, ὅπλα τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος ἀναλογοῦντα περικείμενος· θώρακα μὲν γὰρ ἐνεδέδυτο σταθμὸν ἄγοντα πέντε χιλιάδας σίκλων, κόρυθα δὲ καὶ κνημῖδας χαλκέας ὅποιας εἰκὸς ἦν ἀνδρὸς οὕτω παραδόξου τὸ μέγεθος σκεπάσαι μέλη,⁴ δόρυ δὲ ἦν οὐ κοῦφον βάσταγμα δεξιῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὕμων αὐτὸς αἵρων ἔφερεν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ λόγχην ἔξακοσίων σίκλων, εἴποντο δὲ πολλοὶ βαστάζοντες τὰ ὅπλα. 172 στὰς τοίνυν ὁ Γολίαθος οὗτος μεταξὺ τῶν παρατάξεων βοήν τε ἀφίησι μεγάλην καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σαούλον καὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους λέγει· “μάχης μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ κινδύνων ἀπαλλάττω· τὶς γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὴν στρατιὰν ὑμῶν⁵ συμπεσοῦσαν κακοπαθεῖν; 173 δότε δ' ὅστις ἔμοι μαχεῖται τῶν ὑμετέρων, καὶ βραβευθήσεται τὰ τοῦ πολέμου⁶ ἐνὶ⁷ τῷ νενικηκότι·”

¹ δ' ἐπὶ τινος Niese: δέ τινος RO: ἐπὶ ὅμοιον δέ τινος MSP.

² διέστη ROE: διστη Niese.

³ Γολιάθης codd., sed infra Γολίαθος codd. plur.

⁴ Niese ex Lat.: μέρη codd. ⁵ SP: ἡμῶν rell.

⁶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος MSP.

⁷ ἐν ex Lat.: ἐν codd.

* Josephus infers from 1 Sam. xvii. 3, mentioning a moun-
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camp there. Saul, on his side, led out his army against them, and, having pitched his camp on a certain mountain, forced the Philistines to abandon their first camp^a and to take up a similar position on another mountain over against that which he had occupied himself. The two camps were separated by a valley between the hills on which they lay. And now there came down from the camp of the Philistines one by name Goliath, of the city of Gitta, a man of gigantic stature. For he measured four^b cubits and a span, and was clad in armour proportioned to his frame. He wore a breastplate weighing 5000 shekels, with a helmet and greaves of bronze such as were meet to protect the limbs of a man of such prodigious size. His spear was not light enough to be borne in the right hand, but he carried it elevated on his shoulders; he had also a spear weighing 600 shekels,^c and many followed him, carrying his armour.^d Standing, then, between the opposing forces, this Goliath gave a mighty shout and said to Saul and the Hebrews, “I hereby deliver you from battle and its perils. For what need is there for your^e troops to join arms and to suffer heavy losses? Give me one of your men to fight with me, and the issue of the war shall be decided by the single victor, and to

tain for the first time, that the Philistines had changed their camp.

^b So most mss. of the LXX; Heb. and LXX A have “six.” The figures here given equal about 6 ft. 8 in.

^c Or “and it had a head weighing 600 shekels”; whether the whole spear or the spearhead alone weighed 600 shekels is not clear either from the Heb. or LXX of 1 Sam. xvii. 7. The latter, like Josephus, has λόγχη, which means either “spear” or “spearhead.”

^d Bibl. “and his shield-bearer went before him.”

^e Variant “our.”

δουλεύσουσι γάρ ἐκεῦνοι τοῖς ἑτέροις, ὥν ἂν ὁ νικήσας γένηται πολὺ δὲ κρείττον οἶμαι¹ καὶ σωφρονέστατον ἐνὸς κινδύνῳ λαβεῖν δὲ βούλεσθε 174 ἡ τῷ ἀπάντων.²" ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατόπεδον. τῇ δὲ ἔχομένη πάλιν ἐλθὼν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο λόγους καὶ μέχρι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν οὐδὲνειπε προκαλούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς καταπλαγῆναι αὐτὸν τε τὸν Σαοῦλον καὶ τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ παρετάσσοντο μὲν ὡς εἰς μάχην, οὐκ ἥρχοντο δὲ εἰς χεῖρας.

175 (2) Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου συνεστηκότος τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις Σαοῦλος ἀπέλυσε τὸν Δαυίδην πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Ἰεσσαῖον ἀρκούμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς, οὓς ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳν καὶ 176 τοὺς κινδύνους ἐπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὰ ποίμνια πάλιν καὶ τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοσκημάτων παραγίνεται, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑβραίων πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κομίσαι τε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἑφόδια καὶ γνῶναι τί 177 πράττουσι. τοῦ δὲ Γολιάθου πάλιν ἐλθόντος καὶ προκαλούμενου καὶ ὀνειδίζοντος ὅτι μηδείς ἐστιν ἄνδρειος ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὃς εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ τολμᾶ καταβῆναι, μεταξὺ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὄμιλῶν Δαυίδης περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ὁ πατήρ, ἀκούσας βλασφημοῦντος τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κακίζοντος τοῦ Παλαιστίνου ἡγανάκτησε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν 178 ἐτοίμως ἔχειν μονομαχῆσαι τῷ πολεμίῳ. πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἐλίαβος³ ἐπέπληξεν αὐτῷ, τολμηρότερον παρ', ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀμαθῆ τοῦ προσήκοντος εἰπών, ἐκέλευσέ τε πρὸς τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὸν πατέρα βαδίζειν. κατ-

the people of the victor the other side shall be slaves. It is far better, I think, and more prudent to attain your end by the hazard of one man's life rather than of all." Having so spoken he retired to his own camp. On the morrow he came again and delivered the same speech, and so, for forty days, he did not cease to challenge his enemies in these same terms, to the utter dismay both of Saul and his army. And though they remained drawn up as for battle, they never came to close quarters.

(2) Now, on the outbreak of the war between the Hebrews and the Philistines, Saul had sent David away to his father Jesse, being content with the latter's three sons whom he had sent to share the dangers of the campaign. David then returned at first to his flocks and cattle-pastures, but before long visited the camp of the Hebrews, being sent by his father to carry provisions to his brothers and to learn how they fared. Now when Goliath came again, challenging and taunting the Hebrews with not having among them a man brave enough to venture down to fight with him, David was talking with his brothers about the matters wherewith his father had charged him, and hearing the Philistine reviling and abusing their army, he became indignant and said to his brothers that he was ready to meet this adversary in single combat. Thereat the eldest of his brothers, Eliab, rebuked him, telling him that he was bolder than became his years and ignorant of what was fitting, and bade him be off to the flocks and to his

¹ Bekker: εἶναι codd.
² Niese: τῷν ἀπάντων RO: τῷ πάντων SP.
³ MSP: Ἰάναβος RO: Aminadab Lat.

αιδεσθεὶς δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑπεχώρησε καὶ πρόστινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπελάλησεν ὅτι θέλοι μάχεσθαι τῷ προκαλουμένῳ. δηλωσάντων δ' εὐθὺς τῷ Σαούλῳ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου προαιρέσιν μεταπέμπεται αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ πυθομένου τί βούλεται λέγει¹ “μὴ ταπεινὸν ἔστω τὸ φρόνημα μηδὲ εὐλαβέσ,² ὡς βασιλεῦ καθαιρήσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν τοῦ πολεμίου χωρίσας αὐτῷ διὰ μάχης καὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ μέγαν ὑπ’ ἐμαυτῷ βαλών.

180 γένοιτο μὲν ἀν αὐτὸς οὕτως καταγέλαστος, ἔνδοξον δὲ τὸ σὸν στράτευμα, εἰ μηδὲ ὑπ’ ἄνδρὸς πολεμεῖν ἥδη δυναμένου καὶ πιστευομένου παράταξιν καὶ μάχας, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἔτι δοκοῦντος καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντος τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποθάνοι.”

181 (3) Τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τὸ μὲν τολμηρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὑψυχίαν θαυμάζοντος, οὐ θαρροῦντος δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ’ ἀσθενέστερον εἶναι διὰ ταύτην πρὸς εἰδότα πολεμεῖν μάχεσθαι λέγοντος, “ταῦτ,” εἶπε Δανίδης, “ἐπαγγέλλομαι τῷ θεῷ θαρρῶν ὅντι μετ’ ἐμοῦ πεπείραμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῆς βοηθείας. λέοντα γὰρ ἐπελθόντα μού ποτε τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ ἀρπάσαντα ἄρνα διώξας καταλαμβάνω καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄρνα τοῦ³ στόματος ἐξαρπάζω τοῦ θηρός, αὐτὸν δὲ ὀρμήσαντα ἐπ’ ἐμὲ τῆς οὐρᾶς βαστάσας καὶ προσρήξας τῇ γῇ διαφεύρω. ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄρκτον ἀμυνόμενος διατίθεμαι. νομίζέσθω δὴ καὶ ὁ πολέμιος ἐκείνων εἶναι τῶν θηρίων, ὃνειδίζων ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ βλασφημῶν ἡμῶν τὸν θεόν, ὃς αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον ἐμοὶ θήσει.”

¹ Niese: (καὶ) λέγειν codd.³ ἐκ τοῦ MSPE.² + εἰπεν SP.

father. Out of respect for his brother David withdrew, but gave out to some of the soldiers that he wished to fight with the challenger. As they straightway reported the lad's resolve to Saul, the king sent for him; and David, when asked by him what he wished, said, “Let not thy spirit be downcast nor fearful, O King, for I will bring down the presumption of the foe by joining battle with him and throwing this mighty^a giant down before me. Thus would he be made a laughing-stock, and thine army have the more glory, should he be slain, not by a grown man fit for war and entrusted with the command of battles, but by one to all appearance and in truth no older than a boy.”^b

(3) Saul admired the lad's daring and courage, but David answers Saul's doubts. 1 Sam. xvii. 33.
could not place full confidence in him by reason of his years, because of which, he said, he was too feeble to fight with a skilled warrior. “These promises,” replied David, “I make in the assurance that God is with me; for I have already had proof of His aid. Once when a lion attacked my flocks and carried off a lamb, I pursued and caught him and snatched the lamb from the beast's jaws, and, when he sprang upon me, lifted him by the tail and killed him by dashing him upon the ground.^c And I did the very same thing in battle with a bear. Let this enemy then be reckoned even as one of those wild beasts, so long has he insulted our army and blasphemed our God, who will deliver him into my hands.”

^a Or “lofty-vaunting,” as Professor Capps suggests.^b The last part of David's speech is an amplification of Scripture.^c 1 Sam. xvii. 35 “I seized him by the beard (LXX and Targum “throat” or “jaws”) and struck him and killed him.”

184 (4) Τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοιγαροῦν καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ὅμοιον γενέσθαι τέλος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Σαοῦλος εὐξάμενος “ἀπίθι,” φησί, “πρὸς τὴν μάχην.” καὶ περιθεὶς αὐτῷ τὸν αὐτοῦ θώρακα καὶ περιζώσας τὸ ξίφος καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἀρ-
185 μόσας ἔξεπεμψεν.¹ ὁ δὲ Δανίδης βαρυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, οὐκ ἐγεγύμναστο γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐμεμαθήκει φέρειν ὅπλα, “ταῦτα μέν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, σὸς ἔστω κόσμος τοῦ καὶ βαστάζειν δυναμένου, συγχώρησον δὲ ὡς δούλῳ σου καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ βούλομαι μαχεσθῆναι.” τίθησιν οὖν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν βακτη-
ρίαν ἀράμενος καὶ πέντε λίθους ἐκ τοῦ χειμάρ-
ρου βαλὼν εἰς τὴν πήραν τὴν ποιμενικὴν καὶ σφενδόνην ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν Γολίαθον
186 ἐπορεύετο. καταφρονεῖ δὲ οὕτως ἵδων αὐτὸν ὁ πολέμιος ἐρχόμενον καὶ προσέσκωψεν, ὡς οὐχ οἴα πρὸς ἄνθρωπον² ὅπλα νενόμισται ταῦτ’ ἔχων μέλλοι μάχεσθαι, οἷς δὲ κύνας ἀπελαύνομεν καὶ φυλασ-
σόμεθα. μὴ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου κύνα εἶναι δοκεῖ; ὁ δὲ οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον ἀλλὰ καὶ χείρω κυνὸς αὐτὸν νομίζειν ἀπεκρίνατο. κινεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὄργην τὸν Γολίαθον, καὶ ἀρὰς αὐτῷ τίθεται ἐκ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δώσειν ἡπείλησε τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπιγείοις καὶ τοῖς μεταρσίοις
187 διασπάσασθαι· ἀμείβεται δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Δανίδης· “σὺ μὲν ἐπέρχῃ μοι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ δόρατι καὶ θώρακι, ἐγὼ δὲ χωρῶν ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν θεὸν ὥπλισμα, ὃς σέ τε καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ὑμῶν στρατιὰν χερσὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις διολέσει. καρατομήσω μὲν γάρ σε σήμερον καὶ τὸ

¹ SP: ἔξεπεμψεν ME: ἔπεμψεν RO.

² ἀνθρώπων Niese (ex Lat. hominum).

(4) So then Saul, praying that the lad's zeal and David goes forth to hardihood might be rewarded by God with a like meet success, said, "Go forth to battle."^a And he clad him in his own breastplate, girt his sword about him,^b fitted a helmet upon his head and so sent him out. But David was weighed down by this armour, for he had not been trained nor taught to wear armour, and said, "Let this fine apparel be for thee, O King, for thou indeed art able to wear it,^b but suffer me, as thy servant, to fight just as I will." Accordingly he laid down the armour and, taking up his staff, he put five stones from the brook into his shepherd's wallet, and with a sling in his right hand advanced against Goliath. The enemy, seeing him approaching in this manner, showed his scorn, and derided him for coming to fight, not with such weapons as men are accustomed to use against other men, but with those wherewith we drive away and keep off dogs. Or did he perhaps take him for a dog, and not a man? "No," replied David, "not even for a dog, but something still worse."^c This roused Goliath's anger, and he called down curses upon him in his god's name and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of earth and the birds of heaven to rend asunder. But David answered him, "Thou comest against me with sword, spear and breastplate, but I, in coming against thee, have God for my armour, who will destroy both thee and all your host by our hands. For I will this day

^a 1 Sam. xvii. 37 "Go forth and may the Lord be with thee." Weill's note, "in the Bible this prayer is put in David's mouth," overlooks the fact that David's brief prayer for deliverance is given by Josephus in the preceding sentence. Here he is amplifying Saul's blessing just quoted.

^b Amplification.

^c So the LXX; this reply is not found in the Hebrew.

ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦς ὁμοφύλους κυσὶ παραβαλῶ, μαθή-
σονται δὲ πάντες ὅτι προέστηκεν Ἐβραίων τὸ θεῖον
καὶ ὅπλα ἡμῖν καὶ ἴσχὺς τοῦτ' ἔστι κηδόμενον,
ἡ δ' ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις ἀνωφελῆς
188 θεοῦ μὴ παρόντος.” ὁ δὲ Παλαιστῖνος ὑπὸ βάρους
τῶν ὅπλων εἰς ὥκυτητα καὶ δρόμον ἐμποδιζόμενος
βάδην ἐπὶ τὸν Δανιδην παραγίνεται καταφρονῶν
καὶ πεποιθὼς γυμνὸν ὄμοῦ καὶ παῖδα ἔτι τὴν
ἥλικίαν ἀπόνως ἀναιρήσειν.

189 (5) Ἀπαντῷ δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος μετὰ συμμάχου μὴ
βλεπομένου τῷ πολεμίῳ. θεὸς δ' ἦν οὗτος. καὶ
ἀνελόμενος ἐκ τῆς πύρας ὃν εἰς αὐτὴν κατέθηκεν
ἐκ τοῦ χειμάρρου λίθον ἔνα καὶ ἀρμόσας τῇ σφεν-
δόνῃ βάλλει ἐπὶ τὸν Γολίαθον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον.
καὶ διῆλθεν ἕως τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τὸ βληθέν, ὡς
εὐθὺς καρωθέντα πεσεῖν τὸν Γολίαθον ἐπὶ τὴν
190 ὅψιν. δραμῶν δ' ἐφίσταται τῷ πολεμίῳ κειμένῳ
καὶ τῇ ὁρμαίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου, μάχαιραν οὐκ ἔχων
191 αὐτός, ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. πεσών δ'
ὁ Γολίαθος ἥττα καὶ φυγὴ γίνεται Παλαιστίνοις.
τὸν γὰρ δοκιμώτατον ἰδόντες ἐρριμμένον καὶ περὶ
τῶν ὅλων δείσαντες οὐκέτι μένειν διέγνωσαν, ἀλλ'
αἰσχρᾶ καὶ ἀκόσμω φυγῆ παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς
ἔξαρπάζειν τῶν κινδύνων ἐπειρώντο. Σαοῦλος δὲ
καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν Ἐβραίων στρατὸς ἀλαλάξαντες ἐκ-
πηδῶσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποσφάττοντες
διώκουσιν ἄχρι τῶν Γίττης ὅρίων καὶ τῶν πυλῶν

^a 1 Sam. xvii. 46 “I will give the carcase of the camp
260

cut off thine head and fling thy carcase to the dogs,
thy fellows,^a and all men shall learn that Hebrews
have the Deity for their protection, and that He in
His care for us is our armour and strength, and that
all other armament and force are unavailing where
God is not.” And now the Philistine, impeded by
the weight of his armour from running more swiftly,
came on toward David at a slow pace,^b contemptuous
and confident of slaying without any trouble an
adversary at once unarmed and of an age so youthful.

(5) But the youth advanced to the encounter,
accompanied by an ally invisible to the foe, and this
was God. Drawing from his wallet one of the stones
from the brook which he had put therein, and fitting
it to his sling, he shot it at Goliath, catching him in
the forehead, and the missile penetrated to the brain,
so that Goliath was instantly stunned and fell upon
his face. Then, running forward, David stood over
his prostrate foe and with the other's broadsword,
having no sword of his own, he cut off his head.
Goliath's fall caused the defeat and rout of the Phil-
istines; for, seeing their best warrior laid low and
fearing a complete disaster, they resolved to remain
no longer, but sought to save themselves from danger
by ignominious and disorderly flight. But Saul and
the whole Hebrew army, with shouts of battle, sprang
upon them and with great carnage pursued them
upon them and with great carnage pursued them
to the borders of Gitta^c and to the gates of Ascalon.^d

of the Philistines to the birds of heaven, etc.” Josephus
evidently read “thy carcase to the camp, etc.”

^b Unscriptural details.

^c Bibl. Gath. Cf. A. v. 87.

^d So the LXX in the first occurrence of the name in 1 Sam.
xvii. 52; in the second part of the verse it agrees with the
Hebrew in reading Ekron.

David slays
Goliath; the
Philistines
are routed.
1 Sam. xvii.
49.

192 τῶν Ἀσκάλωνος. καὶ θυήσκουσι μὲν τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς τρισμυρίους, δὶς δὲ τοσοῦτοι τραυματίαι γίνονται. Σαοῦλος δὲ ὑποστρέψας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν διαρπάζει τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐνέπρησε· τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ Γολιάθου¹ Δαυΐδης εἰς τὴν ἴδιαν σκηνὴν ἐκόμισε καὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ.

193 (x. 1) Φθόνον δὲ καὶ μῖσος τοῦ Σαούλου πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐρεθίζουσιν ὑπαντῶσαι γὰρ τῇ στρατιᾳ νικηφόρῳ μετὰ κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ παντοίας χαρᾶς ἥδον αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες, ὡς πολλὰς Σαοῦλος ἀπώλεσε Παλαιστίνων χιλιάδας, αἱ παρθένοι δέ, ὡς μυριάδας Δαυΐδης ἀφανίσειε.

194 τούτων δὲ ἀκούων ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἔλαττον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτὸς λάβοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν μυριάδων πλῆθος ἀνατεθείη τῷ νεανίσκῳ, καὶ λογισάμενος μηδὲν οὕτω μετὰ λαμπρὰν εὐφημίαν ἢ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑστερεῖν αὐτῷ, φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ὑποπτεύειν

195 ἥρξατο τὸν Δαυΐδην. καὶ τῆς μὲν πρώτης τάξεως, ἐπεὶ τῷ δέει πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἐδόκει, ἐποίησε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὅπλοφόρον, μεταστήσας ἀποδείκνυσι χιλίαρχον δοὺς αὐτῷ χώραν ἀμείνονα μὲν ἀσφαλεστέραν² δὲ ὡς ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ³. ἐβούλετο

¹ RO: τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Γ. rell.

² σφαλερὰν SP.

³ Niese: αὐτῷ codd.

^a Unscriptural numbers.

^b 1 Sam. xvii. 53 "The Israelites returned from pursuing the Philistines and plundered (LXX *κατεπάτουν* "trampled down") their camp." Perhaps Josephus took the Heb. root *dlq*, "pursue," in its other sense "burn" (cf. Latin version of Scripture, *comburentes*), or possibly read *κατέκαιον* instead of *κατεπάτουν*.

^c The reverse of Scripture, 1 Sam. xvii. 54 which reads "And David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem, but his armour he put in his tent." Later, in

Of the Philistines 30,000^a were slain and twice as many wounded. Saul then returning to their camp destroyed the palisade and set fire to it^b; while David carried the head of Goliath to his own tent and dedicated his sword to God.^c

(x. 1)^d But envy and hatred of David were now Saul is made envious by David's triumph. 1 Sam. xviii. 6. aroused in Saul by the women. For they, coming to meet the victorious army with cymbals, timbrels and every sign of rejoicing, sang, the elder women how Saul had slain many thousands of the Philistines, but the maidens^e how David had destroyed tens of thousands. The king on hearing this, and how he was given the lesser portion of the credit, while the larger number, the myriads, was ascribed to the youth, thought within himself that after so splendid an acclamation nothing more was lacking to David save the kingship, and now began to fear him and to regard him with suspicion. So he removed him from his former station—for he had made him his armour-bearer—since in his alarm he thought this far too close to his person, and appointed him captain of a thousand,^f thus giving him a better post, but one, as he thought, safer for himself.^g For

§ 244, Josephus tells us, in accordance with Scripture, 1 Sam. xxi. 9 (10), that David had dedicated Goliath's sword to God in the temple at Nob.

^d Josephus, with many mss. of the LXX, omits the presentation of David by Abner and the covenant with Jonathan which follow immediately upon the close of the battle, 1 Sam. xviii. 1-4.

^e Scripture does not distinguish the women by age.

^f Gr. "chiliarch." In the Hebrew this change is made after Saul's attack on David while playing the harp, 1 Sam. xviii. 10-11. Josephus omits the incident, as do many mss. of the LXX.

^g Variant "more treacherous for him (David)."

γὰρ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπειν καὶ τὰς μάχας ὡς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τεθηγξόμενον.

- 196 (2) Δαυΐδης δὲ πανταχοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐπαγόμενος ὅποι ποτ' ἀφίκοιτο κατώρθου καὶ διευπραγῶν ἐδείκνυτο,¹ ὡς δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀνδρείας τὸν τε λαὸν αὐτοῦ² καὶ τὴν Σαούλου θυγατέρα παρθένον ἔτι οὖσαν λαβεῖν ἔρωτα καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερκρατοῦντος γενέσθαι φανερὰν καὶ διαβληθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ὁ δ' ὡς ἀφορμῇ χρησόμενος³ τῆς ἐπὶ Δαυΐδην ἐπιβουλῆς ἡδέως ἥκουσε καὶ δώσειν προθύμως αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον πρὸς τοὺς τὸν ἔρωτα μηνύσαντας αὐτῆς ἔφη, γενησόμενον ἀπωλείας καὶ κινδύνων αἵτιον αὐτῷ ληφομένῳ. “κατεγγυῶ γάρ,” εἶπεν, “αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς θυγατρός μου γάμον, ἀν 198 ἔξακοσίας μοι κομίσῃ κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ καὶ γέρως οὕτω λαμπροῦ προτεθέντος καὶ βουλόμενος ἐπ' ἔργῳ παραβόλῳ καὶ ἀπίστῳ λαβεῖν κλέος, ὅρμήσει μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, διαφθαρήσεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ χωρήσει μοι τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐπρεπῶς· ἀπαλλαγήσομαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ, δι' ἄλλων αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δι' ἐμαυτοῦ κτείνας.”
- 199 διάπειραν δὴ τῆς τοῦ Δαυΐδου διανοίας κελεύει τοὺς οἰκέτας λαμβάνειν, πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὸ γῆμαι τὴν κόρην. οἱ δ' ἥρξαντο διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι στέργει μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαούλος καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἄπας, βούλεται δ' αὐτῷ κηδεῦσαι τὴν 200 θυγατέρα. ὁ δέ “μικρὸν ἄρ' ὑμῖν,” εἶπε, “δοκεῖ γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέως; ἐμοὶ δ' οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον

¹ RO: ἐβλέπετο rell. (Lat.).

² + ἐρᾶν M.

³ M: χρησάμενος rell.

^a His younger daughter, Michal, cf. § 204 note. Josephus
264

he proposed to send him out against the enemy and into battle, in the hope that amidst these dangers he would meet his death.

(2) But David, being everywhere attended by God Saul's daughter whithersoever he went, achieved success and showed himself so fortunate in all things that by his extraordinary valour he won the heart not only of the people but of Saul's daughter,^a who was still a virgin; and so overwhelming was her passion that it betrayed her and was reported to her father. He, thinking to seize this occasion for plotting against David, welcomed the news and told those who had informed him of his daughter's love that he would gladly give David the maiden, since the match, should he accept it, would prove the cause of danger and destruction to him. “For,” said he, “I pledge him my daughter in marriage, if he will but bring me the heads of six hundred^b of the foe. Now, at the offer of a prize so splendid and in his desire to win renown for a hazardous and incredible exploit, he will rush to perform it and be killed by the Philistines; so will my designs against him succeed admirably, for I shall be rid of him, yet cause his death at the hands of others and not my own.” He accordingly ordered his men to sound the mind of David touching marriage with the maid; and they began to speak with him, telling him that King Saul felt affection for him, as did all the people, and wished to unite his daughter with him in marriage. Whereto David replied, “Does it then seem to you a small thing to become a king's son-in-law? To me it does not appear so,

omits the Scriptural reference, 1 Sam. xviii. 17, to Saul's offer of his elder daughter, Merab.

^b Bibl. “a hundred foreskins of the Philistines.”

φαίνεται καὶ μάλιστα ὅντι ταπεινῷ καὶ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἀμοίρῳ.” Σαοῦλος δὲ ἀγγειλάντων αὐτῷ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὰς τοῦ Δαυΐδου ἀποκρίσεις “οὐ χρημάτων,” ἔφη, “δεῖσθαι με φράζετε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἔδνων, ἀπεμπολᾶν γὰρ ἔστιν οὕτως¹ τὴν θυγατέρα μᾶλλον ἢ συνοικίζειν, γαμβροῦ δὲ ἀνδρείαν ἔχοντος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἀπασαν, ἥν ὁρᾶν ὑπάρχουσαν 201 αὐτῷ. βούλεσθαι δή με παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς θυγατρὸς οὐ χρυσὸν οὐδ’ ἄργυρον οὐδ’ ὅπως ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκιῶν² κομίσῃ, Παλαιστίνων δὲ τιμωρίαν καὶ κεφαλὰς 202 αὐτῶν ἔξακοσίας. αὐτῷ τε γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀν οὔτε ποθεινότερον οὔτε λαμπρότερον³ δῶρον γένοιτο, τῇ τε παιδί μου πολὺ τῶν νενομισμένων ἔδνων ζηλωτότερον τὸ συνοικεῖν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ καὶ μαρτυρομένῳ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἥτταν.”⁴

203 (3) Κομισθέντων δὲ τούτων πρὸς τὸν Δαυΐδην τῶν λόγων ἡσθεὶς τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐσπουδακέναι νομίζων αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν συγγένειαν, οὐδὲ βουλεύσασθαι περιμείνας οὐδ’ εἰ δυνατὸν ἢ δύσκολόν ἔστι τὸ προκείμενον ἔργον τῷ λογισμῷ περινοήσας ὥρμησεν εὐθὺς μετὰ τῆς ἔταιρίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου κατηγγελμένην πρᾶξιν καὶ (θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ πάντα ποιῶν εὐμάρη καὶ δυνατὰ τῷ Δαυΐδῃ) κτείνας πολλοὺς καὶ κεφαλὰς ἔξακοσίων ἀποτεμῶν ἥκε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τῆς τούτων ἐπιδείξεως τὸν ἀντὶ τούτων γάμον ἀπαιτῶν.

204 Σαοῦλος δὲ οὐκ ἔχων ἀναφυγεῖν⁴ ἐκ τῶν ὑπεσχημένων, αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὑπελάμβανεν ἢ ψεύσασθαι

¹ τοῦτο Ernesti.² +οὔτε προτιμότερον SPE.⁴ ἀναφυγὴν Naber.

especially as I am of such humble rank and with no portion of glory or honour.” When Saul was informed by his men of David’s response, “Tell him,” he said, “that I desire no money nor wedding gifts—that would be to sell my daughter, not to give her in marriage—but a son-in-law possessed of fortitude and all other virtues, such as I see in him. I wish, therefore, to receive of him, in return for his marriage with my daughter, neither gold nor silver—not these would I have him bring from his father’s house—but the punishment of the Philistines and six hundred of their heads. For to myself no gift could be more desirable or magnificent^a than that, and to my child it would be far more pleasing than the customary wedding presents to be united to such a husband who has the credit for defeating our enemies.”^b

(3) When these words were reported to David, he was delighted at the thought that Saul was eager to be related to him, and without waiting to deliberate, without reasonably considering whether the proposed enterprise was possible or difficult, he straightway, with his companions, set upon the foe to accomplish the task that was appointed him as the condition of the marriage; and, thanks to God, who rendered all things possible and easy to David, he slew many men, cut off the heads of six hundred^c and returned to the king, displaying these and claiming the bride as his recompense. So Saul, finding no way to evade his promises—since he saw that it would be disgraceful for him either to appear to have lied or to have held

^a Some mss. add “nor more precious.”^b Saul’s speech is an amplification of 1 Sam. xviii. 25.^c 1 Sam. xviii. 27 “he and his men . . . slew of the Philistines two hundred (LXX “one hundred”) and David brought their foreskins.”

David wins
Michal by
slaying six
hundred
Philistines.
1 Sam. xviii.
26.

δοκεῖν ἡ δι' ἐπιβουλὴν ἵν¹ ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρῶν δὲ Δαυίδης ἀποθάνῃ τὸν γάμον ἐπηγγέλθαι, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Μελχὰν² ὄνόματι.

205 (xi. 1) "Εμελέ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἐμμένεν Σαοῦλος ἄρα· ὅρῶν γὰρ τὸν Δαυίδην παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντα κατέδεισε, καὶ τὸν φόβον οὐκ ἔχων ἀποκρύψασθαι περὶ μεγάλων ὄντων, βασιλείας τε καὶ ζωῆς, ὃν καὶ θατέρου στερηθῆναι συμφορὰ δεινή, κτείνειν τὸν Δαυίδην διεγνώκει καὶ προστάσσει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθη τε τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τοῖς πιστοτάτοις 206 τῶν οἰκετῶν. ὁ δὲ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Δαυίδῃ μεταβολῆς θαυμάσας οὐκ ἐπὶ μετρίοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς εὐνοίας ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ γενομένης, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀγαπῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καταιδούμενος λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς 207 ἀπόρρητον καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν. συμβουλεύει μέντοι φυλάσσεσθαι γενόμενον ἐκποδῶν τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἥμέραν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀσπάσεσθαι³ τὸν πατέρα καὶ καιροῦ παραφανέντος αὐτῷ διαλεχθῆσεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν αἵτιαν μαθήσεσθαι καὶ ταύτην 208 ἐκφαυλίσειν, ὡς οὐ δεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κτείνειν τοσαῦτα μὲν ἀγαθὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐργασάμενον εὐεργέτην δ' αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον, δι' ἀ καὶ συγγνώμην ἀν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀμαρτήμασιν εἰκότως εὑρατο. "δηλώσω δέ σοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμην." Δαυίδης δὲ πεισθεὶς συμβουλίᾳ χρηστῇ ὑπεξίσταται τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψεως.

209 (2) Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον Ἰωνάθης

¹ + ὡς codd.

² Μελχώνην SP: Μελχὼ Glycas: Melchon Lat.

³ ed. pr., Lat.: ἀσπάσασθαι codd.

out this marriage merely in order to bring about David's death on an impossible enterprise ^a—gave him his daughter, Melcha ^b by name.

(xi. 1) However Saul was not for long to acquiesce Jonathan in this state of things; for, seeing David in favour of Saul's plot; David flees. ^{1 Sam. xix. 1.} Both with God and with the multitude, he took alarm and, being unable to conceal his fears—concerning, as they did, such great interests as his kingdom and his life, the loss of either of which would be a dreadful calamity—he resolved to slay David and charged Jonathan his son and the most trusted of his men to make away with him. Jonathan was amazed at this change in his father's feelings toward David from great benevolence to not merely moderate dislike but to the compassing of his death; and, loving the lad and reverencing him for his virtue, he told him of his father's secret plan and intent. He counselled him, moreover, to take heed to himself and to keep out of sight on the morrow, saying that he would himself go to greet his father and, when the opportunity presented itself, would converse with him about David, and discover the reason (of his dislike); he would then make light of this, representing that he ought not on such ground to put to death one who had rendered so many services to the people and proved a benefactor to Saul himself, on account of which he might well have secured pardon for even the gravest crimes. "And I will inform thee," he added, "what is my father's mind." David, in compliance with this excellent counsel, withdrew himself from the king's sight.

(2) The next day Jonathan went to Saul and, find-

^a No such thoughts are attributed to Saul in Scripture.

^b Bibl. Michal. LXX Μελχόλ.

ἐλθὼν ὡς ἵλαρόν τε καὶ χαίροντα κατέλαβεν ἥρξατο λόγους αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Δαυΐδου προσφέρειν. “τί καταγνοὺς αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἦ μεῖζον ἀδίκημα, πάτερ,¹ προσέταξας ἀνελεῖν ἄνδρα μέγα μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὄφελος γεγενημένον, μεῖζον δὲ πρὸς τὴν 210 Παλαιστίνων τιμωρίαν, ὅβρεως δὲ καὶ χλεύης ἀπ-αλλάξαντα τὸν Ἐβραίων λαὸν ἦν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ὑπέμεινεν οὐδενὸς τολμῶντος² ὑποστῆναι τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου πρόκλησιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κομίσαντα μὲν ὅσας ἐπετάχθη κεφαλὰς τῶν ἔχθρων, λαβόντα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γέρας τὴν ἐμὴν ἀδελφὴν πρὸς γάμον, ὡς ἀν ἀλγεινὸς³ αὐτοῦ γένοιθ’ ἡμῖν ὁ θάνατος οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν· συναδικεῖται γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ ἡ σὴ θυγάτηρ χηρείαν πρὶν ἦ τῆς συμβιώσεως 211 εἰς ὄνησιν ἐλθεῖν μέλλουσα πειράζειν. ταῦτα λογι-σάμενος μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἡμερώτερον καὶ μηδὲν ποιήσῃς κακὸν ἄνδρα πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς⁴ εὑρεγεσίαν μεγάλην εὑργετήσαντα τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν, ὅτε σοι τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῶν δαιμονίων ἐγκαθ-εῖσιμένων τὰ μὲν ἐξέβαλεν, εἰρήνην δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῇ ψυχῇ σου παρέσχεν, δεύτερον δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκδικίαν· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τούτων ἐπιλελῆ-212 σθαι.” τούτοις παρηγορεῖται τοῖς λόγοις Σαοῦλος καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν τὸν Δαυΐδην ὅμνυσι τῷ παιδί· κρείττων γὰρ ὀργῆς καὶ φόβου δίκαιος λόγος. ’Ιωνάθης δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Δαυΐδην σημαίνει τε αὐτῷ χρηστὰ καὶ σωτήρια τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρός,

¹ ὡ πάτερ MSP.

ing him cheerful and gay,^a began to address him Jonathan concerning David. “What wrongdoing small or great, father, canst thou have found in him that thou hast ordered us to put to death one who has done so much in aiding thine own welfare and yet more in punishing the Philistines, and so has delivered the Hebrew people from the contumely and derision which for forty days they had endured when no one else dared face the enemy’s challenge, and who thereafter brought thee the appointed number of enemy heads and received as his recompense my sister in marriage? Thus his death would be grievous to us, not only by reason of his merits, but also of the ties of kinship; for thy daughter will likewise be wronged by his death, destined to experience widowhood before even entering on the joy of wedded life. Let these reflections move thee to greater mildness; do no injury to one who first rendered us that great service of restoring thee to health, when he drove out the evil spirit and the demons that beset thee and brought peace from them to thy soul, and then avenged us upon our enemies. Shameful would it be to forget these things.”^b By these words Saul was won over and he swore to his son that he would do David no wrong; so does a just cause prevail over anger and fear. Jonathan then sent for David and not only informed him of the kindly and reassuring attitude

^a Unscriptural detail.^b The references to Michal and to the healing of Saul are unscriptural.² οὐδενὸς τολμῶντος ex Lat. Niese: μόνος τολμῶν codd.: μόνον τολμῶντα Naber.³ ἀλγεινότερος MSP Lat.⁴ ἡμᾶς om. RO.

ἄγει τε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ παρέμενε τῷ βασιλεῖ Δαυΐδης ὥσπερ ἐμπροσθεν.

- 213 (3) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Παλαιστίνων στρατευσαμένων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους πέμπει μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν Δαυΐδην πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις, καὶ συμβαλὼν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ νικήσας ἐπάνεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. προσδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σαοῦλος οὐχ ὡς ἥλπισεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατορθώματος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ λυπηθεὶς ὡς ἐπισφαλέστερος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν 214 ἔκείνου πράξεων γενόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν προσελθὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐθορύβει πνεῦμα καὶ συνετάραπτε, καλέσας εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν ᾧ κατέκειτο, κατέχων τὸ δόρυ προσέταξε τῷ φαλμῷ καὶ τοῖς ὕμνοις ἐξάδειν αὐτόν. ἔκείνου δὲ τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιοῦντος διατεινάμενος ἀκοντίζει τὸ δόρυ· καὶ τὸ μὲν προϊδόμενος ὁ Δαυΐδης ἐξέκλινε, φεύγει δὲ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' ὅλης ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας αὐτόθι.

- 215 (4) Νυκτὸς δὲ πέμφας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς ἔω φυλάττεσθαι μὴ καὶ λάθη παντελῶς ἀφανῆς γενόμενος, ἵνα παραγενόμενος¹ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ κρίσει παραδοὺς ἀποκτείνῃ. Μελχὰ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Δαυΐδου θυγάτηρ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μαθοῦσα διάνοιαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ παρίσταται δειλὰς ἔχουσα τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἴδιας ψυχῆς ἀγωνιῶσα· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν 216 ζῆν ὑπομενεῖν² ἔκείνου στερηθεῖσαν. καὶ “μή σε,” φησίν, “οὐδὲν ἔνταυθοῖ καταλάβῃ³. οὐ γὰρ

¹ παραγόμενος conj. Thackeray.

² Dindorf: ὑπομένειν codd.

³ E: καταλάβοι codd.

of his father, but brought him into his presence ; and David stayed with the king as before.

(3) About this time the Philistines again took the field against the Hebrews, and Saul sent David with an army to fight against them, and he, having joined battle with them, slew many and returned victorious to the king. Saul, however, did not give him the reception which he expected after that achievement, but was aggrieved by his success, believing that David had become more dangerous to him by reason of his exploits. And when the evil spirit again came upon him to trouble and confuse him, he called David to the chamber wherein he lay, and, holding his spear in his hand, bade him charm away the spell with his harp and songs. Then, when David did as he had been commanded, Saul hurled his spear at him with all his might. David, seeing it coming, got out of its way ; then he fled to his own house and remained there all that day.

(4) But at night the king sent officers with orders to guard him till dawn lest he escape and disappear altogether ; Saul's intent was to come before the court and deliver him to justice to be put to death.^a

Michal's stratagem saves David from arrest.
1 Sam. xix. 11.

But when Melcha, the wife of David and daughter of the king, learned of her father's intent, she came to aid her husband, having faint hope for him and also feeling dreadful anxiety about her own life, for she could not endure to live if bereft of him.^b “Let not the sun,” she said, “find thee here ; else it will never

^a Scripture says nothing of Saul's intention to have David put on trial ; 1 Sam. xix. 11 “Saul also sent messengers to David's house to watch him and to slay him in the morning.”

^b This motive is supplied by Josephus.

ἔτ' ὄψεται σε. φεῦγε δ' ἔως¹ τοῦτό σοι δύναται παρασχεῖν ἡ παροῦσα νύξ· καὶ ποιήσειε² δέ σοι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς μακροτέραν· ἵσθι γὰρ σαυτὸν ἂν εὑρεθῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολούμενον.” καὶ καθιμήσασα διὰ θυρίδος αὐτὸν ἐξέσωσεν· ἔπειτα σκευάσασα τὴν κλίνην ὡς ἐπὶ νοσοῦντι καὶ ὑποθεῖσα τοὺς ἐπιβολαίους ἥπαρ αἰγός, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς αὐτὴν³ πέμψαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Δαυίδην ὡχλῆσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς εἴπε τοὺς παροῦσιν, ἐπιδείξασα τὴν κλίνην κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τῷ πηδήματι τοῦ ἥπατος σαλεύοντι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν πιστωσαμένη 218 τὸ κατακείμενον τὸν Δαυίδην ἀσθμαίνειν.⁴ ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τῶν πεμφθέντων ὅτι γένοιτο διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀσθενέστερος, ἐκέλευσεν οὕτως ἔχοντα κομισθῆναι· βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἀνακαλύψαντες τὴν κλίνην καὶ τὸ σόφισμα τῆς γυναικὸς εὑρόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ. μεμφομένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι σώσειε μὲν τὸν ἔχθρὸν αὐτοῦ κατασοφίσαιτο δ'⁵ αὐτὸν, ἀπολογίαν σκήπτεται πιθανήν· ἀπειλήσαντα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποκτείνειν ἔφησε τυχεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δέους τῆς πρὸς τὸ σωθῆναι συνεργίας· ὑπὲρ ἣς συγγνῶναι καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῇ, κατ' ἀνάγκην ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ προαιρέσιν γενομένης· “οὐ γὰρ οὕτως,” ἔλεγεν, “οἶμαι τὸν ἔχθρὸν ἐζήτεις ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς

¹ ex Lat. Niese: δὲ ὡς codd.

² ποιήσει RO: ποιήσοι MSP: faciat Lat.

³ ὡς αὐτὴν] αὐτῆς MSP.

⁴ M: ἀσθενεῖν rell.: dormire Lat.

⁵ ed. pr.: τ' codd.: vero Lat.

^a 1 Sam. xix. 13 “And Michal took the teraphim (A.V. “an image”) and laid them in the bed and placed a goat’s skin (?) at its head” (A.V. “put a pillow of goats’ hair for his

look on thee again. Flee while the night which is still upon us permits, and may God prolong its hours for thee; for know that if thou art found by my father, thou art a lost man.” And she let him down through a window and got him safely away. Next she made up the bed as for a sick person and put a goat’s liver^a beneath the covers; and when at day-break her father sent to fetch David, she told those who came for him that he had been attacked by illness during the night, and she showed them the bed all covered up, and by the quivering of the liver which shook the bedclothes convinced them that what lay there was David gasping for breath.^b When the messengers reported to Saul that David had fallen ill during the night, he ordered him to be brought just as he was, for he wished to kill him. And when they came and uncovered the bed, they discovered the woman’s trick, which they reported to the king. But when her father rebuked her for having saved his enemy and tricked himself, she resorted to a plausible defence; her husband, she declared, had threatened to kill her and so, by terrifying her, had secured her aid in his escape, for which she deserved pardon, seeing that she had acted under constraint and not of her own free will. “For,” said she, “I cannot think that thou wert as desirous for thy enemy’s death as for the safety of my life.”

Michal excuses her conduct to Saul.

¹ Sam. xix. 17.

bolster”). The teraphim were probably household images in human form. The Heb. *kebîr*, here rendered “skin,” is of doubtful meaning, and was read as *kebēd*, “liver,” by the LXX, followed by Josephus. The context shows that it must have been something round and hairy to give the appearance of a human head, and so it was understood by the rabbis.

^b The details of Michal’s stratagem are invented by Josephus.

ἔμε σώζεσθαι.” καὶ συγγινώσκει δὲ τῇ κόρῃ
220 Σαούλος. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης ἐκφυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ἤκε
πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Σαμουῆλον εἰς Ἀρμαθὰ καὶ
τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδήλωσε
καὶ ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ δόρατι βληθεὶς
ἀποθάνοι, μήτ’ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν κακὸς γενόμενος
μήτ’ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγώσιν ἄνανδρος,
ἄλλ’ ἐν ἅπασι μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ¹ καὶ ἐπιτυχῆς.
τοῦτο δ’ ἦν αἴτιον Σαούλῳ τῆς πρὸς Δαυίδην
ἀπεχθείας.

221 (5) Μαθὼν δ’ ὁ προφήτης τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως
ἀδικίαν καταλείπει μὲν τὴν πόλιν Ἀρμαθάν,
ἀγαγὼν δὲ τὸν Δαυίδην ἐπὶ τινα τόπον Γαλβονάθ²
ὄνομα ἔκει διέτριβε σὺν αὐτῷ. ὡς δ’ ἀπηγγέλη
τῷ Σαούλῳ παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ τυγχάνων ὁ Δαυίδης,
πέμψας ὀπλίτας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγειν προσέταξε συλ-
λαμβάνοντας.³ οἱ δ’ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν Σαμουῆλον
καὶ καταλαβόντες προφητῶν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῦ θείου
μεταλαμβάνονται πνεύματος καὶ προφητεύειν ἥρ-
ξαντο. Σαούλος δ’ ἀκούσας ἄλλους ἐπεμψεν ἐπὶ
τὸν Δαυίδην· κάκείνων ταύτῳ τοῖς πρώτοις παθόν-
των πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἐτέρους· προφητεύοντων δὲ
καὶ τῶν τρίτων τελευταῖον ὀργισθεὶς αὐτὸς ἔξ-
223 ὠρμησεν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐγγὺς ἦν ἡδη, Σαμουῆλος πρὶν
ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν προφητεύειν ἐποίησεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς
αὐτὸν Σαούλος ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πνεύματος ἐλαυ-
νόμενος ἐκφρων γίνεται καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα περιδύσας
ἐαντὸν καταπεσὼν ἔκειτο δι’ ὅλης ἡμέρας τε καὶ
νυκτὸς Σαμουῆλον τε καὶ Δαυίδον βλεπόντων.

224 (6) Ἰωνάθης δὲ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς, ἀφικομένου πρὸς

¹ (τοῦ) θυμοῦ RO: et pronus Lat.

² Βαλγουάθ SP: Γελβονάθον E.

³ συλλαβόντας SP.

So Saul pardoned the girl. Meanwhile David, having David finds refuge with Samuel at Armatha, and recounted to him the king's plot against him, and how he had wellnigh been struck by his spear and killed, though he had never dealt ill with him nor been cowardly in combating his foes, but had ever with God's aid been indeed fortunate. Now that was the reason for Saul's hatred of David.

(5) On learning of the king's iniquity, the prophet Saul and his men, pursuing David, left the city of Armatha and brought David to a place named Galbouath^a and there abode with him. Now are possessed and prophesy.^{ib.} When it was told Saul that David was staying with the prophet, he sent armed men with orders to arrest him and bring him to him. But they, on coming to Samuel and finding there an assembly of prophets, were themselves possessed by the spirit of God and began to prophesy. Saul, hearing thereof, sent others after David, and when these met with the same experience as the first, he dispatched yet more; but this third company prophesied likewise, and finally in a rage he set out himself. But so soon as he came near them, Samuel, even before seeing him, caused him too to prophesy.^b On reaching him, Saul, losing his reason under the impulse of that mighty spirit, stripped off his clothes and lay prostrate on the ground for a whole day and night in the sight of Samuel and David.

(6) Thence David betook himself to Jonathan, son

^a Bibl. Naioth (Heb. *Nawath* or *Nayōth*), LXX Ανάθ (v.l. Ναυιώθ κτλ.) ἐν Ραμά; these forms appear to be corrupt. The Targum renders it *Beth 'ulphānā* “house of instruction.” The source of Josephus’s form is unknown.

^b Josephus omits to state, as does Scripture, 1 Sam. xix. 24, that this incident explains the saying “Is Saul also among the prophets?”

αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν Δαυίδον καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποδυρομένου ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ λέγοντος ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας οὐδ'¹ ἔξαμαρτὼν σπουδάζοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φονεύθηναι, μήθ' ἔαυτῷ τοῦθ' ὑπονοοῦντι πιστεύειν παρεκάλει μήτε τοῖς διαβάλλουσιν, εἴ τινες ἄρα εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ προσέχειν καὶ θαρρεῖν· μηδὲν γὰρ τοιούτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρονεῖν τὸν πατέρα· φράσαι γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου καὶ σύμβουλον παραλαβεῖν,
 225 τῇ κοινῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τᾶλλα πράττοντα. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης ὥμνυεν ἦ μὴν οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ πιστεύοντ' ἡξίου προνοεῖν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονοῦντ' ἐπ' ἀληθέσι τοῖς λόγοις τότε ἀληθὲς ὑπολαβεῖν, ὅταν ἢ θεάσηται πεφονευμένον αὐτὸν² ἢ πύθηται· μηδὲν λέγειν δ' αὐτῷ τὸν πατέρα περὶ τούτων ἔφασκεν εἰδότα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ διάθεσιν.
 226 (7) Λυπηθεὶς δ' ἐφ' ὅτῳ πιστωσάμενος τὴν τοῦ Σαούλου προαίρεσιν Ἰωνάθης οὐκ ἔπεισεν, ἐπηρώτα τίνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ βούλεται τυχεῖν. ὁ δέ “οἶδα γάρ,” ἐφη, “πάντα σε χαρίζεσθαί μοι καὶ παρέχειν ἔθελοντα· νουμηνία μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσάν ἔστιν, ἔθος
 227 δ' ἔχω δειπνεῖν σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ καθήμενος· εἰ δή σοι δοκεῖ, πορευθεὶς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λανθάνων διαμενῶ, σὺ δ' ἐπιζητήσαντος αὐτοῦ λέγε πορευθῆναι με εἰς τὴν πατρίδα Βηθλεέμην ἑορτήν μου τῆς φυλῆς ἀγούσης, προστιθεὶς ὅτι σύ μοι συγκεχώρηκας. κανὸν μέν, σίον εἰκὸς καὶ σύνηθές ἔστι λέγειν ἐπὶ φίλοις ἀποδημοῦσιν, ‘ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ

¹ Dindorf; οὐτ' codd.² πεφονευμένον αὐτὸν om. RO Lat.

of Saul, and complained to him of his father's designs, ^{David complains to Jonathan of Saul's enmity.} saying that though he had been guilty of no iniquity or crime, his father was making every effort to have him murdered. Jonathan entreated him to put no faith either in his own suspicions or in slanderers, if indeed there were any such, but to pay heed to him and take courage; for, he said, his father was meditating nothing of the sort, else he would have told him of it and taken him into his counsel, since in all else he acted in concert with him. But David swore^a that it was truly so, and he asked Jonathan to believe him and look out for his safety instead of contemptuously questioning the truth of his words and waiting to recognize their truth until he should actually behold or learn of his assassination. His father, he declared, had told him nothing of all this because he knew of his son's friendship and affection for himself.

(7) Grieved that his assurance of Saul's disposition failed to convince David, Jonathan asked him what he would have him do. "I know," he replied, "that thou art ready to grant me any favour or do any thing. Now to-morrow is the new moon, when my custom is to dine with the king. If, then, it please thee, I will go forth from the city and remain concealed in the plain; but do thou, if he ask for me, say that I am gone to my native Bethlehem, where my tribe^b is keeping a feast, adding that thou didst give me leave. Should he then say, as is proper and customary to say about friends going away, 'A good

^a So the Hebrew; LXX "answered."^b Or "clan"; cf. Heb. *mishpāhāh* (A.V. "family"), which the LXX here renders, like Josephus, by *φυλή*, but the latter can mean "clan" (subdivision of a tribe) as well as "tribe," cf. § 62 note.

βεβάδικεν' εἴπη, ἵσθι μηδὲν ὅπουλον παρ' αὐτοῦ
εἶναι μηδέ ἔχθρόν· ἀν δ' ὡς ἄλλως ἀποκρίνηται
τοῦτ' ἔσται τεκμήριον τῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ βεβουλευ-
228 μένων. μηνύσεις δέ μοι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν τοῦ
πατρός, οἵκτῳ τε νέμων τοῦτο καὶ φιλίᾳ, δι' ἣν
πίστεις τε παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ἡξίωκας αὐτός τε
ἐμοὶ δοῦναι δεσπότης ὃν οἰκέτη σῷ.¹ εἰ δ'
εὑρίσκεις τι ἐν ἐμοὶ πονηρόν, αὐτὸς ἄνελε καὶ
φθάσον τὸν πατέρα."

229 (8) Πρὸς δὲ τὸ τελευταῖον δυσχεράνας τῶν λό-
γων Ἰωνάθης ποιήσειν ταῦτ' ἐπηγγείλατο καν
τι σκυθρωπὸν δ' πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν
ἐμφανίζον² ἀποκρίνηται μηνύσειν.³ ἵνα δ' αὐτῷ
θαρρῇ μᾶλλον, ἔξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς ὅπαιθρον καὶ
καθαρὸν ἀέρα οὐδὲν παρήσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς Δανίδου
230 σωτηρίας ὥμνε. "τὸν γὰρ θεόν," εἶπε, "τοῦτον
ὅν πολὺν ὄρᾶς καὶ πανταχοῦ κεχυμένον, καὶ πρὶν
ἔρμηνεῦσαι με τοῖς λόγοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἥδη μου
ταύτην εἰδότα, μάρτυρα ποιοῦμαι τῶν πρὸς σὲ
συνθηκῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνήσω τὸν πατέρα πολλάκις
αὐτοῦ τῆς προαιρέσεως διάπειραν λαμβάνων, πρὶν
ἢ καταμαθεῖν ἡτις ἔστι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις
231 χύτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς γενέσθαι. καταμαθὼν δ' οὐκ
ἀποκρύψομαι, καταμηνύσω δὲ πρὸς σὲ καὶ πρᾶον
ὄντα καὶ δυσμενῶς διακείμενον. οἶδε δὲ οὐτος⁴ δ'
θεὸς πῶς αὐτὸν εἶναι μετὰ σου διὰ παντὸς εὔχομαι.
ἔστι μὲν γὰρ νῦν καὶ οὐκ ἀπολείψει σε, ποιήσει δὲ
τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἄντε δ' πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς ἦ⁵ ἄντ' ἔγω
232 κρείττονα. σὺ μόνον μνημόνευε τούτων, καν ἀπο-

¹ οἰκέτη σῷ om. RO.

³ Niese: μηνύειν codd.

⁵ Niese: εἰη RO: om. MSP: est Lat.

² ἐμφανίζων ROMS.

⁴ αὐτὸς Naber.

journey to him,^a know that he bears no hidden malice nor enmity; but should he answer otherwise, that will be a sign of his designs against me. And thou shalt inform me of thy father's state of mind in token of thy pity and of that friendship for which thou hast seen fit to receive pledges from me and to grant me the like thyself, though thou art the master, and I thy servant. But if thou findest any wickedness in me, slay me thyself and so anticipate thy father."

(8) Although displeased by these last words, Jonathan swears an oath of friendship to David. 1 Sam. xx. 9.

Although displeased by these last words, Jonathan promised to do this and said that if his father gave some sullen answer indicative of hate, he would inform David thereof. And, that he might have the more confidence in him, he brought him out into the open and pure air and swore to leave nothing undone for his safety. "This God," said he, "whom thou seest to be so great and everywhere extended, and who, before I have expressed my thought in words, already knows what it is,^b—Him do I take as witness of my covenant with thee, to wit, that I will not give up my constant endeavour to discover my father's purpose until I have clearly learnt it and come close to the secrets of his soul. And having learnt it, I will not hide it, but will disclose to thee whether he be graciously or evilly disposed. This God of ours knows how I pray that He may always be with thee. Indeed, He is with thee now and will not forsake thee, but will make thee stronger than thy foes, be it my father or be it myself. Do thou but remember this,

^a A free rendering of 1 Sam. xx. 7 "It is well," perhaps suggested by the customary Hebrew salutation, "Go in peace."

^b These divine attributes are an amplification of the Scriptural "Lord God of Israel."

θανεῖν μοι γένηται τὰ τέκνα μου σῶζε, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων μοι ἀμοιβὴν εἰς ἐκεῖνα κατάθου.” ταῦτ’ ἐπομόσας ἀπολύει τὸν Δαυίδην εἰς τινα τόπον ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ πεδίου φράσας, ἐν ᾧ γυμναζόμενος διετέλει· γνοὺς γὰρ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ήξειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφησεν ἐκεῖ μόνον ἐπ-
233 αγόμενος πᾶντα. “καν¹ τρία ἀκόντια δὲ βαλὼν ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν κομίσαι τῷ παιδὶ προστάσσω τὰ ἀκόντια (κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ²), γύνωσκε μηδὲν εἶναι φαῦλον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός· ἂν δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἀκούσῃς μου λέγοντος, καὶ τὰ 234 ἐναντία παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προσδόκα. τῆς μέντοι γε ἀσφαλείας τεύχη παρ’ ἔμοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθης ἄτοπον· ὅπως δὲ μητοθῆς τούτων παρὰ τὸν τῆς εὐπραγίας καιρὸν σκόπει καὶ τοὺς νίοὺς μου γενοῦ χρήσιμος.” Δαυίδης μὲν οὖν ταύτας λαβὼν παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τὰς πίστεις εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον ἀπηλλάγη χωρίον.

235 (9) Τῇ δ’ ἔχομενη, νομηνίᾳ δ’ ἦν,³ ἀγνεύσας, ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥκεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ παρακαθεσθέντων αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἀβενήρου δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου ἐκ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἴδων τὴν τοῦ Δαυίδου καθέδραν κενὴν ἡσύχασεν ὑπονοήσας οὐ καθαρεύσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ συνουσίας ὑστερεῖν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς νομηνίας οὐ παρῆν ἐπινθάνετο παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου ὅτι καὶ τῇ παρελθούσῃ καὶ ταύτῃ τοῦ

¹ S: καὶ rell.² + καὶ ἂν ταῦτα φησὶν ἀκούσῃς RO.³ δ’ ἦν ed. pr.: δ’ ἦν δὲ ἦν codd.^a Unscriptural detail.^b So, apparently, the LXX (*σχίσαις ἀκοντίζων*); Heb. “arrows.”

and, should death befall me, preserve my children’s lives and make over to them the recompense that is due me for my present services.” After he had taken these oaths, he dismissed David, telling him to go to a certain place in the plain where he (Jonathan) was wont to exercise himself^a; there, he said, when he had learnt his father’s mind, he would rejoin him, accompanied only by a lad. “And if, after throwing three darts^b at the mark, I order the lad to bring them to me, for they will be found lying in front of it,^c know that no mischief is to be feared from my father; but if thou hearest me say the contrary, then look thou also for the contrary from the king. Howbeit thou wilt find safety at my hands and thou shalt suffer no harm. But see that thou rememberest this in the time of thy prosperity, and deal kindly with my children.” Then David, having received these pledges from Jonathan, departed to the appointed place.

(9) The next day, which was the new moon, the Jonathan king, after purifying himself as the custom was, came excuses David’s absence at the feast.¹ Abener, the commander 1 Sam. xx. 24. of the army, on his left, he marked that David’s seat was empty, but held his peace, surmising that he had been delayed by not having finished his purification after sexual intercourse.^d But when, on the second day of the feast of the new moon, David again did not appear, he asked his son Jonathan why, both on the

^c i.e. the mark, or perhaps “him,” i.e. the lad; 1 Sam. xx. 21 “the arrows are this side of thee.”^d This interpretation of 1 Sam. xx. 26 “it is an accident” (A.V. “something hath befallen him”) is similar to that of the rabbis, who took *migreh*, lit. “happening,” in its physiological sense of nocturnal emission.

δείπνου καὶ τῆς ἔστιάσεως ὁ τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου παῖς ἀπολέλειπται. ὁ δὲ πεπορεύσθαι κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἔφησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα, τῆς φυλῆς ἐορτὴν ἀγούσης, ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτοῦ· παρακαλέσαι μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ εἰ συγχωρηθείη φησὶν ἀπέρχεσθαι¹. “τὴν γὰρ 237 εὔνοιάν μου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπίστασαι.” τότε τὴν πρὸς Δαυΐδην τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰωνάθης ἐπέγνω δυσμένειαν καὶ τρανῶς τὴν ὅλην αὐτοῦ βούλησιν εἶδεν· οὐ γὰρ κατέσχε Σαοῦλος τῆς ὄργης, ἀλλὰ βλασφημῶν ἐξ αὐτομόλων γεγενημένον καὶ πολέμιον ἀπεκάλει καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ Δαυΐδου καὶ συνεργὸν ἔλεγεν καὶ μήτ² αὐτὸν αἰδεῖσθαι μήτε τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ταῦτα φρονοῦντα καὶ μηδὲ βουλόμενον πεισθῆναι τοῦθ³, ὅτι μέχρις οὖν περίεστι Δαυΐδης ἐπισφαλῶς αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἔχει. “μετάπεμψαι τοιγαροῦν αὐτόν,” ἔφησεν, “ἴνα δῷ δίκην.” 238 ὑποτυχόντος δ' Ἰωνάθου, “τί δ' ἀδικοῦντα κολάσαι θέλεις;” οὐκέτ' εἰς λόγους καὶ βλασφημίας τὴν ὄργην δ' Σαοῦλος ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἀρπάσας τὸ δόρυ ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔργον οὐκ ἔδρασε διακωλυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, φανερὸς δ' ἐγένετο τῷ παιδὶ μισῶν τὸν Δαυΐδην καὶ διαχρήσασθαι ποθῶν, ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν δι' ἔκεινον αὐτόχειρ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς γεγονέναι. 239 (10) Καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖς ἐκπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ λύπης προσενέγκασθαι δυνηθείσ, κλαίων αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσθαι τοῦ κατακεκρίσθαι δ' ἀποθανεῖν Δαυΐδην

¹ καν συγχωρῆς ἀπέρχομαι MSP (Lat. E).

² Dindorf: μηδ' codd.

past day and on this, the son of Jesse had been absent from the festive meal. Jonathan replied, as had been agreed, that he had gone to his native place where his tribe was keeping festival, and with his (Jonathan's) permission. “What is more,” he added, “he even invited me to attend that sacrifice, and, if leave be given me, I shall go; for thou knowest the affection that I bear to him.”^a Then did Jonathan discover all his father's malevolence toward David and plainly perceive his whole intent. For Saul attacks Jonathan as David's accomplice. ^{1 Sam. xx. 30.} Saul did not restrain his wrath, but with curses denounced him as the offspring of renegades and an enemy, and accused him of being in league with David and his accomplice, and as having respect neither for himself nor for his mother in taking that attitude and in refusing to believe that, so long as David lived, their hold upon the kingdom was insecure. “Now then, send for him,” said he, “that he may be punished.” “But,” Jonathan objected, “for what crime wouldst thou punish him?” Whereupon the wrath of Saul found vent no more in words and abuse, but, seizing his spear, he leapt toward him with intent to slay him. And although his friends prevented him^b from perpetrating the deed, he had now made plain to his son how he hated David and craved to make away with him, seeing that on his account he had wellnigh become the slayer even of his own son.

(10) The king's son instantly rushed from the feast Jonathan secretly meets David in the fields to say fare-well and, prevented by grief from tasting a morsel, passed the night in tears at the thought that he himself had narrowly escaped death and that David was doomed

^a David's invitation to Jonathan is unscriptural.

^b Unscriptural detail.

διενυκτέρευσεν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὡς γυμνασόμενος μὲν δηλώσων δὲ τῷ φίλῳ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διάθεσιν, ὡς συνέθετο, 240 πρόεισι. ποιήσας δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης τὰ συγκείμενα τὸν μὲν ἐπόμενον ἀπολύει εἰς τὴν πόλιν παῖδα, ἥν δ' ἡρεμίᾳ¹ τῷ Δαυίδῃ παρελθεῖν² εἰς ὅψιν αὐτῷ καὶ λόγους. ἀναφανεὶς δ' οὗτος πίπτει πρὸ τῶν Ἰωνάθου ποδῶν καὶ προσκυνῶν σωτῆρα αὐτοῦ τῆς 241 ψυχῆς ἀπεκάλει. ἀνίστησι δ' ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτόν, καὶ περιπλακέντες ἀλλήλοις μακρά τε ἡσπάζοντο καὶ δεδακρυμένα, τὴν τε ἡλικίαν ἀποθρημοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἔφθονημένην ἔταιρίαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα διαχωρισμόν, ὃς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει θανάτου διαφέρειν. μόλις δ' ἐκ τῶν θρήνων ἀνανήψαντες καὶ μεμνήσθαι τῶν ὅρκων ἀλλήλοις παρακελευσά-
μενοι διελύθησαν.

242 (xii. 1) Δαυίδης δὲ φεύγων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ θάνατον εἰς Ναβάν παραγίνεται πόλιν πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον³ τὸν ἀρχιερέα.⁴ ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ μόνον ἦκοντα ἴδεῖν καὶ μήτε φίλον σὺν αὐτῷ μήτ' οἰκέτην παρόντα ἐθαύμασε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μηδένα εἶναι 243 σὺν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ἤθελεν. ὁ δὲ πρᾶξιν ἀπόρρητον ἐπιταγῆναι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔφησεν, εἰς ἣν συνοδίας αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ λαθεῖν οὐκ ἔδει. “τοὺς μέντοι θεράποντας εἰς τόνδε μοι τὸν τόπον ἀπαντᾶν

¹ δ' ἐν ἐρημιᾱͅ MSP (Lat.).

² παρῆλθεν MSP: ἤλθεν E.

³ ROE Zonaras: Ἀχιμέλεχον MSP (Lat.).

⁴ Ἱερέα MSP Lat.

^a Unscriptural detail.

^b Josephus omits the account, 1 Sam. xx. 36-37, of Jona-

to die. But at daybreak he went out into the plain ^{1 Sam. xx.}^{34.} before the city, seemingly for exercise,^a in reality to make known to his friend, in accordance with their agreement, the temper of his father. Then, after doing what had been prearranged, Jonathan sent back the boy who attended him to the city,^b and David was undisturbed in coming out to meet him and to speak with him. Appearing in the open, he fell at Jonathan's feet and did him homage, calling him the preserver of his life. But Jonathan raised him from the ground, and, putting their arms about each other, they took a long and tearful farewell, bewailing their youth, the companionship which was begrimed them and their coming separation,^c which seemed to them nothing less than death. Then, hardly recovering from their lamentation and exhorting each other to remember their oaths, they parted.

(xii. 1) But David, fleeing from the king and death at his hands, now came to the city of Naba^d to Abimelech^e the high priest, who was astonished to see him arrive alone with neither friend nor servant in attendance, and desired to know the reason why no man accompanied him. He replied that he had been charged by the king with a secret matter for which he required no escort since he wished to remain unknown. “Howbeit,” he added, “I have ordered my servants to join me at this place.”^f He also re-
than's shooting the arrows beyond the lad to indicate Saul's displeasure.

^c These details of their parting are an amplification.

^d Bibl. Nob, LXX Νόμβα. The exact site is uncertain, but it was probably a little north of Jerusalem, in the territory of Benjamin, cf. Neh. xi. 32.

^e Variant Achimelech, as in Scripture; the LXX mss. also vary between the two forms.

^f Bibl. “at such and such a place.”

David receives help from the high priest Ahimelech (Abimelech) at Nob (Naba).
1 Sam. xxi. 1
(2 Heb.)

προσέταξα.” ήξίου δὲ λαβεῖν ἐφόδια· φίλου γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσειν ἔργον παρασχόντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ 244 προκείμενον συλλαμβανομένου. τυχὼν δὲ τούτων γῆτει καὶ ὅπλον τι μετὰ χεῖρας ῥομφαίαν ἡ δοράτιον¹ παρῆν δὲ καὶ Σαούλον δοῦλος γένει μὲν Σύρος Δώηγος² δὲ ὄνομα τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμιόνους νέμων· ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχειν μὲν αὐτὸς οὐδέν τι εἶπε τοιοῦτον, εἶναι δὲ τὴν Γολιάθου ῥομφαίαν, ἣν ἀποκτείνας τὸν Παλαιστῖνον αὐτὸς ἀναθείη τῷ θεῷ.

245 (2) Λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Δαυίδης ἔξω τῆς τῶν Ἐβραίων χώρας εἰς Γίτταν διέφυγε τὴν Παλαιστίνων, ἦς Ἀγχούς ἐβασίλευεν.³ ἐπιγνωσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκετῶν καὶ φανερὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος, μηνυόντων ἐκείνων ὅτι Δαυίδης ὁ πολλὰς ἀποκτείνας Παλαιστίνων μυριάδας εἴη, δείσας μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ θάνη καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον δὲν ἔξεφυγε παρὰ Σαούλον παρ' ἐκείνου πειράσῃ προσποιεῖται μανίαν καὶ λύσαν, ὡς ἀφρὸν κατὰ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ φερόμενον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα⁴ ὅσα συνίστησι μανίαν⁵ πίστιν παρὰ τῷ Γίττης βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι⁶ τῆς νόσου. 246 καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ὁ βασιλεὺς προσδυσχεράνας ὡς ἔκφρονα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάγοιεν ἄνθρωπον ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δαυίδην ὡς τάχος ἐκβάλλειν.

247 (3) Διασωθεὶς δὲ οὕτως⁷ ἐκ τῆς Γίττης εἰς τὴν Ἰούδα παραγίνεται φυλὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀδουλ-

¹ ῥομφ. ἡ δορ. om. Lat. E.

² Δώηκος SPE.

³ SP: ἐβασίλευεν rell.

⁴ + δὲ MSP.

⁵ μανίας MSP.

⁶ Niese: γενήσεσθαι ROM: γεγενήσθαι SP.

⁷ οὗτος ROME.

quested him to furnish him with provisions for a journey; in so doing, he would, he said, be acting like a friend and assisting the cause in hand. Having obtained these,^a he further asked for any weapon in his keeping, sword or spear. Now there was present also a certain slave of Saul, of Syrian^b race, by name Doeg, keeper of the king's mules.^c The high priest replied that he himself possessed no such thing, but that he had there that sword of Goliath which David himself, after slaying the Philistine, had dedicated to God.^d

(2) Taking this weapon, David fled beyond Hebrew territory to Gitta, a city of the Philistines, of which Anchūs^e was king. Here he was recognized by the king's servants who then made his presence known to the king, reporting that this was that David who had slain many myriads of Philistines. Thereat David, fearing that he would be put to death by him and, after escaping that peril at the hands of Saul, meet the like fate at his hands, feigned raging madness, foaming at the mouth and displaying all the other symptoms of madness, so as to convince the king of Gitta of his malady. The king was exceedingly angry with his servants for having brought him a madman and gave orders for David's instant expulsion.

(3) Having thus escaped with his life from Gitta, he betook himself to the tribe of Judah^f and, taking

^a Josephus omits the Scriptural details about the hallowed bread which was the only food at the priest's disposal.

^b So the LXX; Heb. “an Edomite.”

^c So the LXX; Heb. “chief of the shepherds” (A.V. “herdsman”).

^d Cf. § 192.

^e So the LXX (Luc. ‘Αγχούς); bibl. Achish.

^f The reference to Judah is an added detail.

David flees to Gath (Gitta); feigning madness he is expelled.
1 Sam. xxi. 10 (11 Heb.)

λάμη¹ πόλει σπηλαιώ διατρίβων πέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφοὺς δηλῶν αὐτοῦ ἔνθα εἴη. οἱ δὲ μετὰ πάσης συγγενείας ἥκουν πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὅσοις ἡ χρεία ἦν ἡ φόβος ἐκ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως συνερρύσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ποιεῦν τὰ ἐκείνω δοκοῦντα ἔτοιμας ἔχειν ἔλεγον. ἐγένοντο δὲ οἱ 248 πάντες ὡσεὶ τετρακόσιοι. θαρρήσας δὲ ὡς καὶ χειρὸς αὐτῷ καὶ συνεργίας ἥδη προσγεγενημένης ἀπάρας ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλέα, καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν προσδεξάμενον ἕως ἂν ἐπιγνῷ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν τέλος ἔχειν παρεκάλει· κατανεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν καὶ πάσης τοὺς γονεῖς τοῦ Δαυΐδου τιμῆς παρ' ὃν ἐτύγχανον παρ' αὐτῷ χρόνον ἀξιώσαντος.

249 (4) Αὐτὸς τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν τὴν μὲν ἐρημίαν ἐκλιπεῖν, πορευθέντα δ' εἰς τὴν κληρουχίαν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν αὐτῇ διάγειν πείθεται καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Σάρω² πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ 250 κατέμενε. Σαούλος δ' ἀκούσας ὅτι μετὰ πλήθους ὀφθείη ὁ Δαυΐδης, οὐκ εἰς τυχόντα θόρυβον καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνέπεσεν, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν εὐτολμίαν οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἀνακύψειν ἔργον, ὑφ' οὗ κλαύσεσθαι πάντως καὶ 251 πονήσειν, ὑπενόγησε. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὴν φυλὴν ἐξ ἣς αὐτὸς ἦν

¹ M: Ἀδολλαδμη RO: Ἀδυλλάμη SP.

² ἕως οὗ ἐπὶ RO: ἕως ἂν ἀπογνῷ rell. Lat.

³ Σάρων SP.

^a Called Odollam (as in the LXX) in A. viii. 246; bibl. "cave of Adullam." It has been identified by some with the modern *Khirbet 'Aid el-Ma*, 12 miles S.W. of Bethlehem, by others with *Khirbet esh-Sheikh Madhkûr* close by. Both 290

up his abode in a cave close to the city of Adullam,^a David's rebel camp in the cave of Adullam.^b They, with all his kinsfolk, came to him; and besides them, all who were in want or in fear of King Saul^c streamed to him and declared themselves ready to obey his orders. They were in all about four hundred. Encouraged at now finding himself with a force to assist him, David departed thence and made his way to the Moabite king and besought him to receive his parents into his country and to keep them until he himself should know what was finally to become of him. This favour the king accorded him and showed all honour to David's parents so long as they were with him.

(4) David himself was bidden by the prophet^d to David in Judah; Saul urges his friends to remain loyal.
^c 1 Sam. xxii. 5.

quit the desert and repair to the territory of the tribe of Judah and remain there; so, obedient to this counsel, he came to the city of Saris^e and there abode. But Saul, on hearing that David had been seen with a large following, was thrown into no ordinary confusion and dismay; for, knowing the mettle and hardihood of the man, he surmised that it would be no small labour that would arise from David's acts, but one that would surely cause him regret and suffering. So summoning to him his friends and chieftains and the tribe from which he himself came, to the hill^f where

places, incidentally, are at the southern end of the Valley of Elah, cf. § 170 note.

^b The prophet Gad, according to Scripture.

^c So, nearly, the LXX; Heb. "forest of Hareth"; the site is uncertain but is identified by some with the modern *Kharas*, 7 miles N.W. of Hebron, and a little S.E. of the supposed sites of Adullam.

^d Josephus, like the LXX, takes Gibeah ("hill") as a common noun.

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βουνόν, οὗ τὸ βασίλειον εἶχε,
καὶ καθίσας ἐπ' Ἀρούρης, τόπος δ' ἦν τις οὕτω
προσαγορευόμενος,¹ τιμῆς πολιτικῆς περὶ αὐτὸν
οὕσης καὶ² τάξεως σωματοφυλάκων λέγει πρὸς
αὐτούς· “ἄνδρες ὅμοφυλοι, μέμνησθε μὲν οἵδιοῖς
τῶν ἔμων εὐεργεσιῶν, ὅτι καὶ ἀγρῶν τινας ἐποίησα
δεσπότας καὶ τιμῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ τάξεων
252 ἡξίωσα. πυνθάνομαι τοιγαροῦν εἰ μείζονας τούτων
δωρεὰς καὶ πλείονας παρὰ τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου
παιδὸς προσδοκᾶτε· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πάντες ἐκείνῳ
προστέθεισθε³ τούμοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου αὐτοῦ τε
253 οὕτως φρονήσαντος καὶ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα⁴ πείσαντος· οὐ
γὰρ ἀγνοῶ τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς
Δαυΐδην αὐτῷ γεγενημένας, οὐδέ ὅτι σύμβουλος
μὲν καὶ συνεργὸς Ἰωνάθης ἐστὶ τῶν κατ' ἔμοῦ
συντεταγμένων, μέλει δὲ ὑμῶν οὐδενὶ περὶ τούτων,
ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποβιθησόμενον ἡσυχάζοντες σκοπεῖτε.”
254 σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς
ἀπεκρίνατο τῶν παρόντων, Δώνγος δ' ὁ Σύρος ὁ
τὰς ἡμιόνους αὐτοῦ βόσκων εἶπεν ὡς ἵδιοι τὸν
Δαυΐδην εἰς Ναβὰν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον ἐλθόντα
τὸν ἀρχιερέα τά τε μέλλοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ προ-
φητεύσαντος μαθεῖν, καὶ λαβόντα ἐφόδια καὶ τὴν
ῥομφαίαν τοῦ Γολιάθου πρὸς οὓς ἐβούλετο μετὰ
ἀσφαλείας προπεμφθῆναι.
255 (5) Μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ πᾶσαν
αὐτοῦ τὴν γενεὰν Σαούλος “τί παθὼν ἐξ ἔμοῦ,”
εἶπε, “δεινὸν καὶ ἄχαρι τὸν Ἰεσσαίου παῖδα προσ-
εδέξω καὶ σιτίων μὲν αὐτῷ μετέδωκας καὶ ὅπλων

¹ οὕτω προσ. om. RO.² καὶ om. codd.³ (R)ME: προστεθήσεσθε Ο: προστίθεσθε SP Lat.⁴ Ernesti: ταῦτα codd.

he had his palace, and seating himself at a certain spot called Arūra,^a with his officers of state^b and his company of bodyguards^b around him, he addressed them thus: “ Fellow tribesmen, you remember, I doubt not, my benefactions, how I have made some of you owners of estates and to others have granted honours and high positions among the people. I ask you, therefore, if you look for larger and more bounties than these from the son of Jesse ? I know very well that you have all gone over to him, because my own son Jonathan himself has taken this stand and has persuaded you to do the like. Nor am I ignorant of those oaths and covenants that he has made with David, nor that Jonathan is the counsellor and accomplice of those who are arrayed against me ; and not one of you is concerned about these things, but you are quietly waiting to see what will happen.” When the king was silent, no other of those present made reply ; only Doeg the Syrian, the keeper of his mules, said that he had seen David when he came to the city of Naba to Abimelech the high priest,^c where through the priest's prophecies David had learnt what was to come, and, having received provisions and the sword of Goliath, he had safely been sent on his way to those whom he was seeking.

(5) Saul, therefore, sent for the high priest and all Saul rebukes his family, and said : “ What wrong have I done thee Ahimelech, who excuses or what injury that thou didst receive the son of himself. 1 Sam. xxii. 11. Jesse and gavest food and arms to him who is a 11.

^a “ Plowland ”; so the LXX translates Heb. ‘eshel, a kind of tree (A.V. “ tamarisk ”). Cf. § 377^b Bibl. “ servants.”

οὗτι τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβούλῳ, τί δὲ δὴ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔχρημάτιζες; οὐ γὰρ δή σε φεύγων 256 ἐμὲ καὶ μισῶν τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον ἐλάνθανεν.” ὁ δ’ ἀρχιερεὺς οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρνησιν ἐτράπη τῶν γεγονότων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ παρρησίας ταῦτα παρασχεῖν ὡμολόγει οὐχὶ Δαυΐδῃ χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ· πολέμιον γὰρ σὸν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἔφασκε, πιστὸν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δοῦλον καὶ χιλιάρχον καὶ τὸ τούτων μεῖζον γαμ- 257 βρόν τε ἥδη καὶ συγγενῆ. ταῦτα δ’ οὐκ ἔχθροῖς παρέχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀρίστοις. προφητεῦσαι δὲ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον αὐτῷ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι. “φήσαντι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ πεμ- φθῆναι κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν, τὸ¹ μηδὲν παρασχεῖν ὡν ἐπεζήτει, σοὶ μᾶλλον ἀντιλέγειν ἦ 258 ἐκείνῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογιζόμην. διὸ μηδὲν πονηρὸν κατ’ ἔμοῦ φρονήσῃς μηδὲ πρὸς ἣ νῦν ἀκούεις Δαυΐδην ἐγχειρεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν τότε μου δοκοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ὑποπτεύσῃς· φίλῳ γὰρ καὶ γαμβρῷ σῷ καὶ χιλιάρχῳ παρέσχον, οὐ πολεμίῳ.” 259 (6) Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς οὐκ ἐπεισε τὸν Σαοῦλον (δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ φόβος μηδ’ ἀληθεῖ πιστεύειν ἀπολογίᾳ), κελεύει δὲ τοῖς ὀπλίταις περιστᾶσιν² αὐτὸν μετὰ τᾶς γενεᾶς³ ἀποκτεῖναι. μὴ θαρρούντων δ’ ἐκείνων ἄψασθαι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον εὐλαβούμενων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ βασιλέως, τῷ Σύρῳ Δωήγῳ προστάσσει τὸν φόνον. 260 καὶ παραλαβὼν ὅμοίως αὐτῷ⁴ πονηρὸὺς ἐκεῖνος ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ·

¹ τῷ ex Lat. Niese.² περισταθεῖσιν ROME.³ μετὰ τ. γεν. om. RO.⁴ Niese: ὅμοιον αὐτῷ codd.

plotter against my realm? And why, pray, didst thou deliver oracles concerning the future? For assuredly thou wert not ignorant that he was fleeing from me and that he hated my house.” The high priest did not resort to a denial of what had taken place, but frankly confessed that he had rendered those services, yet not to gratify David, but Saul. “I knew him not,” said he, “for thine enemy, but as one of thy most faithful servants and thy captain, and, what is more, as thy son-in-law now and kinsman. Men bestow such dignities not on their enemies, but on those who show them the greatest goodwill and esteem. Nor was this the first time that I prophesied for him; often have I done so on other occasions as well. And when he told me that he had been sent by thee in great haste on a certain matter, had I refused any of his desires, I should have thought this to be gainsaying thee rather than him.^a Therefore, think not ill of me, nor, from what thou now hearest of David’s designs, regard with suspicion what I then deemed an act of humanity; for it was to thy friend and to thy son-in-law and captain that I rendered it, not to thine enemy.”

(6) These words of the high priest did not persuade At Saul's
Saul, for fear is strong enough to disbelieve even a order, Doeg
truthful plea; and he ordered his soldiers to surround slays
him and his kin, and slay them. But as they dared Ahimelech
not lay hands on the high priest, dreading more to and his kin;
offend the Deity than to disobey the king, he charged Nob is
Doeg the Syrian to carry out the murder. This destroyed.
fellow, taking to help him others as wicked as himself,^b slew Abimelech and his kin, who were in all 1 Sam. xxii. 16.

^a This last sentence is an addition to Scripture.^b In Scripture, Doeg alone slays the priests.

ἥσαν δὲ πάντες ὥσεὶ πέντε καὶ τριακόσιοι.¹ πέμψας δὲ Σαοῦλος καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱερέων Ναβὰν πάντας τε αὐτὸὺς ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ γυναικῶν οὐ νηπίων οὐδ' ἄλλης ἡλικίας φεισάμενος, αὐτὴν δὲ ἐνέπρησε. διασώζεται δὲ πᾶς εἰς Ἀβιμελέχουν Ἀβιάθαρος ὄνομα. ταῦτα μέντοι γε συνέβη, κάθὼς προεφήτευσεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἡλί, διὰ τὰς τῶν οἰωνῶν αὐτοῦ δύο παρανομίας εἰπὼν διαφθαρήσεσθαι τοὺς ἔγγονους.

262 (7) Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡμὸν οὕτως ἔργον διαπραξάμενος καὶ γενεὰν ὅλην ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀποσφάξας τιμῆς καὶ μῆτ' ἐπὶ νηπίοις λαβὼν οἴκτον μῆτ' ἐπὶ γέρουσιν αἰδῶ, καταβαλὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἦν πατρίδα καὶ τροφὸν τῶν Ἱερέων καὶ προφητῶν αὐτὸ² τὸ θεῖον ἐπελέξατο καὶ μόνην εἰς τὸ τοιούτους φέρειν ἄνδρας ἀπέδειξε, μαθεῖν ἄπασι παρέσχε καὶ κατανοῆσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον τρόπον, 263 ὅτι μέχρις οὗ μέν εἰσιν ἴδιωται τινες καὶ ταπεινοί, τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι τῇ φύσει μηδὲ τολμᾶν οἷσα θέλουσιν, ἐπιεικέσι εἰσι καὶ μέτριοι καὶ μόνον διώκουσι τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ³ τὴν πᾶσαν εὔνοιάν⁴ τε καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχουσι, τότε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ θείου πεπιστεύκασιν ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς γινομένοις ἐν τῷ βίῳ πάρεστι καὶ οὐ τὰ ἔργα μόνον ὅρᾳ τὰ πραττόμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διανοίας ἥδη σαφῶς οἶδεν, ἀφ' ὧν μέλλει ταῦτ' ἔσεσθαι. ὅταν δὲ εἰς ἔξουσίαν παρέλθωσι καὶ δυναστείαν, τότε πάντ' ἔκεινα μετεκδυσάμενοι καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς

264

¹ ex Lat. Niese (cf. LXX): πέντε καὶ δγδοήκοντα RO: πέντε καὶ δγδοήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι MSP: πεντακόσιοι καὶ τριάκοντα E.

² conj. edd.: αὐτόθι codd.: om. Lat.

³ αὐτῷ Niese.

⁴ Εὐνοιαν Dindorf.

some three hundred and five.^a Moreover Saul sent men to Naba, the city of the priests, and slew all therein, sparing neither women nor infants nor those of any age, and burnt the town. One son of Abimelech alone escaped, Abiathar ^b by name. Now all these things came to pass in full accordance with what God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when He declared that by reason of the iniquities of his two sons his posterity should be destroyed.^c

(7) ^d But as for King Saul, by perpetrating a deed so cruel as slaughtering a whole family of high-priestly rank, feeling neither pity for infants nor reverence for age, and then proceeding to demolish the city which the Deity Himself had chosen as the home and nurse of priests and prophets and set apart as the sole place to produce such men—Saul thereby gave all to know and understand the character of men, namely that so long as they are of private and humble station, through inability to indulge their instincts or to dare all that they desire, they are kindly and moderate and pursue only what is right, and turn thereto their every thought and endeavour; then too, concerning the Deity, they are persuaded that He is present in all that happens in life and that He not only sees the acts that are done, but clearly knows even the thoughts whence those acts are to come. But when once they attain to power and sovereignty, then, stripping off all those qualities and laying aside their habits and ways as if they were

^a Emended text, agreeing with the LXX, 1 Sam. xxii. 18, where the Heb. has 85; the mss. vary between 85 and 385, while the Epitome has 530. Below, § 268, Josephus has 300.

^b Heb. *Ebyāthār*.

^c Cf. A. v. 350.

^d With this digression in criticism of Saul contrast the eulogy below, §§ 343 ff.

προσωπεῖα τὰ ἥθη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἀποθέμενοι
μεταλαμβάνουσι τόλμαν ἀπόνοιαν καταφρόνησιν ἀν-
265 θρωπίνων τε καὶ θείων, καὶ ὅτε μάλιστα δεῖ τῆς
εὐσεβείας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἔγγιστα τοῦ
φθονεῖσθαι γεγενημένοις καὶ πᾶσι φανεροῖς ἐφ'
οἷς ἀν νοήσωσιν ἡ πράξωσι καθεστῶσι, τόθ' ὡς
οὐκέτι βλέποντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ διὰ τὴν
ἔξουσίαν δεδιότος οὕτως ἐμπαροιοῦσι τοῖς πράγ-
266 μασιν. ἀ δ' ἀν ἡ φοβηθῶσιν ἀκούσαντες¹ ἡ
μισήσωσι * * θελήσαντες² ἡ στέρξωσιν ἀλόγως,
ταῦτα κύρια καὶ βέβαια καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀνθρώποις
ἀρεστὰ καὶ θεῷ δοκοῦσι, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων λόγος
267 αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ εἰς· ἀλλὰ τιμῶσι μὲν τοὺς πολλὰ
ταλαιπωρήσαντας, τιμήσαντες δὲ φθονοῦσι, καὶ
παραγαγόντες εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν οὐ ταύτης ἀφαιροῦνται
μόνον τοὺς τετυχηκότας, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταύτην καὶ τοῦ
ζῆν ἐπὶ πονηρᾶς αἰτίας καὶ δι' ὑπερβολὴν αὐτῶν
ἀπιθάνοις· κολάζονται δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἔργοις δίκης
ἀξίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολᾶς καὶ κατηγορίαις ἀ-
βασανίστοις, οὐδὲ ὅσους³ ἔδει τοῦτο παθεῖν, ἀλλ'
268 ὅσους ἀποκτεῖναι δύνανται. τοῦτο Σαοῦλος ἡμῖν
ὁ Κείσου παῖς, ὁ πρῶτος μετὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν
καὶ⁴ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κριταῖς πολιτείαν Ἐβραίων βασι-
λεύσας, φανερὸν πεποίηκε τριακοσίους ἀποκτείνας
ἱερέας καὶ προφήτας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον
ὑποφίας, ἐπικαταβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν,
καὶ τὸν⁵ τρόπω τινὶ ναὸν σπουδάσας ἱερέων καὶ
προφητῶν ἔρημον καταστῆσαι, τοσούτους μὲν ἀν-

¹ ἀκούσιοι conj. Thackeray.

² ἐθελήσαντες SP : ἐθελοκακήσαντες Naber.

* οὖς Niese.

• + ἐν codd.

stage masks, they assume in their place audacity, recklessness, contempt for things human and divine ; and at the moment when they most need piety and righteousness, being now within closest reach of envy, with all their thoughts and acts exposed to all men, then, as though God no longer saw them or were overawed by their power, they break out into these riotous acts. Their fear of rumours, their wilful hates,^a their irrational loves—these they regard as valid, sure and true, acceptable to man and God, but of the future they take not the least account. They first honour those who have toiled in their service, and then envy them the honours which they have conferred ; and, after promoting men to high distinction, they deprive them not only of this, but, on its very account, of life itself, on malicious charges which their extravagance renders incredible. Their punishments are inflicted not for acts deserving of chastisement, but on the faith of calumnies and unsifted accusations, nor do they fall on those who ought so to suffer, but on whomsoever they can put to death. Of this we have a signal example in the conduct of Saul, son of Kis, the first to become king of the Hebrews after the period of aristocracy and the government under the judges, for he slew three hundred priests and prophets from suspicion of Abimelech, and further demolished their city and strove to leave what was virtually their temple^b destitute of priests and prophets,^c by first slaying so many of

^a Text uncertain.

^b The first real temple was, of course, to be built later in Jerusalem by Solomon.

^c The reference to prophets is unscriptural.

ελών, μεῖναι δ' ἔάσας οὐδὲ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ καὶ μετ' ἐκένους ἄλλους γενέσθαι.

269 (8) 'Ο δ' Ἀβιάθαρος ὁ τοῦ Ἀβιμελέχου παῖς ὁ μόνος διασωθῆναι¹ δυνηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν ὑπὸ Σαούλου φονευθέντων ἵερέων φυγὼν πρὸς Δαυίδην τὴν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὴν 270 τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐσόμενα ἴδων τὸν Δώρηγον· ὑπονοῆσαι γὰρ διαβληθῆσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἀτυχίας ταύτης αὐτοῖς αὐτὸν ἥτιάτο. μένειν² δ' αὐτόθι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ διατρίβειν ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ λησόμενον οὕτως ἤξιον.

271 (xiii. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀκούσας ὁ Δαυίδης τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐμβεβληκότας εἰς τὴν Κιλλανῶν χώραν καὶ ταύτην διαρπάζοντας δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς, τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου πυθόμενος εἰς ἐπιτρέπει νίκην. τοῦ δὲ σημαίνειν φήσαντος ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ φόνον τε αὐτῶν 272 πολὺν ἐξέχεε καὶ λείαν ἥλασεν. καὶ παραμείνας τοῖς Κιλλανοῖς, ἔως οὖτε τὰς ἄλως³ καὶ τὸν καρπὸν συνεῖλον ἀδεῶς, Σαούλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μηνύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡν· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα οὐκ ἔμεινε παρ' οἷς ἐγένετο, φήμη⁴ δ' ἐπίπαν εἰς τε τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκοὰς καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως διεκομίσθη αὐτό⁵ τε συνιστάνον καὶ τὸν πεποιη- 273 κότα. χαίρει δὲ Σαούλος ἀκούσας ἐν Κίλλᾳ τὸν

¹ διασωθ. om. RO.² τὸ μένειν codd.⁴ φήμη Ernesti.³ ἄλω codd.: ἄλώνας ed. pr.⁵ αὐτό Dindorf.^a Cf. below on § 273.^b In Scripture no mention is made at this point of a prophet,

them and then not suffering even their native place to remain, that others might come after them.

(8) Now Abiathar, the son of Abimelech, who alone of the family of priests slaughtered by Saul had been able to escape, fled to David and told him of the tragedy of his kin and the slaying of his father. David replied that he had known that this fate would befall them, when he saw Doeg; he had, he said, suspected that the high priest would be denounced to the king by this man, and he blamed himself as the cause of this misfortune to them. Howbeit he besought Abiathar to abide there and to live with him, since nowhere else would he be so safely hidden.

(xiii. 1) At this same time David, hearing that the Philistines had invaded the country of the Killanians^a (Killa) from and were ravaging it, offered to take the field against them, after inquiring of God through the prophet^b whether He would grant him victory. And when the prophet reported that God had so signified, he threw himself upon the Philistines with his companions, made a great slaughter of them and carried off their spoils. As he then remained with the Killanians until they had secured their threshing-floors and safely got in their crops,^c his presence there was reported to King Saul. For this exploit and its success did not remain confined to those who had witnessed them, but the fame of it was carried abroad to the ears of all, the king's included, with praise of the deed and the doer of it. Saul rejoiced to hear

but in 1 Sam. xxiii. 9 we read that David consulted God about leaving Keilah, through the priest Abimelech by means of the ephod—a detail omitted in Josephus's account below, § 274.

^c The safeguarding of the crops is an amplification of Scripture.

Δαυίδην, καὶ “θεὸς ἥδη χερσὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ὑπέθετο αὐτόν,” εἰπών, “ἐπεὶ καὶ συνηνάγκασεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς πόλιν τείχη καὶ πύλας καὶ μοχλοὺς ἔχουσαν,” τῷ λαῷ παντὶ προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τὴν Κιλλαν ἔξορμῆσαι καὶ πολιορκήσαντι καὶ ἐλόντι τὸν Δαυίδην 274 ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα δὲ αἰσθόμενος ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι μείναντα παρ’ αὐτοῖς οἱ Κιλλῖται ἐκδώσουσι τῷ Σαούλῳ, παραλαβὼν τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἐπάνω τῆς Ἐγεδῶν¹ λεγομένης. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτὸν πεφευγότα παρὰ τῶν Κιλλιτῶν ἐπαύσατο τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν στρατείας.

275 (2) Δαυίδης δὲ ἐκεῦθεν ἄρας εἰς τινα τόπον Καινὴν² καλουμένην τῆς Ζιφηνῆς παραγίνεται, εἰς δὲν Ἰωνάθης ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ καὶ κατασπασάμενος θαρρεῖν τε καὶ χρηστὰς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔχειν ἐλπίδας παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ κάμνειν τοῖς παροῦσι· βασιλεύσειν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐβραίων δύναμιν ἔξειν ὑφ’ ἔαυτῷ, φιλεῖν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα σὺν μεγάλοις ἀπαντᾶν πόνοις. 276 πάλιν δ’ ὅρκους ποιησάμενος τῆς εἰς ἄπαντα τὸν βίον πρὸς ἄλλήλους εὔνοίας καὶ πίστεως καὶ τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα καλέσας, ὃν ἐπηράσατο αὐτῷ παρ-

¹ Ἐνγελατν MS: Ἐνγαλατν P: Ἐνγεδατν Naber.

² M Lat.: Κενὴν ROSPE.

that David was in Killa.^a “At last,” said he, “God has delivered him into my hands, since He has forced him to enter a city with walls, gates and bars,” and he ordered the whole people to march against Killa and, when they had besieged and taken it,^b to kill David. But when David discovered this and learned from God that if he remained in Killa the inhabitants would give him up to Saul, he took his four hundred^c men and withdrew from the city into the desert lying above a place called Engedōn.^d Thereupon the king, hearing that he had fled from the people of Killa, abandoned his campaign against him.

(2) David, departing thence, came to a place called Jonathan renews his
Kainē^e (“New”) in the region of Ziphēnē.^f Here pledge to
he was met by Jonathan, son of Saul, who, after embracing him, bade him take courage, hope well for David at
1 Sam. xxiii. 16.
the future and not be crushed by his present state,
for (he assured him) he would yet be king and would
have all the forces of the Hebrews under him, but
such things were wont to demand great toil for their
attainment. Then, having renewed his oaths of
life-long, mutual affection and fidelity, and having
called God to witness the curses which he invoked

^a Bibl. Keilah, LXX Κεελά, perhaps the modern *Khirbet Qila*, about 2 miles S. of the supposed site of Adullam (cf. § 247 note).

^b Or “besieged it and taken him.”

^c So the LXX; Heb. 600.

^d Bibl. Engedi; mentioned below, § 282. 1 Sam. xxiii. 13
“and went whithersoever they could go.”

^e So the LXX, reading Heb. *hadāshāh* “new” for *ḥōreshāh* “thicket” in 1 Sam. xxiii. 15; the latter is perhaps to be taken as a proper name, and may be the modern *Khirbet Khoreisa*.

^f Bibl. Ziph, LXX Ζείφ, probably the modern *Tell Zif*, 4 miles S.E. of Hebron.

βάντι τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ μεταβαλλομένῳ¹ πρὸς τάναντία, τὸν μὲν αὐτόθι καταλείπει μικρὰ τῶν φροντίδων καὶ τοῦ δέους ἐπικουφίσας, αὐτὸς δὲ 277 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέρχεται. οἱ δὲ Ζιφηνοὶ χαριζόμενοι τῷ Σαούλῳ μηνύουσιν αὐτῷ παρ’ αὐτοὺς διατρίβειν τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ παραδώσειν ἔφασαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐλθόντι· καταληφθέντων γὰρ τῶν τῆς Ζιφηνῆς 278 στενῶν οὐκ εἶναι φυγεῖν αὐτὸν² πρὸς ἄλλους. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπήνεσεν αὐτούς, χάριν ἔχειν ὅμολογήσας τὸν ἔχθρὸν αὐτῷ μεμηνυκόσι, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀμείψεσθαι³ τῆς εὔνοίας ὑποσχόμενος αὐτούς, ἐπεμψε τοὺς ζητήσοντας τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐξερευνήσοντας, αὐτὸς δ’ ἀκολουθήσειν ἀπεκρίνατο. 279 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν καὶ τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ Δαυίδου προῆγον τὸν βασιλέα σπουδάζοντες μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ⁴ μηνῦσαι τὸν ἔχθρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔξουσίαν φανερωτέραν καταστῆσαι αὐτῷ τὴν εὔνοιαν⁵. διήμαρτον δὲ τῆς ἀδίκου καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, οἱ μηδὲν κινδυνεύειν ἔμελλον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτ’ ἐμφανίσαι τῷ Σαούλῳ, διὰ δὲ κολακείαν καὶ κέρδους προσδοκίαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄνδρα θεοφιλῆ καὶ παρὰ δίκην ζητούμενον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ λανθάνειν δυνάμενον διέβαλον καὶ παραδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο· γνοὺς γὰρ ὁ Δαυίδης τὴν τῶν Ζιφηνῶν κακοήθειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔφοδον ἐκλείπει μὲν τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας,

¹ μεταβαλλομένῳ Bekker.

² φυγὴν αὐτῷ SP: φυγεῖν αὐτῷ M.

³ Niese: ἀμείψεσθαι codd. (Lat. vid.).

⁴ αὐτῷ τῷ MSP.

⁵ αὐτῷ τὴν εὔνοιαν om. RO: post ἔχθρὸν (supra) rell.

^a At Gibeah (lxx “the hill,” cf. § 251 note), 1 Sam. xxiii. 19.

upon himself should he violate their covenant and change to the contrary, he left him there, having a little lightened his cares and fear, and returned to his own home. But the men of Ziph, to win favour with Saul, reported to him ^a that David was sojourning among them, and promised, if he would come after him, to deliver him up; for, if the passes into their country were occupied, it would be impossible for him to escape elsewhere. The king commended them and expressed his thanks for their having given him information of his enemy, and promised that their loyalty should not long await its reward ^b; he then sent a party to search for David and to scour the desert, assuring them that he would himself follow. Thus they spurred the king on to the pursuit and capture of David, because they were anxious not merely to denounce his enemy to him, but to give more palpable proof of their loyalty to him by actually delivering David into his hands. They failed, however, in their iniquitous and base desire, which was the more so in that they would have incurred no risk by not informing Saul of these things; yet, from obsequiousness and in the expectation of receiving gain from the king, they calumniated and promised to deliver up a God-favoured man whose death was being unjustly sought, and who might have remained concealed.^c For David, learning of the evil designs of the Ziphites and the king’s approach, quitted the

^b This promise is not mentioned in Scripture.

^c These reflections on the conduct of the Ziphites are an addition to Scripture.

The men of
Ziph betray
David to
Saul.
1 Sam. xxiii.
19.

φεύγει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην πέτραν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ Σίμωνος ἔρήμῳ.

- 281 (3) "Ωρμησεν δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνην διώκειν Σαοῦλος· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐκ τῶν στενῶν μαθὼν τὸν Δαυΐδην, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτερον μέρος τῆς πέτρας ἀπῆρεν. ἀντιπεριέσπασαν δὲ τὸν Σαοῦλον ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τοῦ Δαυΐδου μέλλοντος ἥδη συλλαμβάνεσθαι Παλαιστῖνοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐβραίων ἐστρατευκέναι χώραν ἀκουσθέντες· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτους ἀνέστρεψε φύσει πολεμίους ὅντας, αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι κρίνας ἀναγκαιότερον ἢ τὸν ἴδιον σπουδάζοντα λαβεῖν ἔχθρὸν ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν γῆν κακωθεῖσαν.
- 282 (4) Καὶ Δαυΐδης μὲν οὗτος ἐκ παραλόγου τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγὼν εἰς τὰ στενὰ τῆς Ἐγγεδηνῆς ἀφικνεῖται· Σαούλω δὲ ἐκβαλόντι τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἥκον ἀπαγγέλλοντές τινες τὸν Δαυΐδην ἐν 283 τοῖς Ἐγγεδηνῆς διατρίβειν ὄροις. λαβὼν δὲ τρισχιλίους ἐπιλέκτους¹ ὁπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡπείγετο, καὶ γενόμενος οὐ πόρρω τῶν τόπων ὁρᾶ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπήλαιον βαθὺ καὶ κοῦλον, εἰς πολὺ καὶ μῆκος ἀνεῳγός καὶ πλάτος, ἔνθα συνέβαινε τὸν Δαυΐδην μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων κεκρύφθαι· ἐπειγόμενος οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν εἴσεισιν εἰς αὐτὸν μόνος θεαθεὶς 284 δ' ὑπὸ τινος τῶν μετὰ Δαυΐδου· καὶ φράσαντος

¹ ἐπιλέκτους post ὁπλίτας MSP: om. E Lat.

* 1 Sam. xxiii. 24 "in the wilderness of Maon, in the plain on the south (lit. "right") of Jeshimon," LXX ἐν τῇ ἔρημῳ τῇ Μαῶν (v.l. Μαῶν, Luc. ἐν τῇ ἐπηκόῳ) καθ' ἐσπέραν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Ἱεσσαϊμοῦ. Thackeray, *Josephus the Man*, etc., p. 88, writes "both in Josephus and in Lucian an intrusive initial shin has converted the proper name [Maon] into Shim'on . . . Lucian translates it by ἐπήκοος 'into the

defiles of their country and fled to the great rock which is in the wilderness of Simon."^a

(3) Thither Saul hastened to pursue him; for he had learnt on the way that David had withdrawn from the defiles, and so he set off for the other side of the rock. But, just as David was about to be caught, Saul was diverted from the pursuit by the news that the Philistines had made a fresh invasion into Hebrew territory. He accordingly returned to face them as his natural enemies, judging it more imperative to fight against them than, through his zeal to capture his personal enemy, to leave the land to be ravaged.^b

A Philistine invasion
diverts
Saul from
pursuit of
David.
1 Sam. xxiii.
26.

(4) David, after this unexpected escape from danger, repaired to the narrow passes of Engedēnē^c; but, after Saul had expelled the Philistines, word was brought to him that David was sojourning within the borders of Engedēnē. So, with three thousand picked soldiers, he pressed on after him. And, when he was not far from the region, he saw by the wayside a deep and hollow cave, extending to a great distance both in length and breadth, where, as it chanced, David with his four hundred men lay concealed. Urged then by the needs of nature, Saul entered it alone, and was espied by one of David's companions.

David spares
Saul's life
at En-gedi
(Engedene).
1 Sam. xxiii.
29 (xxiv. 1
Heb., LXX).

listening wilderness,' as in fact Josephus does elsewhere," and refers to A. i. 304 "the name Σεμέων signifies that God listened (ἐπήκοον γεγονέναι)." I think, however, that Josephus's *Simōn* represents the bibl. *Jeshimon* (Heb. *Yeshimōn*), which it might easily have done if Josephus had read it in a form like that of the Targum where, with the preposition *l'*, it is *liyshimōn* (by a phonetic law, the consonant *y* is assimilated to the preceding vowel), from an apparent root *Shimōn* = Gr. *Simōn*.

^b The last sentence is an amplification of Scripture.

^c Bibl. En-gedi, LXX Ἐνγάδδει, modern 'Ain Jidy, a rocky height half-way down the west shore of the Dead Sea.

τοῦ θεασαμένου πρὸς τὸν ἔχθρὸν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καιρὸν ἔχειν ἀμύνης καὶ συμβουλεύοντος τοῦ Σαούλου ἀποτεμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἄλης αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ἀναστὰς ἀναίρει μὲν τὴν κροκύδα¹ τοῦ ἴματίου μόνον οὐ Σαούλος ἀμπείχετο, μετανοήσας δ' εὐθύς “οὐ δίκαιον,” εἶπε, “φονεύειν τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην, οὐδὲ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας ἀξιωθέντα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ πονηρὸς οὗτος εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμὲ 285 δεῖ τοιοῦτον εἶναι πρὸς αὐτόν.” τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τὸ σπήλαιον ἐκλιπόντος προελθὼν² ὁ Δανιδης ἔκραγεν, ἀκοῦσαι τὸν Σαούλον ἀξιῶν. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προσκυνεῖ τε αὐτὸν πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ὡς ἔθος, καὶ φησιν· “οὐ πονηροῖς, ὡς βασιλεῦν, καὶ ψευδεῖς πλάττουσι διαβολὰς παρέχοντα δεῖ τὰς ἀκοὰς χαρίζεσθαι μὲν ἐκείνοις τὸ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δὲ φιλτάτους δι' ὑπονοίας ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔργοις σκοπεῖν τὴν ἀπάντων διά- 286 θεσιν. διαβολὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπατᾷ, σαφῆς δ' ἀπόδειξις εὑνοίας τὰ πραττόμενα· καὶ λόγος μὲν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα πέφυκεν ἀληθής τε καὶ ψευδής, τὰ δὲ 287 ἔργα γυμνὴν ὑπ' ὄψει τὴν διάνοιαν τίθησιν. ἵσθι τούννην ἐκ τούτων καλῶς ἔχειν με πρὸς σὲ καὶ τὸν σὸν οἶκον κάμοι³ πιστεῦσαι δεῖ, καὶ μὴ τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν ἂ μήτε εἰς νοῦν ἐβαλόμην μήτε δύναται γενέσθαι προσθέμενον μεταδιώκειν τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν, καὶ μηδὲν μήθ³ ἡμέρας μήτε νυκτὸς ἔχειν διὰ φροντίδος ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἢν ἀδίκως μετα-

¹ ἀναίρει . . . κροκύδα] ἀποτέμνει . . . πτέρυγα SPE (Lat.).

² E: προσελθὼν codd. Lat.

³ ex Lat. conj. Thackeray: ἐμοὶ codd.

The man who saw him said to David that here was his God-sent opportunity for vengeance on his enemy and counselled him to cut off Saul's head^a and so deliver himself from his long wandering and misery, whereupon David arose and only pulled off some of the woollen nap^b of the mantle that Saul was wearing; but, repenting forthwith, said, "It is not right to murder one's own master or one whom God has accounted worthy of kingship. And even though he treats me ill, yet I must not do the like to him." Then, when Saul had left the cave, David came forth and cried aloud, beseeching Saul to hear him. And, as the king turned, he prostrated himself before him with his face to the ground, as the custom was, and said, "Thou oughtest not, O King, to give ear to David re-miscreants and fabricators of lying charges and do Saul. them the honour of believing their lies, while holding thy best friends in suspicion; no, but by their actions shouldst thou judge the character of all men. For calumny only deceives, while actions clearly reveal the honest friend; words are of two-fold nature, either true or false, but deeds lay bare to sight the intention.^c Know then by these tokens that I wish well to thee and to thy house, and thou shouldst trust in me instead of putting faith in those who accuse me of things which I never took into my head to do and which could never even have been done, and constantly seeking my life, with no thought day or night except for my destruction, for which thou

^a Bibl. "do to him as it shall seem good unto thee."

^b Variant (as in Scripture) "cut off the skirt" (*πτέρυγα*); this latter text is found below, § 289.

^c The last remark, like some of the other moral reflections in David's speech, is an amplification of Scripture.

288 πορεύη· πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ¹ ψευδῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ δόξαν
εἴληφας ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι σε θέλοντος; ἢ πῶς οὐκ
ἀσεβεῖς εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἄνθρωπον τήμερον αὐτῷ τιμω-
ρῆσαι δυνάμενον καὶ παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν δίκην καὶ
μὴ θελήσαντα μηδὲ τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενον, δὲν εἰ
σοὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ περιέπεσεν οὐκ ἀν αὐτὸς² παρῆκας,
289 διαχρήσασθαι ποθῶν καὶ νομίζων πολέμιον; ὅτε
γάρ σου τὴν πτέρυγα τοῦ ἴματίου ἀπέτεμον, τότε
σου καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡδυνάμην.” ἐπιδείξας δὲ τὸ
ῥάκος ἵδεν πιστεύειν παρεῖχεν. “ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν
ἀπεσχόμην δικαίας ἀμύνης,” φησί, “σὺ δὲ μῆσος
ἄδικον οὐκ αἰδῆ κατ' ἐμοῦ τρέφων.³ ὁ θεὸς ταῦτα
δικάσειε καὶ τὸν ἔκατέρου τρόπον ἡμῶν ἐλέγξειε.”
290 Σαοῦλος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς σωτηρίας θαυ-
μάσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου μετριότητα καὶ φύσιν
ἐκπλαγεὶς ἀνώμαξε· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν κάκείνου ποιή-
σαντος αὐτὸν εἶναι δίκαιον στένειν ἀπεκρίνατο.
“σὺ μὲν γάρ,” φησίν, “ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ἐμοὶ⁴
γέγονας, ἐγὼ δὲ σοὶ συμφορῶν. ἐπεδείξω δὲ σή-
μερον τὴν ἀρχαίων ἔχοντα σαυτὸν δικαιοσύνην, οἵ
τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ λαβόντας⁵ σώζειν παρ-
291 ήγγελλον. πέπεισμαι δὴ νῦν ὅτι σοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν
ὁ θεὸς φυλάττει καὶ περιμένει σε τὸ πάντων τῶν
Ἐβραίων κράτος. δὸς δὴ μοι πίστεις ἐνόρκους μή
μου τὸ γένος ἔξαφανίσαι μηδὲ ἐμοὶ μνησικακοῦντα
τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἔγγόνους ἀπολέσαι, τηρῆσαι δέ μοι καὶ
σῶσαι τὸν οἶκον.” ὀμόσας δὲ καθὼς ἡξίωκε⁶ Δα-
υΐδης Σαοῦλον μὲν εἰς τὴν ἵδιαν ἀπέλυσε βασιλείαν,

¹ οὐχὶ om. MSP.² αὐτὸν RO: οὐτῶς ex Lat. conj. Naber.³ E: φέρων rell.⁴ Hudson: λαβόντες codd.⁵ ἡξίωσε conj. Niese.

strivest so unjustly. How indeed could the opinion not be false which thou didst hold of me, namely that I wished to kill thee, or how canst thou be other than impious toward God when thou art eager to destroy, and accountest as an enemy, a man who this day had it in his power to avenge himself and to punish thee, and yet refused to do so or to avail himself of an opportunity, which, had it been given to thee to use against me, thou wouldst never have let slip? For when I cut off the skirt of thy mantle, I might at the same time have cut off thy head.” And here he produced the piece of cloth in token of the truth of his words. “But yet,” he continued, “I refrained from righteous vengeance, while thou art not ashamed to nurse unjust hatred against me. May God be judge thereof and examine the motives of us both.” Thereupon Saul, in wonder at his extraordinary escape and amazed at the youth’s forbearance and nature, wailed aloud. And when David did the like, he replied, “It is for me to moan,^a since thou hast brought me only good, while I have brought thee affliction. Thou hast shown thyself this day to have the righteousness of the ancients, who bade those who captured their enemies in a lonely place to spare their lives.^b Now, therefore, I fully believe that God is reserving the kingdom for thee and that dominion over all the Hebrews awaits thee. Give me then assurance on oath that thou wilt not exterminate my race nor, from rancour against me, destroy my posterity, but wilt save and preserve my house.” David gave the desired oath and let Saul depart to his kingdom,

^a Unscriptural detail.^b An amplification of 1 Sam. xxiv. 19 (20) (of which, however, the text seems to be defective), “If a man find his enemy will he let him go well away?”

Saul is
reconciled
to David.
1 Sam. xxiv.
16 (17).

αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Μασθηρῶν ἀνέβη στενήν.

292 (5) Ἀποθνήσκει δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Σαμουῆλος ὁ προφήτης, ἀνὴρ οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἀπολαύσας¹ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐβραιοῖς τιμῆς· ἐνεφάνισε γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν τὸ πένθος, ὃ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ λαὸς ἤγετο, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν νομιζομένων ἀναπλήρωσιν φιλοτιμία τε 293 καὶ σπουδή. θάπτουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἀρμαθῇ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς πάνυ ἡμέρας ἔκλαυσαν, οὐ κοινὸν τοῦτο πάσχοντες ὡς ἐπ’ ἄλλοτρίου τελευτῆς, 294 ὡς² οἰκεῖον δ’ ἔκαστος ἴδιον ποθῶν. ἐγένετο δ’ ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ χρηστὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα φίλος τῷ θεῷ. ἥρξε δὲ καὶ προέστη τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ τὴν Ἡλεὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτὴν μόνος μὲν ἔτη δώδεκα, μετὰ δὲ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ὅκτώ. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σαμουῆλον οὕτω πέρας ἔσχεν.

295 (6) Ἡν δέ τις τῶν Ζιφηνῶν ἐκ πόλεως Ἐμμᾶν³ πλούσιος καὶ πολυθρέμματος· τρισχιλίων μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ⁴ ποίμνη προβάτων ἐνέμετο, χιλίων δ’ αἴγων. ταῦτα Δαυίδης ἀσινῇ τηρεῖν τε καὶ ἀβλαβῇ παρήγγελε τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας μήτε ὑπὸ ἐνδείας μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι

¹ SP: ἀπολάβων RO: ἀπολαΐων Niese cum Hudson.

² +εἰς MSP.

³ Ἐμμᾶν MSP Exe.: Ammon Lat.

⁴ Cocceji: αὐτοῦ codd. E.

^a Heb. ‘al ha-meṣūdāh “up to the stronghold”; Josephus follows the LXX which takes this as a proper name and, in a duplicate rendering, translates it as εἰς τὴν Μεσσαρὰ στενήν.

while he with his men went up to the pass of Masthera.^a

(5) About this time the prophet Samuel died, a man who had enjoyed no common esteem among the Hebrews. His virtue and the affection of the multitude for him were manifested by the prolonged mourning which the people made, and by the display and zeal given to his burial and to the observance of the customary rites. For they buried him in his native Armatha and wept for him very many days, with no mere public mourning as for the death of a stranger, but each privately grieving as for his own.^b He was a man of just and kindly nature and for that reason very dear to God. He was ruler and leader of the people after the death of the high priest Eli, for twelve years alone, and together with King Saul for eighteen more.^c Such then was the end of Samuel.

(6) Now there was a certain Ziphite of the city of Emmam,^d who was wealthy and had much cattle; indeed he maintained a flock of three thousand sheep and a thousand goats. Now David had charged his men to see that these flocks should be safe and unharmed, and that neither through greed nor want nor because they were in the wilderness and could escape detection, should they do them any injury,

^b The details of the burial and mourning are additions to Scripture.

^c No figures are given in Scripture; the common rabbinic tradition fixes Samuel’s term as prophet at 12 years, another, also found in Julius Africanus, makes it 40 years. Ginzberg plausibly suggests that the latter figure was reached by combining Josephus’s statement that Samuel began to prophesy at 12 years, *A. v.* 348, with the rabbinic tradition that Samuel was 52 years old when he died.

^d Bibl. “A man of Maon”; his possessions were in Carmel, just south of Ziph.

The wealthy
Nabal
churlishly
refuses
presents to
David.

¹ Sam.
^{xxv. 2.}

λανθάνειν καταβλάπτειν, τούτων δ' ἀπάντων ἐπάνω τίθεσθαι τὸ μηδέν^¹ ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἅπτεσθαι δεινὸν ἥγενεσθαι καὶ πρόσαντες τῷ θεῷ.
 296 ταῦτα δ' ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενος ἀνθρώπῳ χαρίζεσθαι ἀγαθῷ καὶ ταύτης τυγχάνειν ἀξίω τῆς προνοίας· ἦν δὲ Νάβαλος, τοῦτο γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα, σκληρὸς καὶ πονηρὸς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐκ κυνικῆς ἀσκήσεως πεποιημένος τὸν βίον, γυναικὸς δ' ἀγαθῆς καὶ σώφρονος καὶ τὸ εἶδος σπουδαίας λελογχώς.^²
 297 πρὸς οὖν τὸν Νάβαλον τοῦτον καθ' ὃν ἔκειρε τὰ πρόβατα καιρὸν πέμψας ὁ Δαυίδης ἄνδρας δέκα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ τούτων αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται καὶ συνεύχεται τοῦτο ποιεῦν ἐπ' ἔτη πολλά· παρασχεῖν δὲ ἔξ ὧν δυνατός ἐστιν αὐτῷ παρεκάλει μαθόντα^³ παρὰ τῶν ποιμένων ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἡδίκησαν,^⁴ ἀλλὰ φύλακες αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ποιμνίων γεγόνασι^⁵ πολὺν ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ διατρίβοντες ἥδη χρόνον· μετανοήσει δ' οὐδὲν Δαυίδης παρασχόμενος. ταῦτα δὲ τῶν πεμφθέντων διακονησάντων πρὸς τὸν Νάβαλον ἀπανθρώπως σφόδρα καὶ σκληρῶς ἀπήντησεν· ἑρωτήσας γὰρ αὐτούς, τίς ἐστι Δαυίδης, ὡς τὸν υἱὸν ἥκουσεν Ἰεσσαίου, “νῦν ἄρα,” εἶπε, “μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐφ' αὐτοῖς οἱ δραπέται καὶ σεμνύνονται τοὺς δεσπότας καταλιπόντες.” ὁργίζεται δ' αὐτῶν φρασάντων ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ τετρακοσίους μὲν ὠπλισμένους αὐτῷ κελεύσας ἐπεσθαι, διακοσίους δὲ φύλακας τῶν σκευῶν καταλιπών, ἥδη γὰρ εἶχεν ἔξακοσίους, ἐπὶ τὸν Νάβαλον ἐβάδιζεν ὁμόσας

^¹ μηδένα Exc.: μηδὲν codd. Lat.

^² ὥραλας λελαχώς RO.

^³ Exc., edd.: μαθόντι codd.

^⁴ RO Lat.: ἡδικήσαμεν . . . γεγόναμεν rell.

but should hold it more important than all these things to wrong no man and should reckon it a crime and an offence against God to touch what belonged to another. These instructions he gave to his men in the belief that he was obliging a good man and one worthy of such consideration.^a But Nabal—such was his name—was a hard man and of bad character, who lived according to the practices of the cynics.^b He had, however, been blessed with a wife who was virtuous, discreet and good to look upon. At the time, then, when this Nabal was shearing his sheep, David sent ten of his men by whom he greeted him and joined him in praying that he might be so employed for many years to come. He then besought him to grant him somewhat from his abundant means; he would have learnt from his shepherds that David and his men had done them no wrong, but had been the guardians of their persons and of their flocks throughout their long sojourn in the wilderness, nor would he ever repent of having given anything to David. The messengers acquitted themselves of this mission to Nabal, but he gave them a very uncivil and harsh reception. He first asked them who this David was, and, on being told that he was the son of Jesse, said, “So then nowadays fugitives think much of themselves and boast about deserting their masters.” These words being reported to David aroused his indignation, and bidding four hundred of his men to follow him in arms and leaving two hundred to guard the baggage—for he had by now six hundred men—he marched against Nabal, having sworn utterly to

^a David's instructions are an amplification of Scripture.

^b Bibl. “and he was a Calebite”; LXX, reading Heb. *keleb* “dog,” *καὶ ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς κυνικός*, which Josephus takes in its technical philosophical sense.

ἐκείνη τῇ νυκτὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν ὅλην ἀφανίσειν· οὐ γὰρ ἄχθεσθαι μόνον ὅτι γέγονεν ἀχάριστος εἰς αὐτούς, μηδὲν ἐπιδοὺς πολλῆ φιλανθρωπίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν χρησαμένοις, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσεβλασφήμησε καὶ κακῶς ἐπειπέ μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν λελυπημένος.

300 (7) Δούλου δέ τινος τῶν τὰ ποίμνια φυλασσόντων τὰ τοῦ Ναβάλου πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν μὲν ἔαντοῦ γυναῖκα δ' ἐκείνου κατειπόντος ὅτι πέμψας ὁ Δαυίδης αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μηδενὸς τύχοι τῶν μετρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσυβρισθείη βλασφημίαις δειναῖς πάσῃ περὶ αὐτοὺς προνοίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ποιμνίων χρησάμενος, γέγονε¹ δέ τοῦτο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ αὐτῆς². ταῦτ' ἐκείνου φήσαντος Ἀβιγαία, προσηγορεύετο γὰρ οὗτως, ἐπισάξασα³ τοὺς ὄνους καὶ πληρώσασα παντοίων ξενίων καὶ μηδὲν εἰποῦσα τάνδρι, ὑπὸ γὰρ μέθης ἀναίσθητος ἦν, ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Δαυίδην· καταβαινούσῃ δὲ τὰ στενὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπήντησε Δαυίδης μετὰ τῶν 302 τετρακοσίων ἐπὶ Νάβαλον ἐρχόμενος. θεασαμένη δ' αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ κατεπήδησε καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνει⁴ καὶ τῶν μὲν Ναβάλου λόγων ἐδεῖτο μὴ μνημονεύειν, οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν⁵ αὐτὸν ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ ὄνόματι, Νάβαλος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραίων γλώτταν ἀφροσύνην δηλοῖ, αὐτὴ δ' ἀπελογεῖτο μὴ θεάσασθαι τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· 303 “διὸ συγγίνωσκέ μοι,” φησί, “καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν

¹ RO: γεγονέναι rell.

³ εὐθέως ἐπισ. SP.

⁵ οὐ γὰρ ἀγν. om. ROE Lat.

² αὐτῆς ex Lat. ins. Niese.

⁴ προσεκύνησε ROE.

^a The latter motive is not found in Scripture.

destroy his house and all his possessions that self-same night; for he was angry not merely at his ingratitude in making no return to those who had shown him such great kindness, but also because he had further insulted and abused those from whom he had received no injury.^a

(7) But one of the slaves^b that kept the flocks of Abigail (Abigaia), Nabāl's wife, that David had sent a message to her husband and not only had failed to receive a fair answer but had been further insulted with shocking abuse, although he had shown all consideration to the shepherds and had protected their flocks. Such action, he added, would result in mischief for his master and for herself. At the servant's story, Abigaia^c—such was her name—saddled her asses, loaded them with all manner of presents^d and, without a word to her husband, who was insensible from drink,^e set off to find David. And as she was descending the defiles of the mountain, she was met by David coming against Nabāl with his four hundred men. At sight of him the woman leapt to the ground, and falling on her face bowed down before him; she entreated him not to mind the words of Nabāl, for he could not be ignorant that the man was like his name (*Nabāl* in the Hebrew tongue signifies “folly”),^f while for herself she pleaded that she had not seen David's messengers. “Wherefore pardon me,” she said, “and render thanks to God who has prevented thee

^b Bibl. “young men.”

^c Bibl. Abigail, LXX Ἄβειγαλα.

^d In the form of provisions, according to Scripture.

^e Unscriptural detail, anticipating 1 Sam. xxv. 36, cf. § 306.

^f So also the LXX translates.

ἔχει κωλύοντί σε μιανθῆναι ἀνθρωπίνῳ αἷματι· μένοντα γάρ σε καθαρὸν ἔκεινος αὐτὸς ἐκδικήσει παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν· ἂν γάρ ἐκδέχεται κακὰ Νάβαλον ταῦτα καὶ ταῦς τῶν ἔχθρῶν σου κεφαλαῖς ἐμπέσοι.

304 γενοῦ δὲ εὔμενής μοι κρίνας ἀξίαν τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὄργην τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μου καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν τιμὴν ἄφει· πρέπει γάρ ἡμέρᾳ σοι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ τυγχάνειν, καὶ ταῦτα μέλλοντι βασιλεύειν."

305 ὁ δὲ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενος "ἄλλα σε," φησίν, "ὦ γύναι, θεὸς εὔμενής ἔγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τήμερον· οὐ γάρ ἀν τὴν ἐπερχομένην ἡμέραν εἶδες, ἐμοῦ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ναβάλον διὰ τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς ὁμόσαντος ἀπολέσειν¹ καὶ μηδένα ὑμῶν ἀπολεῖνειν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς² πονηροῦ καὶ ἀχαρίστου πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἔταίρους γενομένουν. νῦν δὲ φθάσασα προέλαβες καταμειλίξασθαί μου τὸν θυμὸν κηδομένου σου τοῦ θεοῦ. ἄλλα Νάβαλος μὲν καν ἀφεθῆ διὰ σὲ νῦν τῆς τιμωρίας οὐ φεύξεται τὴν δίκην, ἄλλ' ὁ τρόπος αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖ λαβὼν αἰτίαν ἀλλην."

306 (8) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπολύει τὴν γυναικα· ἡ δ' εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθοῦσα καὶ καταλαβοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ πολλῶν εὐωχούμενον καὶ κεκαρωμένον ἥδη, τότε μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων διεσάφει, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ νήφοντι ἅπαντα δηλώσασα παρεθῆναι καὶ πᾶν αὐτῷ νεκρωθῆναι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λύπης ἐποίησε· καὶ δέκα οὐ πλείους ἐπιζήσας ἡμέρας τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν ὁ Νάβαλος

307 ἀκούσας δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τελευτὴν ὁ Δαυίδης ἐκδικηθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς ἔλεγεν· ἀπο-

¹ Niese: ἀπολέσαι codd.² + ξως τετραπόδου RO.

from soiling thy hands with human blood. For if thou remainest clean, He Himself will avenge thee on the wicked; and may the evil that awaits Nabal fall likewise on the heads of thy foes. But be gracious to me in deigning to receive these presents from me, and, out of regard for me, dismiss thy indignation and wrath against my husband and against his house. For it becomes thee to show mildness and humanity, especially as thou art destined to be king." And David accepted the presents and said, "In truth, lady, it was gracious God who led thee to us this day; else thou wouldest not have seen the coming day, for I had sworn to destroy the house of Nabal this very night and to leave not one of you, belonging as you do to a man who has been so mean and ungrateful to me and to my comrades. But now thou hast forestalled me and mollified my wrath, since thou art in God's care. But as for Nabal, though for thy sake to-day he be spared chastisement, yet will he not escape retribution, but his conduct will find another occasion to prove his ruin."^a

(8) Having so spoken, he dismissed the woman. And she, returning to her home, found her husband carousing with a large company and already heavy with drink, and so, at the moment, she revealed nothing of what had passed; but on the morrow, when he was sober, she told him all, causing him to collapse and his whole body to become dead through her words and the pain they produced. Ten days and no more did Nabal remain alive and then departed this life. And when David heard of his death, he said that he had been well avenged by God, for Nabal

^a This prediction is unscriptural.

Death of
Nabal;
David
marries
Abigail.
1 Sam. xxv.
36.

θανεῖν γὰρ Νάβαλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἴδιας πονηρίας καὶ δοῦναι δίκην αὐτῷ καθαρὰν ἔχοντι τὴν δεξιάν· ἔγνω δὲ καὶ τότε τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐλαυνομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ,¹ μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑπερορῶντος, διδόντος δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς τὰ ὅμοια, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ὁξεῖαν² ἐπιφέροντος τὴν ποιηήν. πέμψας δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν γυναικα συνοικήσουσαν καὶ γαμηθησομένην ἐκάλει πρὸς αὐτόν· ἡ δὲ ἀναξία μὲν εἶναι καὶ ποδῶν ἄψασθαι τῶν ἐκείνου πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἐλεγεν, ὅμως δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς³ θεραπείας ἥκε. καὶ συνώκησε μὲν αὐτῷ ταύτην λαβοῦσα τὴν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν τρόπον σώφρονα εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον, τυχοῦσα δ' αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τὸ 309 κάλλος. εἶχε δὲ Δαυΐδης γυναικα πρότερον, ἦν ἐξ Ἀβισάρου πόλεως ἔγημε· Μελχὰν δὲ τὴν Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα τὴν γενομένην τοῦ Δαυΐδου γυναικα ὁ πατὴρ τῷ Φελτίῳ νίῳ Λίσου συνέζευξεν ἐκ πόλεως ὅντι Γεθλᾶς.⁴

310 (9) Μετὰ ταῦτα τινες ἐλθόντες τῶν Ζιφηνῶν ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Σαούλῳ, ὃς εἴη πάλιν ὁ Δαυΐδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ δύνανται συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν βουλομένω συνεργῆσαι. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τινι τόπῳ Σικέλλα⁵ λεγο-

¹ + καὶ codd.

² ROP: ἀξίαν MS Exc. Lat.

³ + ἴδιαν E Lat.

⁴ Goliath Lat. (*cf. LXX¹*).

⁵ Σικέλλα M: Σικελλὰ (Σικελᾶ *infra*) SP: Sicela Lat.

¹ Variant “condign.”

² 1 Sam. xxv. 41 “let thine handmaid be a servant to wash the feet of the servants of my lord.”

³ Called Achima below, § 320; Bibl. Ahinoam, LXX 'Αχεινάαι (v.l. 'Αχινάαι).

320

had died through his own wickedness and had given him revenge, while he himself still had clean hands. At the same time he learnt that the wicked are pursued by God who overlooks no act of man but repays the good in kind, while He inflicts swift^a punishment upon the wicked. David then sent to the woman, inviting her to live with him and become his wife. She replied to the messengers that she was unworthy so much as to touch his feet,^b but came nevertheless with all her servants. And so she lived with him, having attained that honour because of her modest and upright character and also because of her beauty. David already had a wife,^c whom he had taken from the city of Abisar^d; as for Melcha, the daughter of Saul and once the wife of David, her father had given her in marriage to Pheltias^e son of Lisos^f of the city of Gethla.^g

(9) ^h After this certain of the Ziphites came and informed Saul that David was again in their country and that they could catch him, if Saul would lend them aid. So with three thousand soldiers he marched against him and, on the approach of night, encamped at a place called Sikella.ⁱ David, hearing

David spares
Saul's life a
second time.
¹ Sam.
xxvi. 1.

^a Bibl. Jezreel, LXX 'Ιεζραέλ (v.l. 'Ισραὴλ κτλ.).

^b Bibl. Phalti, LXX Φαλτεῖ (Φελτεῖ).

^c Bibl. Laish, LXX 'Αμεις, Luc. Ἰώας.

^d Bibl. Gallim, LXX 'Ρομπά, Luc. Γολιάθ.

^e The following account of David's second encounter with Saul (1 Sam. xxvi.) is obviously a variant of that found in 1 Sam. xxiv., *cf.* §§ 282 ff.

^f In 1 Sam. xxvi. 1 Heb. has Hachilah, LXX Χελμάθ (v.l. 'Αχιλά), Luc. Ἐχελά; in vs. 4 Heb. has “Saul came in readiness” (A.V. “in very deed”), LXX ἔτοιμος εἰς Κεειλά, Luc. Σικελάγ. Josephus either followed a LXX reading similar to Lucian's, or confused the name here with Σικέλλα = bibl. Zik'ag mentioned below, § 322.

311 μένω. Δαυίδης δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἥκοντα πέμψας κατασκόπους ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, ποὺ τῆς χώρας Σαοῦλος ἥδη προεληλύθοι.¹ τῶν δ' ἐν Σικέλλᾳ φρασάντων διανυκτερεύειν διαλαθὼν τοὺς ἴδιους εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σαοῦλον στρατόπεδον παραγίνεται ἐπαγόμενος τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Σαρούνιας Ἀβισαῖον καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχον² τὸν Χετ-
312 ταῖον. τοῦ δὲ Σαοῦλου κοιμωμένου καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀβεινήρου κειμένων, ὁ Δαυίδης εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οὕτ’ αὐτὸς ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Σαοῦλον, ἐπιγνοὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν κοίτην ἐκ τοῦ δόρατος, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ παρεπεπήγει, οὕτε τὸν Ἀβισαῖον βουλόμενον φονεῦσαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὡρμηκότα εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένον βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι δεινὸν ἀποκτεῖναι κἄν ἦ πονηρός, ἥξειν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν σὺν χρόνῳ τὴν δίκην, ἐπέσχε τῆς ὄρμῆς.
313 σύμβολον δὲ τοῦ κτεῖναι δυνηθεὶς ἀποσχέσθαι λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃς ἦν παρ’ αὐτῷ κείμενος³ τῷ Σαοῦλῳ, μηδενὸς αἰσθομένου τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάντων δὲ κατακοιμωμένων ἐξῆλθεν, ἀδεῶς πάντ’ ἐργασάμενος ὅσα καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ δόντος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς
314 τόλμης διέθηκε τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν χείμαρρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνελθὼν τοῦ ὄρους,

¹ Niese: προσεληλύθοι, -ει codd.

² Ἀχιμέλεχον MSP Lat.

³ δι . . . κειμ.] + κοιμωμένω P(S): δις κοιμωμένω παρέκειτο M: appositorum dormienti Saul Lat.

^a Bibl. Abishai, LXX Ἀβεσσά (v.l. Ἀβεισά κτλ.).

that Saul was coming against him, sent out scouts with orders to report what part of the country Saul had now reached ; and when they told him that he was passing the night at Sikella, he set off, without the knowledge of his men, for Saul's camp, taking with him Abisai,^a son of his sister Saruia,^b and Abimelech^c the Hittite. Saul was sleeping, with his soldiers and their commander Abenner lying in a circle around him, when David penetrated to the king's camp ; yet he would not himself slay Saul, whose sleeping-place he recognized from the spear fixed in the ground at his side, nor would he permit Abisai, who wished to kill him and darted forward with that intent, to do so. He objected that it was monstrous to slay the king elected of God, even if he was a wicked man, saying that from Him who had given him the sovereignty punishment would come in due time ; and so he stayed Abisai from his purpose. However, in token that he might have slain him and yet had refrained, he took the spear and the flask of water that was placed just beside Saul and, unseen by any in the camp where all lay fast asleep, he passed out, having safely accomplished all the things that the favourable opportunity and his daring had enabled him to inflict on the king's men. Then, ^{David re-} after crossing a stream^d and climbing to the top of ^{bukes Abner}

^b Bibl. Zeruiah (Heb. *שְׁרֻיָּה*), LXX = Josephus. That she was David's sister is stated in 1 Chron. ii. 16.

^c Variant (as in Scripture) Achimelech ; the LXX mss. also vary between the two forms. According to Scripture, however, only Abishai accompanied David.

^d 1 Sam. xxvi. 13 “Then David went over to the other side and stood on the top of a hill afar off ; a great space being between them.” Josephus naturally thought of the space as being a *wady*, the bed of a winter stream (*χείμαρρος*), such as are common in Palestine.

ὅθεν ἔμελλεν ἐξάκουστος εἶναι, ἐμβοήσας τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῦ Σαούλου καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ Ἀβενυρῷ διανίστησιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὑπονού τοῦτον τε ἐφώνει καὶ τὸν λαόν. ἐπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τίς ὁ καλέσας αὐτόν ἐστιν ἐρομένου
 315 Δανιδῆς εἶπεν. “ἐγώ, παῖς μὲν Ἰεσσαίου, φυγὰς δὲ ὑμέτερος. ἀλλὰ τί δήποτε μέγας τε ὁν καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἔχων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμήν, οὕτως ἀμελῶς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου φυλάσσεις σῶμα, καὶ ὑπνος ἡδίων ἐστί σοι τῆς τούτου σωτηρίας καὶ προνοίας; θανάτου γὰρ ἄξια ταῦτα καὶ τιμωρίας, οἵ γε μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν εἰσελθόντας τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους¹ οὐκ ἐνοήσατε. ζήτησον οὖν τὸ δόρυ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ μαθήσῃ πηλίκον ὑμᾶς ἔλαθε κακὸν ἐντὸς γενόμενον.” Σαούλος δὲ γνωρίσας τὴν τοῦ Δανιδού φωνὴν καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἔκδοτον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπονού καὶ τῆς τῶν φυλασσόντων ἀμελείας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ’ ἐφείσατο δικαίως ἀν αὐτὸν ἀνελών, χάριν ἔχειν αὐτῷ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔλεγε καὶ παρεκάλει θαρροῦντα καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φοβούμενον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα.
 317 πεπεῖσθαι γὰρ ὅτι μηδ’ αὐτὸν² οὕτως ἀγαπήσειεν, ὡς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου στέργεται, ὃς³ τὸν μὲν φυλάττειν αὐτὸν δυνάμενον καὶ πολλὰ δείγματα τῆς εὐνοίας παρεσχημένον ἐλαύνοι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν φυγῇ χρόνον καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγωνίαις ἡνάγκασε ζῆσαι φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἔρημον· αὐτὸς δ’ οὐ παύεται

¹ ἐπὶ . . . ἄλλους om. RO: καὶ . . . ἄλλους om. E.

² ex Lat. Bekker: αὐτὸν codd.

³ ὡς RO.

a hill from which his voice could be heard, he shouted for his neglect of Saul. When the commander heard this and asked who was calling him, David replied, “I, son of Jesse, the fugitive from you.^a But how comes it that one so great as thou, holding the first rank in the king’s service, art so negligent in guarding the person of thy master, and that sleep is more to thy liking than his safety and protection? This conduct indeed merits the punishment of death, for a little while since some men penetrated right through your camp to the king’s person and to all the others, and you did not even perceive it. Look now for the king’s spear and his flask of water and thou wilt learn what mischief has befallen in your midst without your knowing of it.” Then Saul, when he recognized the voice of David and learned that though he had had him at his mercy, being asleep and neglected by his guards, he had yet not slain him but spared the life which he might justly have taken, gave him thanks for his preservation and exhorted him to be of good courage and, without fear of suffering further injury from himself, to return to his home.^b For, he said, he was now persuaded that he did not love his own self so well as he was loved by David, seeing that he had pursued this man who might have been his safeguard and who had given many proofs of his loyalty, and that he had forced him to live so long in exile, in terror of his life, bereft of friends and of kindred, while he himself had been repeatedly spared by him

^a This phrase is unscriptural. There is also some amplification in the rest of David’s speech.

^b Josephus omits David’s protest against Saul’s treatment of him, 1 Sam. xxvi. 18-20.

πολλάκις¹ ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ σωζόμενος, οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν
 318 φανερῶς ἀπολυμένην λαμβάνων. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης
 πέμψαντα ἀπολαβεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν
 φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐπειπὼν ὡς “ὁ θεὸς ἔκατέρῳ
 τῆς ἴδιας φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὴν πεπραγ-
 μένων ἔσται δικαστής, ὃς ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν
 ἥμέραν ἀποκτεῖναι σε δυνηθεὶς ἀπεσχόμην οἶδε.”

319 (10) Καὶ Σαούλος μὲν δεύτερον διαφυγῶν τὰς
 Δαυίδου χεῖρας εἰς τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν
 ἀπηλλάσσετο, φοβηθεὶς δὲ Δαυίδης μὴ μένων
 αὐτόθι συλληφθῆ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου, συμφέρειν
 ἔκρινεν εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην καταβὰς² διατρίβειν
 ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἔξακοσίων, οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν
 ἦσαν, παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἀγχοῦν τὸν Γίττης βασι-
 320 λέα· μία δ’ ἦν αὐτῇ τῶν πέντε πόλεων. δεξαμένου
 δ’ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως σὺν τοῖς ἄνδράσι καὶ δόντος
 οἰκητήριον, ἔχων ἄμα καὶ τὰς δύο γυναῖκας Ἀχι-
 μὰν καὶ Ἀβιγαίλαν διῆγεν ἐν τῇ Γίττῃ. Σαούλῳ
 δὲ ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντι λόγος οὐκέτ’ ἦν πέμπειν ἐπ’
 αὐτὸν ἢ βαδίζειν· δἰς γὰρ ἥδη κινδυνεῦσαι παρὰ
 μικρὸν ἐπ’ ἔκεινῷ γενόμενον, συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν σπου-
 321 δάσαντα. Δαυίδη δ’ οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν
 Γιττῶν μένειν, ἀλλ’ ἐδεήθη τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν,
 ἵν’ ἐπειδὴ φιλανθρώπως αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τοῦτο
 χαρίσηται, τόπον τινὰ τῆς χώρας δοὺς αὐτῷ πρὸς
 κατοίκησιν· αἰδεῖσθαι γὰρ διατρίβων ἐν τῇ πόλει
 322 βαρὺς αὐτῷ καὶ φορτικὸς εἶναι. δίδωσι δὲ Ἀγχοῦς

¹ πολλάκις om. RO.² ex Lat. Niese: ἀναβὰς codd.^a Saul's speech is greatly amplified by Josephus.

and had received at his hands a life clearly marked for destruction.^a David then bade him send someone to fetch the spear and the flask of water,^b adding, “God shall be judge of the character of either of us and of the actions arising therefrom. He knows that when this day I had power to slay thee I refrained.”

(10) So Saul, having for the second time escaped from David's hands, returned to his palace and his country; but David, fearful of being captured by Saul if he remained where he was, deemed it wise to go down to the land of the Philistines and abide there. With his band of six hundred followers he betook himself to Anchūs,^c king of Gitta, which was one of their five cities.^d The king welcomed him and his men and gave them a habitation; and so, along with his two wives, Achima^e and Abigaia, he settled in Gitta. Saul, on hearing of this, thought no more of sending or marching against him, for twice already he had been in imminent danger of falling into his hands while striving to catch him.^f David, however, was not minded to remain in the city of Gitta, but besought its king, since he had given him kindly welcome, to grant one favour more and give him some place in his country to dwell in; he had scruples, he said, about being a burden and encumbrance to him by continuing to live in that city.^g So Anchūs gave

^a The return of the flask of water is not mentioned in Scripture.^b Bibl. Achish, cf. § 245 note.^c The five Philistine cities were Gath (Gitta), Ekron (Akkaron), Ascalon, Gaza, Ashdod (Azotus), cf. A. v. 128, vi. 8.^d Bibl. Ahinoam, cf. § 309 note.^e This reason is not mentioned in Scripture.^f David's scrupulous request is an amplification of 1 Sam. xxvii. 5.

αὐτῷ κώμην τινὰ Σέκελλαν καλούμενην, ἦν βασι-
λεύσας ὁ Δαυίδης ἀγαπῶν ἕδιον κτῆμα ἐτίμησεν
εἶναι καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων
ἐν ἄλλοις δηλώσομεν· ὁ δὲ χρόνος ὃν κατώκησε
Δαυίδης ἐν Σεκέλλᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐγένετο
323 μῆνες τέσσαρες πρὸς τὰς εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις. ἐπ-
ερχόμενος δὲ λάθρα τοῖς πλησιοχώροις τῶν Πα-
λαιστίνων Σερρίταις καὶ Ἀμαληκίταις διήρπαζεν
αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ λείαν πολλὴν κτηνῶν καὶ
καμήλων λαμβάνων ὑπέστρεφεν· ἀνθρώπων γὰρ
ἀπείχετο δεδιὼς μὴ καταμηνύσωσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς
Ἀγγοῦν τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ μέντοι γε τῆς λείας μέρος
324 αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἔπειμπε. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως πυθο-
μένου τίσιν ἐπιθέμενος τὴν λείαν ἀπήλασε; τοῖς
πρὸς τὸν νότον τῶν Ιουδαίων τετραμένοις καὶ
ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι κατοικοῦσιν εἰπὼν πείθει τὸν Ἀγγοῦν
φρονῆσαι οὕτως· ἥλπισε γὰρ οὗτος ὅτι Δαυίδης
ἔμισησε τὸ ἕδιον ἔθνος, καὶ δοῦλον ἔξειν παρ' ὃν
ζῆ χρόνον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταμένοντα.

325 (xiv. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῶν Παλαι-
στίνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατεύειν διεγνω-
κότων καὶ περιπεμψάντων πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους
ἄπαντας, ἵνα παρώσιν¹ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰς

¹ συμπαρώσιν MSP.

^a Bibl. Ziklag (Heb. *Siqlag*), LXX Σεκελάκ. The site is uncertain; it may be the modern *Khirbet Zuheiliqah*, about 10 miles S.E. of Gaza.

^b 1 Sam. xxvii. 6 "Wherefore Ziklag pertaineth to the kings of Judah unto this day."

^c The only other reference to Ziklag is in §§ 356 ff. where its sack by the Amalekites is described.

^d Heb. "a year (lit. "days") and four months," LXX "four months."

him a certain village called Sekella,^a which David so well liked after becoming king that he regarded it as his private domain, as did his sons after him.^b But of that we shall speak elsewhere.^c Now the time during which David dwelt in Sekella in Philistia was four months and twenty days.^d He made clandestine raids on the neighbours of the Philistines, the Serrites^e and Amalekites, ravaging their country and returning with abundant booty of cattle and camels; he refrained from (taking captive)^f any men, for fear that they would denounce him to King Anchūs, to whom, however, he sent a present of a portion of the spoils.^g And when the king inquired whom he had attacked to have carried off all this booty, he said it was the people lying southward of the Judaeans, inhabiting the plain,^h and succeeded in making Anchūs believe this. For the king had hopes that David had come to hateⁱ his own nation and that he would have him for his servant so long as he lived, settled among his own people.

(xiv. 1) About the same time the Philistines resolved to take the field against the Israelites and sent word around to all their allies to join them at Achish enlists David in Philistines

^a Bibl. the Geshurite and Girzite (Targum Gizrite, A.V. Gezrite), LXX τὸν Γεσειρή, Luc. τὸν Γεσουραῖον καὶ τὸν Ἰεζραῖον.

^b A euphemism for "killed," cf. 1 Sam. xxvii. 9, 11 "and left neither man nor woman alive." Other translators take ἀπείχετο in its usual sense of "spared" and note the contradiction to Scripture.

^c Scripture does not say that David sent Achish a portion of the spoils.

^d 1 Sam. xxvii. 10 specifies the peoples involved.

^e So the Targum of 1 Sam. xxvii. 12; Heb. "is in bad odour among his people" (A.V. "made his people Israel utterly to abhor him"), LXX "is put to shame among his people."

326 Ρεγάν,¹ ἐνθεν ἔμελλον ἀθροισθέντες ἔξορμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐβραίους, ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀγχοῦς συμμαχῆσαι τὸν Δαυίδην αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἴδιων ὄπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε.² τοῦ δὲ προθύμως ὑποσχομένου καὶ φήσαντος παραστῆναι καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς ξενίας ἀποδώσει, ποιήσειν αὐτὸν καὶ³ φύλακα τοῦ σώματος μετὰ τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνας τὸν πρὸς τὸν πολεμίους κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντας αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγεῖλατο, τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως ὑποσχέσει τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον αὔξων.

327 (2) "Ετυχε δὲ Σαοῦλος ὁ τῶν Ἐβραίων βασιλεὺς τὸν μάντεις καὶ τὸν ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην τέχνην ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐκβεβληκὼς ἔξω τῶν προφητῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸν Παλαιστίνους ἥδη παρόντας καὶ ἔγγιστα Σούνης πόλεως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ⁴ ἐστρατοπεδευκότας ἔξωρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸνς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς ὅρει τινὶ Γελβουὲ καλούμενῷ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον ἀντικρὺ τῶν πολεμίων. ταράττει δ' αὐτὸν

¹ Ρεγγᾶν MS: Ρέγγαν P: Ριγᾶν O: Rella Lat.: φάραγγα(ν) conj. Mez.

² ἐκέλευε E: ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐβραίους ἥξειν MSP Lat.

³ ἀποδώσει . . . καὶ³ ex Lat. Niese: ἀποδώσειν αὐτὸν καὶ RO: ἀποδώσειν καὶ ποιήσειν αὐτὸν M: αὐτὸν ἀποδώσειν καὶ ποιήσειν αὐτὸν SP.

⁴ +κειμένης SP Exc. Lat. (-η M).

* No such place is mentioned in Scripture; it is explained by Mez *ap.* Thackeray, *op. cit.* p. 88 n. 39, as a corruption of φάραγγα(ν) "valley," which was, in turn, a mistranslation of the Targum *ḥēlā* meaning both "valley," and "warfare"

Rega^a whence they would make a combined assault army.^{1 Sam. xxviii. 1.} upon the Hebrews. Accordingly Anchūs, king of Gitta, bade David aid him with his own soldiers. David promptly promised to do so, declaring that here was an opportunity for him to repay Anchūs for his good offices and hospitality, whereupon the king undertook to make him his bodyguard^b after the victory, if the outcome of the struggle against the enemy should be favourable to them.^c By this promise of honour and confidence he hoped to increase David's ardour still more.

(2) Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had, as it happened, banished from the country the diviners, ventriloquists^d and all practitioners of such arts, except the prophets.^e Hearing now that the Philistines were upon him and had encamped quite close to the city of Sūnē^f in the plain, he went out against them at the head of his forces, and, on reaching a mountain called Gelboue,^g pitched his camp over against the enemy. But here he was greatly disor "host"—the latter rendering being called for by the Heb. *sābā'* "warfare" in 1 Sam. xxviii. 1.

^b Bibl. "keeper of my head," LXX ἀρχισωματοφύλακα "chief of the bodyguard."

^c In Scripture, Achish does not make the conferring of the title conditional upon victory in battle.

^d So the LXX translates Heb. *'ōb* (A.V. "one that had familiar spirits"); the exact meaning is unknown, but its Biblical use and Jewish tradition show that a talisman as an instrument of divination is meant, rather than a person—the latter being called in Hebrew *ba'al 'ōb* "possessor of the 'ōb."

^e The prophets are not expressly excepted in Scripture.

^f Bibl. Shunem, LXX Σωμάν (v.l. Σωνάμ); the modern *Solam* in the Plain of Esdraelon, about half-way between Nazareth and Mt. Gilboa in a N.W.-S.E. line.

^g So the LXX; bibl. Gilboa, modern *Jebel Fukia*.

οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἴδοντα¹ ή τῶν ἔχθρῶν δύναμις πολλή τε οὖσα καὶ τῆς οἰκείας κρείττων ὑπονοούμένη, καὶ τὸν θεὸν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἡρώτα περὶ τῆς μάχης καὶ τοῦ περὶ ταύτην ἐσομένου τέλους 329 προειπεῖν. οὐκ ἀποκρινομένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Σαοῦλος κατέδεισε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνέπεσε, τὸ κακὸν οὖν εἰκὸς οὐ παρόντος αὐτῷ κατὰ χεῖρα τοῦ θείου προορώμενος. ζητηθῆναι δὲ αὐτῷ κελεύει γύναιόν τι τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων καὶ τὰς τῶν τεθνηκότων ψυχὰς ἐκκαλουμένων ὡς οὕτως γνωσομένῳ ποι χωρεῖν αὐτῷ μέλλει τὰ πράγματα· 330 τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων γένος ἀνάγον τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ψυχὰς δι’ αὐτῶν προλέγει τοῖς δεομένοις τὰ ἀποβησόμενα. μηνυθέντος δὲ αὐτῷ παρά τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν εἶναι τι γύναιον τοιοῦτον ἐν πόλει Δώρῳ,² λαθὼν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ μετεκδὺς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα δύο παραλαβὼν οἰκέτας, οὓς ἦδει πιστοτάτους ὄντας,³ ἥκεν εἰς τὴν Δῶρον πρὸς τὴν γυναικαν καὶ παρεκάλει μαντεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνάγειν 331 αὐτῷ ψυχὴν οὐπερ ἀν αὐτὸς εἴπη. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἀπομαχομένης καὶ λεγούσης οὐ καταφρονήσειν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν μάντεων ἔξηλασεν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καλῶς ἀδικηθέντα μηδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, ἐνεδρεύοντα δὲ εἰς τὰ κεκωλυμένα λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἵνα δῷ δίκην, ὥμοσε μηδένα γνώσεσθαι μηδὲ παρ’ ἄλλον ἄγειν αὐτῆς τὴν μαντείαν, ἔσεσθαι δὲ 332 ἀκίνδυνον. ὡς δὲ τοῖς ὅρκοις αὐτὴν ἔπεισε μὴ δεδιέναι, κελεύει τὴν Σαμουῆλον ψυχὴν ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτῷ. ή δ’ ἀγνοοῦσα τὸν Σαμουῆλον ὅστις ἦν καλεῖ τοῦτον ἐξ ἄδου· φανέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ θεα-

¹ ιδόντα om. ROE.

² Αενδώρῳ MSP: Endor Lat.

332

³ ἀνδρας RO: om. Lat.

mayed at sight of the hostile force which was very large and, as he surmised, superior to his own; and he asked through the prophets for an oracle from God concerning the battle and its issue. But, as no response came from God, Saul was yet more afraid and his heart failed him, foreseeing inevitable disaster since the Deity was no longer at his side. However, he gave orders to search out for him a woman among the ventriloquists and those who call up the spirits of the dead, that so he might learn how matters would turn out for him. For this sort of ventriloquist raises up the spirits of the dead and through them foretells the future to those who inquire of them. Being informed by one of his servants that there was such a woman in the city of Dor,^a Saul, without the knowledge of any in the camp, stripped off his royal robes and, accompanied by two servants whom he knew to be quite trustworthy, came to Dor to this woman and besought her to bring up for him by divination the soul of whomever he should name. The woman, however, objected, saying that she would not defy the king, who had expelled that class of diviners; nor was it fair on his part, who had suffered no wrong from her, to lay this snare to catch her in forbidden acts and cause her to be punished. Thereupon Saul swore that none should know of it, that he would tell no one else of her divination and that she should be in no danger. Having by these oaths persuaded her to forget her fears, he bade her bring up for him the soul of Samuel. The woman, ignorant who Samuel was, summoned him from Hades. And when he

^{The witch}
raises the spirit of

^a Bibl. Endor, LXX 'Αελδώρ (v.l. 'Αενδώρ, cf. v.l. in Josephus); modern 'Endor, about 3 miles N.E. of Shunem, on the slopes of *Jebel Dūhy*.

σάμενον τὸ γύναιον ἄνδρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ ταράττεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπλαγέν, “οὐ σύ,” φησίν, “ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Σαοῦλος;” ἐδήλωσε γὰρ 333 αὐτὸν Σαμουῆλος. ἐπινεύσαντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν αὐτῆς ἐρομένου πόθεν γένοιτο, βλέπειν εἶπεν ἀνελθόντα τῷ θεῷ τινα τὴν μορφὴν ὅμοιον. τοῦ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα φράζειν¹ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ θεαθέντος καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν κελεύσαντος,² γέροντα μὲν ἥδη καὶ ἔνδοξον ἐσήμαινεν, ἵερατικὴν 334 δὲ περικείμενον διπλοῖδα. ἐγνώρισεν ἐκ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Σαμουῆλον ὅντα καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἡσπάζετο καὶ προσεκύνησε· τῆς δὲ Σαμουῆλου ψυχῆς πυθομένης διὰ τί κινήσειν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναχθῆναι ποιήσειν, τὴν³ ἀνάγκην ἀπωδύρετο· τοὺς πολεμίους γὰρ⁴ ἐπικεῖσθαι βαρεῖς αὐτῷ, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀμηχανεῖν τοὺς παροῦσιν ἐγκαταλειμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μηδὲ⁵ προρρήσεως τυγχάνοντα μήτε διὰ προφητῶν μήτε δι' ὄνειράτων, “καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν⁶ ἔμοῦ προνοησόμενον⁷ κατέφυγον.”

335 Σαμουῆλος δὲ τέλος αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἥδη τῆς μεταβολῆς ὄρων “περισσὸν μέν,” εἶπεν, “ἔτι καὶ παρ' ἔμοῦ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλελοιπότος αὐτόν· ἄκουε γε μὴν ὅτι βασιλεύσαι δεῖ Δανίδην 336 καὶ κατορθώσαι τὸν πόλεμον, σὲ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν

¹ + εἰπόντος SPE.² κελεύσαντος om. ROE.³ τὴν om. ROE.⁴ γὰρ Hudson cum cod. Vat.: om. rell.⁵ Dindorf: μήτε codd.⁶ + ἀεὶ M Lat.⁷ προνοησάμενον ed. pr. Lat.

^a Scripture does not tell us how the witch recognized Saul; 1 Sam. xxviii. 12 “Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul.” Rabbinic tradition accounts for it by the legend

appeared, the woman, beholding a venerable and godlike man, was overcome and, in her terror at the apparition, cried, “Art thou not King Saul?” for Samuel revealed who he was.^a When Saul indicated that it was so and asked whence came her alarm, she replied that she saw someone arise in form like God. Saul then bade her describe the appearance, the dress and the age of the man she saw, and she represented him as of advanced age, of distinguished aspect and clad in a priestly mantle.^b By these tokens the king recognized him to be Samuel and, falling to the ground, saluted him and made obeisance. Being asked by the shade of Samuel wherefore he had disturbed him and caused him to be brought up, Saul bewailed his necessity; the enemy, he said, was pressing heavily upon him and he was helpless in his present plight, being abandoned by God and failing to obtain an oracle whether through prophets or through dreams. “That is why I have betaken myself to thee, for thou wilt provide for me.” But Samuel, seeing that Saul was now approaching a final change of fortune,^c said, “It is idle to seek to learn any more from me, since God has abandoned thee. But this much thou mayest hear, that David is destined to be king and to achieve success in this war, while thou must lose both thy sovereignty and thy

that spirits appear head downward unless summoned by a king.

^b Heb. *mē'il* “upper garment” (A.V. “mantle”), LXX *διπλοῖς*. Josephus adds the word “priestly” because *mē'il* is the word used regularly in later Hebrew of the priest’s robe. Tradition states that this garment worn by Samuel’s spirit was the same as that made for him by his mother when he was a child (1 Sam. ii. 19) and that he had been buried in.

^c Lit. “having already an end of change.”

καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἀπολέσαι, τοῦ θεοῦ παρακούσαντα
ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας πολέμῳ καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς
αὐτοῦ μὴ φυλάξαντα, καθὼς προεφήτευσά σοι καὶ
ζῶν. ἴσθι τούνν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑποχείριον τοῖς
ἔχθροῖς γενησόμενον καὶ σαυτὸν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων
αὐτοιν πεσόντα ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης μετ' ἐμοῦ γενη-
σόμενον.”

337 (3) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σαοῦλος ἄφωνος ὑπὸ λύπης
ἐγένετο καὶ κατενεχθεὶς εἰς τοῦδαφος, εἴτε διὰ τὴν
προσπεσοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν δεδηλωμένων ὄδύνην, εἴτε
διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν, οὐ γάρ προσενήνεκτο τροφὴν τῇ
παρελθούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τε καὶ νυκτί, ράδιως ἔκειτο
338 νέκυς ὡς τις.¹ μόλις δὲ ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον συν-
ηνάγκασεν ἡ γυνὴ γεύσασθαι, ταύτην αἰτουμένη
παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀντὶ τῆς παραβόλου μαν-
τείας, ἦν οὐκ ἔξօν αὐτῇ ποιῆσασθαι διὰ τὸν ἐξ
αὐτοῦ φόβον ἀγνοούμενου τίς ἦν, δῆμως ὑπέστη
καὶ παρέσχεν. ἀνθ' ὧν παρεκάλει τράπεζάν τε
αὐτῷ παραθεῖναι καὶ τροφὴν, ὡς ἂν τὴν ἵσχυν
συλλεξάμενος εἰς τὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποσωθῆ στρα-
τόπεδον· ἀντέχοντα δὲ καὶ τελέως ἀπεστραμμένον
339 ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας ἐβιάσατο καὶ συνέπεισεν. ἔχουσα δὲ
μόσχον ἔνα συνήθη καὶ τῆς κατ' οἶκον ἐπιμελείας
καὶ τροφῆς ἀξιούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς γυνὴ χερνῆτις
καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ προσαναπαυομένη τῷ κτήματι,

¹ Niese: ἔκειτο νέκυς δοτις RO: κατενήνεκτο MSP (Exc.): non facile valebat exurgere Lat.

^a Text uncertain.

^b Or “joined (his servants) in constraining”; cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 23 “But his servants, together with the woman, compelled him.”

life, because thou disobeyedst God in the war with the Amalekites and didst not observe His commandments, even as I foretold to thee while I was alive. Know then that thy people shall be delivered into the hands of their foes and that thou thyself with thy sons shalt fall to-morrow in the battle, and thou shalt be with me.”

(3) On hearing these words, Saul was made speechless by grief and, falling to the ground, whether from the shock inflicted by these revelations or through exhaustion—for he had taken no food during the past day and night—lay inert^a as a corpse. Then, when with difficulty he had come to himself, the woman constrained^b him to partake of food, asking this favour of him in return for that hazardous act of divination, which though not lawful for her to perform through fear of him so long as she had not recognized him,^c she had nevertheless undertaken to carry out. Wherefore she entreated him to let her set a table with food before him, that so having collected his strength he might return safely to his own camp; and, when in his despondency he refused and resolutely turned away, she insisted and helped to persuade him. Though she owned but one calf, which she had brought up^d and had taken trouble to care for and feed beneath her roof, for she was a labouring woman and had to be content with this as her sole

^a The language of Josephus is ambiguous. It may mean that the witch feared to defy the king, whom she did not recognize in the person of Saul, or that she had been afraid to do Saul's bidding so long as she was ignorant of his identity.

^b Lit. “familiar” or “tame”; Heb. *marbeq* “tied up” (A.V. “fat,” cf. Targum “fatted”), LXX *δαμαλὶς νομᾶς* “grazing heifer” (Luc. *μοσχάριον γαλαθηνόν* “sucking calf”).

The witch
of Endor
succours
Saul.
1 Sam.
xxviii. 20.

κατασφάξασα τοῦτον καὶ τὰ κρέα παρασκευάσασα τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῷ παρατίθησι. καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἥλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

340 (4) Δίκαιον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι τῆς φιλοτιμίας τὴν γυναῖκα, ὅτι καίπερ τῇ τέχνῃ κεκωλυμένη χρήσασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, παρ' ἡς ἂν αὐτῇ τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἦν ἀμείνω καὶ διαρκέστερα, καὶ μηδέποτε αὐτὸν πρότερον τεθεαμένη οὐκ ἐμνησιάκησε τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταγνωσθείσης, οὐκ ἀπεστράφη δὲ ὡς ξένον καὶ μηδέποτε ἐν 341 συνηθείᾳ γεγενημένον, ἀλλὰ συνεπάθησέ τε καὶ παρεμυθήσατο καὶ πρὸς ἄ διέκειτο λίαν ἀηδῶς προετρέψατο, καὶ τὸ μόνον αὐτῇ παρὸν ὡς ἐν πενίᾳ τοῦτο παρέσχεν ἐκτενῶς καὶ φιλοφρόνως, οὕθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργεσίας ἀμειβομένη τινὸς γεγενημένης οὔτε χάριν μέλλουσαν θηρωμένη, τελευτήσοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡπίστατο, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι παρεσχημένους φιλοτιμούμενων, ἡ παρ' ὧν ἂν τι δύνωνται λαβεῖν ὅφελος 342 τούτους προθεραπευόντων. καλὸν οὖν ἔστι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ποιεῖν εὑράντας τοὺς ἐν χρείᾳ γενομένους, καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἀμεινον μηδὲ μᾶλλον τι προσήκειν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει τούτου μηδ' ἐφ' ὧ¹ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ καὶ χορηγὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔξομεν.² καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς 343 ἐν τοσούτοις ἀρκεῖ δεδηλώσθαι· τὸν δὲ πόλεσι καὶ δήμοις καὶ ἔθνεσι συμφέροντα λόγον καὶ προσ-

¹ δτῳ S² Vat. ap. Hudson.

² μᾶλλον ἔξομεν conj. Naber.

* The following eulogy of the witch of Endor is, of course, an addition to Scripture.

possession, she slaughtered it, prepared the meat and set it before his servants and himself. And Saul that night returned to his camp.

(4) ^a Here it is but right to commend the generosity of this woman who, though she had been prevented by the king from practising an art which would have made it easier and more comfortable for her at home, and though she had never seen Saul before, yet bore him no resentment for having condemned her profession nor turned him away as a stranger and as one with whom she had never been acquainted; but instead she gave him sympathy and consolation, exhorted him to do that which he regarded with great unwillingness,^b and offered him with open friendliness the one thing which in her poverty she possessed. And this she did, not in return for any benefit received, nor in quest of any favour to come—for she knew that he was about to die—, whereas men are by nature wont either to emulate those who have bestowed some kindness upon them or to be beforehand in flattering those from whom they may possibly receive some benefit. It is well, then, to take this woman for an example and show kindness to all who are in need, and to regard nothing as nobler than this or more befitting the human race or more likely to make God gracious and ready to bestow upon us His blessings. Concerning this woman, then, let these words suffice. ^c But now I shall touch on a subject profitable to states, peoples and nations, and of ^{Reflections on the heroism of Saul.}

^a That is, to partake of food.

^b Contrast the eulogy of Saul which follows (and is an addition to Scripture) with the characterization above, §§ 262 ff. So also rabbinic tradition is divided between blame of Saul's pride and praise of his heroism.

ήκοντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὑφ' οὐ προαχθήσονται πάντες ἀρετὴν διώκειν¹ καὶ ζηλοῦν τὰ² δόξαν καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν δυνησόμενα,³ ποιήσομαι, πολλὴν καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἔθνῶν καὶ ἄρχοντοι πόλεων ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐνθήσοντα, καὶ πρὸς τε κινδύνους καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίδων θάνατον προτρέψόμενον, καὶ πάντων καταφρονεῖν
 344 διδάξοντα τῶν δεινῶν. ἔχω δ' αἰτίαν τοῦ λόγου τούτου Σαοῦλον τὸν τῶν Ἐβραίων βασιλέα· οὗτος γάρ καίπερ εἰδὼς τὰ συμβησόμενα καὶ τὸν ἐπικείμενον θάνατον τοῦ προφήτου προειρηκότος οὐκ ἔγνω φυγεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ φιλοψυχῆσας προδοῦναι μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους τοῖς πολεμίοις καθυβρίσαι δὲ
 345 τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ παραδοὺς αὐτὸν πανοικὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς κινδύνοις καλὸν ἡγήσατο εἶναι πεσεῖν μετὰ τούτων ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλευομένων μαχόμενος, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἀγαθοὺς ὅντας ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἐπ' ἀδήλῳ τῷ ποδαποὶ γενήσονται τὸν τρόπον· διάδοχον⁴ γάρ καὶ γένος τὸν ἐπαινον καὶ τὴν ἀγήρω
 346 μνήμην ἔξειν. οὗτος οὖν δίκαιος καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ σώφρων ἔμοι γε δοκεῖ μόνος καὶ⁵ εἴ τις γέγονε τοιοῦτος ἢ γενήσεται τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καρποῦσθαι παρὰ πάντων ἀξιούς· τοὺς γάρ μετ' ἐλπίδων ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἔξελθόντας ὡς καὶ κρατήσοντας καὶ σῶς⁶ ὑποστρέψοντας,⁷ ἐπειδάν τι διαπράξωνται λαμπρόν, οὕ μοι δοκοῦσι καλῶς ποιεῖν ἀνδρείους

¹ Dindorf: διώξειν codd.

² ζηλοῦν τὰ] Bekker: ζηλοῦντα vel δηλοῦντα codd.: ζηλοῦν τὰ Niese.

³ διωργήσειν ROS² Exc.

⁴ διαδοχὴν MSP Exc.

⁵ δοκεῖν καὶ μόνος conj. Niese.

⁶ ἵσως RO: σῶους MSP Exc.

⁷ Bekker: ἐπιστρέψοντας codd.

interest to all good men—one whereby all should be induced to pursue virtue and to aspire to those things which may procure them glory and eternal renown, one, moreover, that should instil into the hearts of kings of nations and rulers of cities a great desire and zeal for noble deeds, should stimulate them to face dangers and death for their country's sake, and teach them to despise all terrors. The occasion for this discourse I find in the person of Saul, king of the Hebrews. For he, although he knew of what was to come and his impending death, which the prophet had foretold, yet determined not to flee from it or, by clinging to life, to betray his people to the enemy and dishonour the dignity of kingship; instead, he thought it noble to expose himself, his house and his children to these perils and, along with them, to fall fighting for his subjects.^a He preferred to have his sons meet death as brave men rather than leave them behind, while still uncertain what kind of men they might prove to be; for thus, as successors and posterity, he would obtain glory and an ageless name.^b Such a man alone, in my opinion, is just, valiant and wise, and he, if any has been or shall be such, deserves to have all men acknowledge his virtue. For men who have gone forth to war with high hopes, thinking to conquer and return in safety, and have accomplished some brilliant feat are, to my mind, mistakenly de-

^a The rabbis also emphasize Saul's heroism in exposing himself and his sons to danger in battle.

^b That is, glory etc. would take the place of physical posterity. The last phrase is perhaps a conscious echo of ἀγήρων ἐπαινού in Pericles' funeral oration, Thucydides ii. 43.

ἀποκαλοῦντες, ὅσοι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐν ταῖς
ἱστορίαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγράμμασιν εἰρήκασιν·
347 ἀλλὰ δίκαιοι μέν εἰσι κάκενοι τυγχάνειν ἀποδοχῆς,
εὑψυχοι δὲ καὶ μεγαλότολμοι καὶ τῶν δεινῶν κατα-
φρονηταὶ μόνοι δίκαιοις ἀν λέγοιντο πάντες οἱ
Σαοῦλον μιμησάμενοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰδότας τί
μέλλει συμβῆσθαι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς μὴ
μαλακισθῆναι περὶ αὐτὸν, ἀλλ’ ἀδήλω τῷ μέλλοντι
παραδόντας αὐτοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ σαλεύειν οὐπω¹ γεν-
348 ναῖον, καν̄ ἔργα πολλὰ διαπραξάμενοι τύχωσι· τὸ
δὲ μηδὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ χρηστὸν προσδοκῶντας, ἀλλὰ
προειδότας ὡς δεῖ θανεῖν καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν μαχο-
μένους, εἴτα μὴ φοβηθῆναι μηδὲ καταπλαγῆναι τὸ
δεινόν, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν χωρῆσαι προγινωσκόμενον,
τοῦτ’ ἀνδρείου ἀληθῶς τεκμήριον ἔγώ κρίνω.
349 Σαοῦλος τοίνυν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἐπιδείξας ὅτι πάν-
τας μὲν προσήκει τῆς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον εὐφημίας
γλιχομένους ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἀν αὐτοῖς ταύτην
καταλείποιεν,² μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας, ὡς οὐκ
ἔξὸν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐ μόνον
οὐ κακοῖς εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ
350 μετρίως χρηστοῖς. ἔτι τούτων πλείω περὶ Σαούλου
καὶ τῆς εὑψυχίας λέγειν ἡδυνάμην, ὥλην ἡμῖν χορη-
γησάσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ φανῶμεν
ἀπειροκάλως αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἐπάνειμι
πάλιν ἀφ’ ὧν εἰς τούτους ἔξέβην.

351 (5) Κατεστρατοπεδευκότων γὰρ τῶν Παλαιστί-
νων, ὡς προεῖπον, καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας
καὶ σατραπείας ἔξαριθμούντων τὴν δύναμιν, τελευ-

¹ οὐδ’ οὗτω(ς) M Exc.: οὐχ οὗτως SP: non valde Lat.
² καταλίποιεν SP: -λιποιε M.

scribed as valiant by the historians and other writers who have spoken of such persons. Certainly it is just that these too receive approbation; but the terms "stout-hearted," "greatly daring," "contemptuous of danger" can justly be applied only to such as have emulated Saul. That men, not knowing what is to happen to them in war, should not flinch from it, but should commit themselves to an uncertain future and ride the stormy seas of chance—all this still falls short of magnanimity,^a however many the exploits they may accomplish. On the other hand, to harbour in one's heart no hope of success, but to know beforehand that one must die and die fighting, and then not to fear nor be appalled at this terrible fate, but to meet it with full knowledge of what is coming—that, in my judgement, is proof of true valour. And this Saul did, thereby showing that it behoves all men who aspire to fame after death so to act as to leave such a name after them; especially should kings do so, since the greatness of their power forbids them not merely to be bad to their subjects, but even to be less than wholly good. I might say still more than this about Saul and his courage, for they are subjects which afford us ample material; but, lest we should appear to lack good taste in delivering this panegyric, I will return again to the point from which I made this digression.

(5) The Philistines had pitched their camp, as I <sup>The
Philistines</sup> said before, and were reviewing their forces by ^{compel} Achish
nations, kingdoms and satrapies,^b when last of all

^a Variant "is not so magnanimous."

^b Suggested by the LXX *σαράπαι τῶν ἀλλοφύλων* = Heb. *sarne Pelishiym* (A.V. "lords of the Philistines"); cf. 1 Sam. xxix. 2 "And the lords of the Philistines passed on by hundreds and by thousands."

ταῖος βασιλεὺς παρῆλθεν Ἀγχοῦς μετὰ τῆς ἴδιας στρατιᾶς καὶ¹ Δαυίδης μετὰ τῶν ἔξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν 352 εἶπετο. θεασάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων, πόθεν εἴησαν ἡκούτες οἱ Ἐβραῖοι καὶ τίνων καλεσάντων ἥρωτῶν τὸν βασιλέα. ὃ δὲ Δαυίδην ἔλεγεν εἶναι, ὃν² φυγόντα Σαοῦλον τὸν ἔαυτοῦ δεσπότην καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δέξασθαι, καὶ νῦν τῆς χάριτος ἀμοιβὴν ἐκτίσαι βουλόμενον καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν Σαοῦλον συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς. 353 ἐμέμφθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄνδρα παρειληφὼς ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ πολέμιον, καὶ ἀποπέμπειν συνεβούλευον, μὴ καὶ λάθη μέγα δι' αὐτὸν κακὸν τοὺς φίλους ἐργασάμενος· καιρὸν³ γὰρ αὐτῷ⁴ παρέξειν τοῦ καταλλαγῆναι⁵ πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην κακώσαντι⁶ 354 τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν. ὃ δὴ καὶ προορώμενον εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖν ἐκέλευον ἀποπέμπειν σὺν τοῖς ἔξακοσίοις ὁπλίταις· τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν⁷ Δαυίδην, ὃν ἄδουσιν αἱ παρθένοι πολλὰς μυριάδας Παλαιστίνων ἀπολέσαντα. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ καλῶς εἰρήσθαι λογισάμενος καλέσας τὸν Δαυίδην “ἔγώ μέν,” 355 εἶπε, “μαρτυρῶ σοι πολλὴν περὶ ἐμὲ σπουδὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σε σύμμαχον ἐπηγόμην· οὐ δοκεῖ δὲ ταῦτὸ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἀλλ' ἀπιθι μεθ' ἡμέραν εἰς ὃν ἔδωκά σοι τόπον μηδὲν ὑπονοῶν ἄτοπον, κάκει φύλασσέ μοι τὴν χώραν, μή τινες εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐμβάλωσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ

¹ + μετὰ τοῦτον (αὐτὸν) δ' (δὲ) ὃ MSPE: et post eum Lat.

² Niese: τὸν codd.

³ M Lat.: καὶ rell.

⁴ οὗτω RO.

⁵ + πρόφασιν SP.

⁶ Naber: κακώσαντα vel κακώσοντα codd.

⁷ τὸν om. MSPE.

appeared King Anchūs with his own troops, followed to dismiss David from his army.
 1 Sam. xxix. 1.
 by David with his six hundred soldiers. On seeing him, the Philistine generals asked the king whence these Hebrews^a had come and who had summoned them. The king replied that this was David who had fled from Saul, his master, and had come to him; he had received him, and now David, wishing to repay that favour and to be avenged on Saul, was fighting in their ranks.^b The generals, however, reproached him for having taken as an ally one that was their enemy, and they advised him to dismiss him lest on David's account he should unwittingly do grave mischief to his friends; for he would be affording David an opportunity of becoming reconciled to his master by injuring their army. Accordingly they bade him with this in mind to send David with his six hundred soldiers back to the place which he had given him for his habitation; for this was that same David of whom the virgins sang that he had slain many myriads of the Philistines. Having listened to these words and considering them well spoken, the king of Gitta called David and said, “For myself, I can testify to the great zeal and friendliness which thou hast shown to me, and it was for that reason that I brought thee as an ally; but such is not the view of our chiefs. Now then, go within a day's time to the place which I have given thee, and suspect nothing untoward. There keep guard for me over the country, lest any of the enemy invade it. That too

^a So the Hebrew, ‘ibrīm; LXX, reading ‘ōbrīm “passers-by,” has διαπορευόμενοι.

^b This explanation of David's motives is added by Josephus.

356 τοῦτο συμμαχίας μέρος.” καὶ Δαυΐδης μέν, ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ τῶν Γιττᾶν βασιλεύς, ἦκεν εἰς Σέκελλαν. καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμμαχήσων τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἀπῆλθε τὸ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἔθνος ἐπελθὸν αἴρει τὴν Σέκελλαν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ἐμπρήσαντες καὶ πολλὴν λείαν¹ ἐκ τ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῶν Παλαιστίνων χώρας λαβόντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

357 (6) Ἐκπεπορθημένην δὲ τὴν Σέκελλαν καταλαβὼν ὁ Δαυΐδης καὶ διηρπαγμένα πάντα καὶ τὰς γυναικας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ, δύο γάρ ἥσαν, καὶ τὰς γυναικας τῶν ἑταίρων σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις ἥχμαλωτισμένας, περιρρήγνυται εὐθὺς τὴν ἐσθῆτα. κλαίων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παρείθη τοῖς κακοῖς, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπιλιπεῖν ἥδη καὶ τὰ δάκρυα· ἐκιδύνευσε² δὲ καὶ βληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑταίρων ἀλγούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἀποθανεῖν· αὐτὸν γάρ τῶν γεγονότων ἥπιώντο. ἀνασχὼν δ' ἐκ τῆς λύπης καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀναστήσας παρεκάλεσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἀβιάθαρον ἐνδύσασθαι τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ ἐπερωτῆσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ προφητεῦσαι εἰ διώξαντι τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας δίδωσι καταλαβεῖν καὶ σῶσαι μὲν τὰς γυναικας καὶ τὰ 360 τέκνα, τιμωρήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς ἔχθρούς. τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως διώκειν κελεύσαντος ἐκπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἔξακοσίων ὄπλιτῶν εἴπετο τοῖς πολεμίοις· παραγενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τινὰ χειμάρρουν Βάσελον λεγό-

¹ λείαν ἄλλην codd.: ἄλλην om. Lat.

² κινδυνεῦσαι RO.

^a This last instruction to guard Philistine territory is an amplification of the LXX addition to 1 Sam. xxix. 11, φυ-
346

is the part of an ally.”^a So David, as the king of David finds Gitta ordered, went to Sekella. But at the very Ziklag sacked by the Amalekites.^b time when he had left there to lend aid to the Philistines, the Amalekite nation had made an invasion 1 Sam. xxx. 1. and taken Sekella by storm, and, after setting fire to it and capturing much booty both from that town and from the rest of the Philistine territory, had retired.

(6) Now when David found that Sekella had been The Israelites mourn for their captured wives and children. 1 Sam. xxx. 4. sacked and everything therein pillaged and that his two wives and the wives of his comrades along with their children had been taken captive, he straightway rent his clothes,^b and, wailing and lamenting with his friends, he was so utterly undone by this calamity that at length even tears failed him. Moreover he was not far from being stoned to death by his comrades, who were deeply grieved by the capture of their wives and children, and held him responsible for what had happened. Recovering from his grief, however, and lifting his thoughts to God, he besought the high priest Abiathar to put on his priestly robe^c and to inquire of God and predict to him whether, if he pursued the Amalekites, He would grant him to overtake them, and to rescue the women and children and avenge himself on his foes. And when the high priest bade him pursue, he rushed off with his six hundred soldiers on the track of the enemy. On reaching a stream called Baselos,^d he came upon God commands David to pursue the Amalekites 1 Sam. xxx. 8.

λάσσειν τὴν γῆν; the Hebrew says merely “And David and his men rose early in the morning to return to the land of the Philistines.”

^b The rending of the clothes is an unscriptural detail.

^c 1 Sam. xxx. 7 “bring me hither the ephod.”

^d Bibl. Besor, LXX Βοσόρ; site unknown.

μενον καὶ πλανωμένω τινὶ περιπεσὸν Αἰγυπτίῳ
μὲν τὸ γένος ὑπ' ἐνδείᾳς δὲ καὶ λιμοῦ παρει-
μένῳ, τρισὶ γὰρ ἡμέραις ἐν τῇ ἔρημίᾳ πλανώμενος
ἄσιτος διεκαρτέρησε, πρῶτον αὐτὸν ποτῷ καὶ
τροφῇ παραστησάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν ἐπύθετο
361 τίς¹ τε εἴη καὶ πόθεν. ὁ δὲ γένος μὲν ἐσήμαινεν
Αἰγύπτιος ὅν, καταλειφθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου
κατ' ἄρρωστίαν ἐπεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενον· ἐδήλου δ'
αὐτὸν² τῶν καταπρησάντων καὶ διηρπακότων ἄλλα
362 τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὴν Σέκελλαν εἶναι. χρησά-
μενος οὖν ὁ Δαυίδης τούτῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας
όδηγῷ καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς³ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔρριμ-
μένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀριστῶντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
μεθύοντας ἥδη καὶ λελυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ
τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τῆς λείας ἀπολαύοντας, ἐπιπεσὸν
αἰφνιδίως πολὺν αὐτῶν φόνον εἰργάσατο· γυμνοὶ
γὰρ ὅντες καὶ μηδὲν προσδοκῶντες τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ
πρὸς τὸ πιεῖν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τετραμένοι πάντες
363 ἦσαν εὐκατέργαστοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔτι τῶν
τραπέζῶν παρακειμένων ἐπικαταλαμβανόμενοι παρ'
αὐταῖς ἀνηροῦντο καὶ παρέσυρεν αὐτοὺς τὰ σιτία
καὶ τὴν τροφὴν τὸ αἷμα, τοὺς δὲ δεξιούμενους
ἀλλήλους ταῖς προπόσεσι διέφθειρεν, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ
πρὸς ὑπονον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου κατενηγμένους.
ὅπόσοι δ' ἔφθασαν περιθέμενοι τὰς πανοπλίας ἐξ
ἐναντίας αὐτῷ⁴ στῆναι, τούτους οὐδὲν ἤτον εὐχερώς
364 τῶν γυμνῶν κατακειμένων ἀπέσφαττε.⁵ διέμειναν
δὲ οἱ σὺν τῷ Δαυίδῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ⁶ ἀναιροῦντες ἀπὸ

¹ τίνος MSP Lat. (cf. LXX).² Edd.: αὐτον ROM: αὐτῷ SP.⁴ ed. pr.: τε (τ') αὐτῷ codd.⁶ αὐτὸς conj. Niese.

a straggler, an Egyptian by race, who was exhausted from want and hunger, having endured three days' wandering in the wilderness without food. After he had first revived him and restored him with food and drink, David asked him who he was^a and whence he came. He revealed that he was of Egyptian race and had been left behind by his master, being unable to follow because of sickness; he further made known that he was one of those who had burnt and ravaged Sekella as well as parts of Judaea. So David made use of the man to guide him to the Amalekites, and came upon them lying around on the ground, some at their morning meal, others already drunken and relaxed with wine, regaling themselves with their spoils and booty. Falling suddenly upon them, he made a great slaughter of them, for, being unarmed and expecting no such thing but intent upon drinking and revelry, they were all an easy prey. Some, being surprised at the outspread tables, were massacred beside them, and their streaming blood swept victuals and food away; others were drinking each other's health when he slew them; still others, under the influence of strong drink, were plunged in sleep; while those who had been quick enough to put on their armour and make a stand against him—these too he cut to pieces with no less ease than those who lay defenceless on the ground.^b David's companions too continued the slaughter from the first

^a Variant (as in Scripture) "to whom he belonged."^b The details of the massacre are an amplification of Scripture.

David's men
surprise the
Amalekites
and
massacre
them.
1 Sam. xxx.

πρώτης ὥρας ἔως ἐσπέρας, ὡς μὴ περιλειφθῆναι τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν πλείονας ἢ τετρακοσίους· καὶ οὗτοι δὲ δρομάσι καμήλοις ἐπιβάντες διέφυγον. ἀνέσωσε δὲ τά τ' ἄλλα¹ πάντα ἂ διήρπασαν αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τάς τε αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰς 365 τῶν ἑταίρων. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέφοντες ἦκον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἔνθα διακοσίους μὴ δυναμένους αὐτοῖς ἐπεσθαι καταλελοίπεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν σκευῶν, οἱ μὲν τετρακόσιοι τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ὠφελείας τε καὶ λείας οὐκ ἡξίουν αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζειν· οὐ συνακολούθησαντας γὰρ ἄλλὰ μαλακισθέντας περὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἀγαπήσειν ἀνασεσωσμένας τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπολαμ- 366 βάνοντας ἔλεγον· Δαυΐδης δὲ πονηρὰν καὶ ἄδικον αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπέφηνε τὴν γνώμην· εἶναι γὰρ ἀξίους, τοῦ θεοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτοῖς ἀμύνασθαι μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους, κομίσασθαι δὲ πάντα τὰ αὐτῶν, πᾶσιν ἐξ ἵσου τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις μερίζεσθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν 367 σκευῶν μεμενηκότων. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου νόμος οὗτος ἐκράτησε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἵνα ταύτα τοῖς μαχομένοις λαμβάνωσιν οἱ τὰ σκεύη φυλάσσοντες. γενόμενος δ' ἐν Σεκέλλᾳ Δαυΐδης διέπεμψε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἱούδᾳ φυλῇ συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις ἀπομοίρας τῶν λαφύρων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Σεκέλλων πόρθησιν καὶ Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἀναίρεσιν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

368 (7) Τῶν δὲ Παλαιστίνων συμβαλόντων καὶ καρτερᾶς μάχης γενομένης νικῶσιν² οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιροῦσι τῶν ἐναντίων, Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ

¹ Niese: τὰ ἄλλα vel τὰλλα codd.

² νικῶσι μὲν SP Lat.

hour until evening, so that there were left of the Amalekites no more than four hundred; these, by mounting swift camels, had escaped. So David recovered not only the booty which the enemy had carried off, but also his wives and those of his companions. When, on their return, they arrived at the A dispute about spoils is equitably decided by David.²¹ spot where they had left in charge of the baggage two hundred men who were unable to follow, the other four hundred were unwilling to share with them in their gains and booty, saying that, as they had not gone along but had been unequal to the pursuit, they ought to be content with getting back their wives who had been rescued. But David pronounced this view of theirs wicked and unjust; for, he said, seeing that God had enabled them to avenge themselves on their enemies and to recover all their possessions, they were bound to give an equal share of their gains to all who had taken part in the expedition, especially as they had remained to guard the baggage. And thenceforward this law has prevailed among them, that those who guard the baggage receive the same share as those who do the fighting. Moreover, on his return to Sekella, David sent around portions of the spoils to all his acquaintances and friends in the tribe of Judah.^a Such, then, was the affair of the sacking of Sekella and the slaughter of the Amalekites.

(7) Meanwhile^b the Philistines had joined battle with the Israelites and, after a sharp contest, the Philistines were victorious and slew multitudes of

^a Bibl. "to the elders of Judah, to his friends" (Lxx "kinsmen"). Josephus omits the names of the favoured cities, 1 Sam. xxx. 27-30.

^b Continuing the account of the battle near Mt. Gilboa from §§ 327 ff.

τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χράμενοι, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ καλῷ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παραβόλως διακινδυνεῦσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τῆς ὅλης αὐτοῦ δόξης ἀποκειμένης, οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτου περισσότερον εἶχον, 369 ἐπιστρέφουσι πᾶσαν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν ἔχθρῶν φάλαγγα καὶ περικυκλωθέντες ἀποθνήσκουσι πολλοὺς τῶν Παλαιστίνων καταβαλόντες. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες¹ Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἀμινάδαβος καὶ Μέλχισος. τούτων πεσόντων τρέπεται τὸ τῶν Ἐβραίων πλῆθος καὶ ἀκοσμία καὶ σύγχυσις γίνεται καὶ φόνος ἐπι- 370 κειμένων τῶν πολεμίων. Σαοῦλος δὲ φεύγει τὸ καρτερὸν ἔχων² περὶ αὐτόν· καὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπιπεμψάντων ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοξότας πάντας μὲν ἀποβάλλει πλὴν ὀλίγων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβών, ὡς μηκέτι διακαρτερεῖν μηδ' ἀντέχειν ταῖς πληγαῖς, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἥσθενει, κελεύει δὲ τὸν ὄπλοφόρον σπασάμενον τὴν ρόμφαιαν ταύτην αὐτοῦ διελάσαι, πρὶν 371 ζῶντα συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς πολεμίους. μὴ τολμῶντος δὲ τοῦ ὄπλοφόρου κτεῖναι τὸν δεσπότην, αὐτὸς τὴν ἴδιαν σπασάμενος³ καὶ στήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν ρίπτει κατ' αὐτῆς ἑαυτόν ἀδυνατῶν δὲ⁴ μήτ⁵ ὥσασθαι⁶ μήτ⁷ ἐπερείσας διαβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιστρέφεται, καὶ νεανίσκου τινὸς ἐστῶτος πυθόμενος τίς εἴη καὶ μαθὼν ὡς Ἀμαλη-

¹ Σαούλου παῖδες MSP Lat.² καρτερὸν στῖφος ἔχων M: καρτερὸν ἔχων στῖφος SP.³ + μάχαιραν SP Lat. Glycas.

'δὲ ins. Niese: ἀδυνατῶν RO: καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος MSPE.

⁵ μηδ' codd.⁶ ἤσασθαι RO.⁸ So most mss. of the LXX (v.l. Ἰωναδάβ); bibl. Abinadab⁹ Bibl. Melchishua (Heb. *Malki-shu'a*), LXX Μελχεισά.

their adversaries. Saul, king of Israel, and his sons Mt. Gilboa. Saul's sons struggled valiantly and threw all their ardour into the fight, as though their entire glory rested solely on their dying nobly and desperately hazarding all against the enemy, for nothing else was left them. Thus they drew upon themselves the whole line of the foe and, so surrounded, perished, after laying many of the Philistines low. Now his sons were Jonathan, Aminadab^a and Melchis.^b When these fell, the Hebrew host took flight, disorder and confusion ensued, and there was a massacre as the enemy fell upon them. But Saul fled, having the ablest men around him; of these, when the Philistines sent javelin-throwers and archers after him, he lost all but a few. He himself, after fighting magnificently and receiving numerous wounds,^c until he could no longer hold out nor endure under these blows, was too weak to kill himself and bade his armour-bearer draw his sword and thrust it through him before the enemy should take him alive. But, as the armour-bearer did not dare to slay his master, Saul drew his own sword himself and, fixing it with its point toward him, sought to fling himself upon it, but was unable either to push it in or, by leaning upon it, to drive the weapon home. Then he turned^d and, seeing a youth standing there, asked him who he was, and, on learning that he was an Amalekite,

^a So the LXX ἐτραυματίσθη, 1 Sam. xxxi. 3, translating Heb. *wayyāhel*, which the Targum and Jewish interpreters render “was afraid.” The details of the rout are unscriptural.^b Josephus has combined the contradictory accounts of Saul's death given by Scripture in 1 Sam. xxxi. and 2 Sam. i. In the earlier account Saul kills himself after his armour-bearer declines to do so through fear; in the later chapter he is slain, at his own request, by the Amalekite. Josephus repeats the second account below, A. vii. 1 ff.

κίτης ἔστι παρεκάλεσεν ἐπερείσαντα τὴν ρόμφαιαν,
διὰ τὸ μὴ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτὸν τοῦτο δύνασθαι
ποιῆσαι,¹ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ τελευτὴν ὅποιαν αὐτὸς
372 βούλεται. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περιελόμενος τὸν
περὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν
στέφανον ἐκποδῶν ἐγένετο. θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ ὅπλο-
φόρος Σαούλον ἀνηρημένον ἀπέκτεινεν ἑαυτόν· δι-
εσώθη δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως,
ἄλλα πάντες ἔπεσον περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Γελβοὺ²
373 ὄρος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τῶν Ἐβραίων οἱ τὴν κοιλάδα
πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατοικοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ
πεδίῳ τὰς πόλεις ἔχοντες, ὅτι Σαούλος πέπτωκε
καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἀπό-
λωλε, καταλιπόντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις εἰς ὁχυ-
ρότητας³ ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ Παλαιστῖνοι τὰς κατα-
λειμμένας ἐρήμους εύροντες κατώκησαν.
374 (8) Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ σκυλεύοντες οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι
τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς ἐπιτυγχάνοντι τοῖς
τοῦ Σαούλου καὶ τῶν παΐδων αὐτοῦ σώμασι καὶ
σκυλεύσαντες ἀποτέμνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλάς,
καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν περιήγγειλαν τὴν χώραν πέμ-
φαντες ὅτι πεπτώκασιν οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ τὰς μὲν
πανοπλίας αὐτῶν ἀνέθηκαν εἰς τὸ Ἀστάρτειον
ἱερόν, τὰ δὲ σώματα ἀνεσταύρωσαν πρὸς τὰ τείχη
τῆς Βηθσὰν⁴ πόλεως, ἥ νῦν Σκυθόπολις καλεῖται.
375 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἐν Ἰαβεῖ⁵ πόλει τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος
κατοικοῦντες, ὅτι λελώβηνται τὸν Σαούλον νεκρὸν

¹ τοῦτο . . . ποιῆσαι MSP: δύνασθαι RO: διὰ τὸ . . .
ποιῆσαι om. E Lat.

² Cocceii: ὁχυροτάτας (-ωτάτας) codd.

³ RO: Βηθσῶν rell.: Bessam Lat.

⁴ E: Ναβεῖ RO: Ἰαβ(ε)ισσῶ SP: Iabes Lat.

begged him to force the sword in, since he could not do this with his own hands, and so procure him such a death as he desired. This he did, and, after stripping off the bracelet of gold on Saul's arm and his royal crown, disappeared. Then the armour-bearer, seeing that Saul was dead, killed himself; and of the king's bodyguard not a man escaped, but all fell on that mountain called Gelboue. And when the Hebrews who inhabited the valley across the Jordan and those who had their cities in the plain^a heard that Saul and his sons had fallen and that all his host had perished, they forsook their cities and fled to the strongholds^b; and the Philistines, finding these cities deserted, settled therein.

(8) On the morrow the Philistines, while stripping the men of the corpses of their enemies, came upon the bodies of Saul and his sons; these they stripped and cut off the heads, and then sent tidings throughout all the country round about that their enemies had fallen. Their armour they set up as an offering in the temple^c of Astarte,^d and impaled their bodies to the walls of the city of Bethsan,^e which is now called Scythopolis. But when the inhabitants of Jabis^f in the region of Galaditis heard that they had mutilated the corpses

^a Of Esdraelon.

^b Emended text;^c mss. "to the strongest (cities)." Scripture says simply "they fled."

^d 1 Sam. xxxi. 10 does not make clear where the temple was; 1 Chron. x. 10 reads "And they put his armour in the house of their gods, and fastened his head in the temple of Dagon," that is, in Philistia. Recent excavations have uncovered a Canaanite temple of the fifteenth century B.C. and figures of Astarte (bibl. Ashtoreth) in Beth Shan.

^e Bibl. Beth-Shan, LXX Βαιθσάν (v.l. Βαιθέμ), modern Beisan, cf. A. v. 83 note.

^f Bibl. Jabesh-Gilead, cf. § 71 note.

καὶ τοὺς τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ, δεινὸν ἡγησάμενοι περιῆδεν ἀκριδεύτους, ἐξελθόντες οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι καὶ τόλμη διαφέροντες (ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη καὶ σώμασιν ἀλκίμους καὶ ψυχαῖς φέρει) καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ὁδεύσαντες ἥλθον εἰς Βηθσάν· καὶ προσελθόντες τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων καὶ καθελόντες τὸ σῶμα Σαούλου καὶ τὰ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἰάβησαν μηδὲ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοὺς κωλῦσαι δυνηθέντων ἦ¹ τολμησάντων διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν. οἱ δὲ Ἱαβησηνοὶ πανδημεὶ κλαύσαντες² θάπτουσι τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς χώρας τόπῳ Ἀρούρης λεγομένῳ, καὶ πένθος ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἥγον κοπτόμενοι καὶ θρηνοῦντες τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς παιδας αὐτοῦ μήτε τροφῆς μήτε ποτοῦ γευσάμενοι.

378 (9) Τοῦτο Σαούλος τὸ τέλος ἔσχε προφητεύσαντος Σαμουήλου διὰ τὸ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀμαλκίταις ἐντολῶν, καὶ ὅτι τὴν Ἀβιμελέχου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως γενεὰν καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων πόλιν ἀνεῖλεν. ἐβασιλεύσε δὲ Σαμουήλου ζῶντος ἕτη ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι.³ καὶ Σαούλος μὲν οὕτω κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

¹ δυν. η̄ om. ROE.² καύσαντες conj. Niese (cf. LXX).³ δ. καὶ εἴκοσι] duos Lat.^a Unscriptural detail.^b So the MSS., κλαύσαντες; Niese conjectures καύσαντες "having burnt," to make Josephus agree with Scripture, 1 Sam. xxxi. 12.^c So the LXX; Heb. 'ēshel, a kind of tree; cf. § 251 note.^d Cf. § 336.^e Josephus agrees with rabbinic tradition in making the

of Saul and his sons, they were horrified at the thought of leaving them unburied, and so the most valiant and hardy among them—and this city breeds men stalwart of body and soul—set forth and, having marched all night, reached Bethsan. Then, having advanced to the enemy's ramparts and taken down the bodies of Saul and his sons, they bore them to Jabēsa, and the enemy was neither able nor dared to hinder them, because of their prowess.^a The Jabēsēnians with public mourning^b buried the bodies in the fairest spot in their country, called Aroura^c ("Plowland"), and, with their wives and children, continued for seven days to mourn for them, beating the breast and bewailing the king and his sons, without touching either meat or drink.

(9) To such an end did Saul come, as Samuel had predicted, because he had disobeyed God's commandments touching the Amalekites,^d and because he had destroyed the family of Abimelech the high priest and Abimelech himself and the city of the high priests.^e He reigned eighteen years during the lifetime of Samuel and for twenty-two^f years more after the latter's death. Thus then did Saul depart this life, slaughter of the priests of Nob one of the reasons for Saul's doom, but omits reference to the sin of consulting the witch, cf. 1 Chron. x. 13.

^a Or (with Lat.) "two," i.e. 20 years in all, instead of 40. This would agree with A. x. 143 and with later Jewish tradition (*Sepher Yohasin*) citing this passage. No figures are given in Scripture, but cf. the LXX addition to 1 Sam. xiii. 1 stating that Saul reigned 2 years (Luc. 30 years). On the other hand the tradition in Acts xiii. 21 gives 40 years. Rappaport suggests that a Christian scribe has changed the text of Josephus here to "twenty-two" to make it conform to the New Testament, and that the author of *Sepher Yohasin* is indirectly combating this view.

BIBLION Z

(i. 1) Συνέβη δὲ ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν καὶ Δανίδης τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας νικήσας εἰς Σέκελλαν ὑπέστρεψεν. ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ δύο ἡμέρας ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ Σεκέλλᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ παραγίνεται διασωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Παλαιστίνους ὁ τὸν Σαούλον ἀνελών, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα πειρερρηγμένος καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τέφραν περιχεάμενος. καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν πυνθανομένῳ πόθεν ἥκοι τοιοῦτος, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μάχης ἔλεγε· γενέσθαι δ' ἀτυχὲς αὐτῆς τὸ τέλος ἐδήλου πολλῶν μὲν ἀναιρεθεισῶν τοῖς Ἐβραίοις μυριάδων, πεσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν ³Σαούλου μετὰ τῶν τέκνων· ταῦτα δὲ σημαίνειν ἔφασκεν αὐτὸς παρατυχὼν τῇ τροπῇ τῶν Ἐβραίων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πεφευγότι παρών, ὃν καὶ κτεῖναι μέλλοντα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων λαμβάνεσθαι παρακληθεὶς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγει· τῇ ρόμφαιᾳ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιπεσόντα διὰ τὴν τῶν τραυμάτων ὑπερβολὴν ⁴αὐτὸν¹ ἀσθενῆσαι κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ σύμβολα² τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐπεδείκνυεν τόν τε περὶ τοῦ βραχίονι χρυσὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν στέφανον,

¹ edd.: αὐτὸν codd.

² + δὲ (δ' P) αὐτοῦ SP Lat.

BOOK VII

(i. 1) Now this battle, as it happened, took place David learns of on the same day on which David returned to Sikella Saul's death after his victory over the Amalekites.^a And when from the Amalekite. ² Sam. i. 1. he had already been two days in Sikella, there came, on the third day, the slayer of Saul, who had escaped from the battle with the Philistines, with his clothes rent and ashes^b sprinkled on his head. He prostrated himself before David and, to his question whence he had come in such condition, replied, "From the battle of the Israelites." He then went on to tell that its issue had been disastrous to the Hebrews, for many tens of thousands of them had been slain and Saul, their king, had also fallen along with his sons. These things he claimed to report as one who had himself been present at the rout of the Hebrews and had been with the king when he fled, and he further confessed to having killed Saul at his own request when he was about to be taken by the enemy; for, after he had fallen upon his sword, he had been too weak, because of the great number of his wounds, to do away with himself.^c As token of Saul's having been slain, he showed the gold ornament that had been on the king's arm and his crown, which he had

^a Scripture says merely that David returned to Ziklag (Sikella) after Saul's death.

^b Earth, according to Scripture.

^c Cf. A. vi. 371 note.

ἀ περιδύσας τὸν Σαούλου νεκρὸν κομίσειεν αὐτῷ.
 Δανίδης δὲ μηκέτ' ἀπιστεῖν ἔχων ἀλλ' ἐναργῆ
 τεκμήρια τοῦ Σαούλου θανάτου βλέπων καταρ-
 ρηγνύει μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, κλαίων δὲ καὶ ὁδυρόμενος
 μετὰ τῶν ἔταιρων ὅλην διεκαρτέρησε τὴν ἡμέραν.
 5 ποιεῖ¹ δ' αὐτῷ τὴν λύπην χαλεπωτέραν ὁ Σαούλου
 παῖς Ἰωνάθης πιστότατός τε ὁν φίλος αὐτῷ καὶ
 σωτηρίας αἴτιος γεγενημένος. τοσαύτην δὲ ἐπεδεί-
 ξατο τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σαούλον εὔνοιαν,
 ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκεῦν,
 πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύσας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸν
 6 βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα κολάσαι. φήσας
 γὰρ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ² γένοιτο κατ-
 ἄγορος ἀνελὼν τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ μαθὼν ὡς εἴη
 πατρὸς Ἀμαληκίτου γένος, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπ-
 ολέσθαι. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ θρήνους καὶ ἐπιταφίους
 ἐπαίνους Σαούλου καὶ Ἰωνάθου, οἵ καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ
 διαμένουσιν.

7 (2) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτους ἔξετίμησε τὸν βασιλέα,
 παυσάμενος τοῦ πένθους ἥρετο τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ
 προφήτου τίνα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κατοικῆσαι πόλιν
 τῆς Ἰουδα καλουμένης φυλῆς. φήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ
 διδόναι Χεβρῶνα³ καταλιπὼν τὴν Σέκελλαν εἰς
 ἐκείνην παραγίνεται τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἐπαγόμενος
 τὰς αὐτοῦ, δύο δὲ ἥσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὄπλίτας τοὺς
 8 σὺν αὐτῷ. συνελθὼν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄπας ὁ τῆς
 φυλῆς τῆς προειρημένης λαὸς ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτὸν
 βασιλέα. ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι τὸν Σαούλον καὶ τοὺς
 νίοὺς αὐτοῦ θάψειαν οἱ ἐν Ἰαβησῷ⁴ τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος

¹ ἐποιεῖ SP.

² ex Lat. Naber: αὐτοῦ ed. pr.: om. codd.

³ Γιβρῶν RO hic et infra: Chebron Lat.

⁴ Ἰαβεισῷ M: Ἰαβεισῷ S: Ἰαβεισῷ PE: Iabes Lat.

stripped from the corpse of Saul and brought to him. David, being no longer able to doubt him with these clear proofs of Saul's death before his eyes, rent his garments and continued all of that day to weep and lament together with his companions. His grief was made heavier by (the thought of) Saul's son Jonathan who had been his most faithful friend and had been responsible for saving his life. And such nobility did David show and such loyalty to Saul that not only was he grieved at his death, although he had several times been in danger of losing his own life at his hands, but he also punished the man who had killed him; he told him that he had accused himself of having slain the king, and when he learned that his father was of the Amalekite race, he ordered him to be put to death. David also composed laments and eulogies for the funeral of Saul and Jonathan, which have survived to my own time.^a

(2) After he had duly paid these honours to the God bids David dwell in Hebron.
 through the prophet^b what city He granted him to dwell in among those of the tribe called Judah, and, when God answered that He granted Hebron, he left Sikella and went to that place, taking along his wives, of whom there were two, and the soldiers then with him. There all the people of the aforesaid tribe gathered to him and proclaimed him king. Now when he heard that those who inhabited Jabēsos of

^a A reference to the dirge in 2 Sam. i. 19 ff.

^b No prophet is mentioned in Scripture.

κατοικοῦντες, ἔπειμψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀποδεχόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ χάριτας ἀποδώσειν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς τεθνηκότας σπουδῆς ὑπισχνούμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ δηλῶν ὡς ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ κεχειροτόνηκεν αὐτὸν βασιλέα.

9 (3) Ο δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου μὲν ἀρχιστράτηγος Ἀβεν-
νῆρος Νήρου δὲ παῖς, ἀνὴρ δραστήριος καὶ ἀγαθὸς
τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἔγνω πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν
Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτοῦ παῖδας,
ἔπειχθεὶς εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ τὸν περιλειπό-
μενον ἐξαρπάσας νίὸν αὐτοῦ, Ἰέβοσθος δ' ἐκαλεῖτο,
διαβιβάζει πρὸς τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ
παντὸς ἀποδείκνυσι τοῦ πλήθους βασιλέα πάρεξ
10 τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς. βασίλειον δ' ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ
τὴν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλώτταν Μάναλιν,
κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων Παρεμβολὰς λεγομένην·
ἄρμησε δ' ἐκεῖθεν Ἀβενῆρος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπι-
λέκτου, συμβαλεῖν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς
προαιρούμενος. ὥργιστο γὰρ αὐτοῖς βασιλέα τὸν
11 Δαυίδην κεχειροτονηκόσιν. ἀπήντησε δ' αὐτῷ πεμ-
φθεὶς ὑπὸ Δαυΐδου Σαρονίας μὲν παῖς, πατρὸς δὲ
Σουρί, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐκείνου γεγονὼς
αὐτῷ Ἰώαβος ἀρχιστράτηγος ὢν αὐτοῦ, μετὰ καὶ
τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀβισαίου καὶ Ἀσαήλου καὶ πάντων
τῶν Δαυΐδου ὅπλιτῶν καὶ περιτυχῶν ἐπὶ τίνος

^a Bibl. Jabesh-Gilead, also called Jabis (*A. vi.* 71, 375) and Jabēsa (*A. vi.* 376).

^b Bibl. Ish-bosheth (a deliberate alteration of the Canaanite name Ish-baal, attested by 1 Chron. viii. 33 and some LXX

Galaditis ^a had buried Saul and his sons, he sent them messages of praise and commendation for their act, and promised that he would repay them for their devotion to the dead ; at the same time he informed them that the tribe of Judah had chosen him king.

(3) When Saul's commander-in-chief Abenner, ^{Abner rescues Saul's son.} son of Ner, a man of action and of good character, learned that the king and Jonathan and his two other sons had fallen, he hastened to the camp and, carrying off his surviving son, who was called Jebosthos,^b brought him over to the people across the Jordan and proclaimed him king of all the multitude except the tribe of Judah, and as his royal residence he appointed the city called Manalis^c in the native tongue, which in Greek means "Camps" (Parembolai). From there Abenner set out with a picked army, intending to engage the men of the tribe of Judah, for he was angry that they had chosen David king. He ^{Joab's men meet Abner's in single combat.} was met by Joab, who had been sent by David—Joab was a son of Saruia and of Suri,^d his mother being a sister of David whose commander-in-chief he was—^{2 Sam. ii. 13.} and along with him were his brothers Abisai and Asaēl^e and all of David's soldiers. Joab, coming mss. in this passage; *bosheth* means "shame"), LXX 'Ιεβοσθέ, 'Ιεβούσθε κτλ.

^c Bibl. Mahanaim, lit. "camps." A corruption of *Mānāēm* or the like for Heb. *Māhanaim*. The Hebrew name is explained by Josephus in the next sentence. Here he is following the LXX, in which the words ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς εἰς Μαναῖμ contain a doublet, mistranslating the Hebrew, "and brought him over (the Jordan) to Mahanaim." The site has not been identified. It probably lay near the Jabbok river and the Jordan valley.

^d Scripture does not give the name of Joab's father. Possibly Josephus thought of Seraiah (LXX Σαραὶ), the father of a Joab mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 14.

^e Bibl. Asahel, LXX Ἀσαήλ, Luc. Ἀσσαήλ.

κρηνίδος ἐν Γαβαών πόλει παρατάσσεται πρὸς
 12 μάχην. τοῦ δ' Ἀβεννήρου φήσαντος πρὸς αὐτὸν
 βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν πότερος αὐτῶν ἀνδρειοτέρους
 στρατιώτας ἔχει, συντίθεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρων δυο-
 καΐδεκα μαχησομένους συμβαλεῖν. προελθόντες¹
 τοίνυν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν παρατάξεων οἱ πρὸς τὴν
 μάχην ὑφ' ἐκατέρων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔξειλεγμένοι
 καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐπ' ἄλλήλους ἀφέντες σπῶνται τὰς
 μαχαίρας καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐλλαμβανόμενοι κατ-
 ἔχοντες αὐτοὺς ἔπαιον εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς καὶ τὰς
 λαγόνας ἄλλήλους ταῖς ρομφαίαις, ἕως οὗ πάντες
 13 ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθήματος ἀπώλοντο. πεσόντων δὲ
 τούτων συνέρρηξε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ στρατιά, καὶ καρ-
 τερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἡττήθησαν οἱ τοῦ
 Ἀβεννήρου· καὶ τραπέντας οὐκ ἀνίει διώκων
 Ἰάβος, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε ἐπέκειτο παρακελευόμενος
 τοὺς ὅπλίτας ἐκ ποδὸς ἔπεσθαι καὶ μὴ κάμνειν
 14 ἀναιροῦντας, οἵ τε ἀδελφοὶ προθύμως ἡγωνίσαντο,
 καὶ διαφανέστερος τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα ὁ νεώτερος
 Ἀσάηλος, ὃς ἐπὶ ποδῶν ὀκύτητι κλέος εἶχεν· οὐ
 γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἐνίκα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππῳ² κατα-
 στάντα εἰς ἄμιλλαν λέγουσι παραδραμεῖν, καὶ τὸν
 Ἀβεννήρου ἐδίωκεν ὑπὸ ρύμης καὶ τῆς ἐπ' ὄρθὸν
 15 φορᾶς εἰς οὐδέτερον ἐγκλιθεὶς τῶν μερῶν. ἐπι-
 στραφέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβεννήρου καὶ κατασοφίζεσθαι
 τὴν ὄρμὴν αὐτοῦ πειρωμένου καὶ ποτὲ μὲν εἰπόν-
 τος ἐνὸς τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀφέμενος τῆς
 διώξεως ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πανοπλίαν, πάλιν δ' ὡς

¹ ex Lat. Bekker: προσελθόντες codd.

Niese: ἵππῳ ROM: ἵππον SP: ἵππους E Lat.

^a Bibl. Gibeon, LXX Γαβαών. Probably the modern *el-Jib*
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upon him at a certain spring in the city of Gabaōn,^a drew up his men for battle. Abenner then said to him that he wished to discover which of them had the braver soldiers, and it was agreed that twelve men from either side should meet in combat. Accordingly there advanced to the space between the opposing lines the men who had been chosen by either of the commanders. They threw their spears^b and then drew their swords and each, taking hold of his opponent's head and holding him fast, pierced the other's ribs and flanks with his sword until all were killed as though by agreement. And when these had fallen, the rest of the army also went into action and, after a stubborn fight, Abenner's men were defeated. Once they were routed, Joab did not relax the pursuit, but himself pressed after them and gave orders to his soldiers to follow at their heels and not weary in dealing death. His brothers also fought with eagerness, and most conspicuous among them was the youngest, Asaēl, who was famous for his fleetness of foot, for not only could he beat men, but he was said to have outrun a horse with which he had been matched in a race.^c So he pursued Abenner with a rush, dashing straight ahead, and turning neither to the one side nor to the other. Abenner, however, turned around and attempted to talk him out of his fixed intent, first telling him to stop pursuing and take the armour of one of his own soldiers for

c. 5 m. N.W. of Jerusalem, is meant. Josephus mentions the spring in *A.* v. 58, vii. 283, where he locates it at 40 stades (c. 5 m.) from Jerusalem, and in *B.J.* ii. 516 at 50 stades (c. 6 m.).

^b The spears are not mentioned in Scripture.

^c Asahel's race with a horse is an invention of Josephus. Scripture says merely, "And Asahel was as light of foot as one of the roes in the field."

οὐκ ἔπειθε τοῦτο ποιεῖν κατασχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ διώκειν παραινοῦντος, μὴ κτείνας αὐτὸν ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ παρρησίαν, οὐ προσ-
 ἐμενον¹ τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ’ ἐπιμείναντα τῇ διώξει² φεύγων ὡς εἶχε τὸ δόρυ πλήξας εἰς τούπισα
 16 καιρίας παραχρῆμ³ ἀπέκτεινεν. οἱ δὲ μετ’ αὐτοῦ διώκοντες τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον ὡς ἥλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οὗ κεῖσθαι συνέβαινε τὸν Ἀσάλον, περιστάντες τὸν νεκρὸν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδίωκον· ὁ δὲ Ἰώαβος αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀβισαῖος παραδραμόντες τὸ πτῶμα καὶ τῆς πλείονος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον σπουδῆς αἰτίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ὄργην λαβόντες, ἀπίστω τάχει καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενοι μέχρι τόπου τινός, Ἀμμάταν⁴ καλοῦσιν, ἐδίωξαν τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον, ἥδη περὶ δυσμὰς 17 ὅντος ἥλιου. ἀναβὰς δ’ ἐπὶ τινα βουνόν, ὃς ἐστιν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ μετὰ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, αὐτούς τε κατεσκέπτετο καὶ τὸν Ἀβεννῆρον. τούτου δὲ ἀνακεκραγότος καὶ φήσαντος μὴ δεῖν ἄνδρας ὅμοφύλους εἰς ἔριδα καὶ μάχην παροξύνειν, ἀμαρτεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀσάλον, ὃς παραινοῦντος μὴ διώκειν οὐκ ἔπεισθη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βληθεὶς ἀπέθανε, συμφρονήσας καὶ παράκλησιν ἥγησάμενος τούτους τοὺς λόγους ὁ Ἰώαβος ἀνακαλεῖ τῇ σάλπιγgi σημάνας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ

¹ προσιέμενον RO.² ed. pr.: τῇ διώξιν codd.³ Ὄμματὸν M: δν Marōn RO: (nomine) Maton Lat.⁴ μέγας RO: corruptelam latere statuit Niese.^a Bibl. "with the hinder part of the spear."^b Bibl. Ammah, LXX 'Αμμάν, 'Αμμά, Luc. 'Εμμάθ. The site is unknown, although Scripture adds, "that lies before Giah (LXX Γαὶ) on the way to the wilderness of Gibeon."

himself, and then, as he could not persuade him to do this, urging him to restrain himself and give up the pursuit, lest he should kill him and so end his friendly relations with his brother (Joab). But as Asaël paid no attention to these words and continued in pursuit, Abenner, while still in flight, with a well-aimed blow of his spear hurled backwards,^a struck him dead on the spot. When the men who were pursuing Abenner with Asaël came to the place where he lay, they surrounded his dead body and gave up their pursuit of the enemy. But Joab himself and his brother Abisai ran past the corpse and, finding cause for pressing still harder after Abenner in their wrath at the death of Asaël, with incredible speed and determination pursued Abenner up to a certain place called Ammata^b it being now about sunset. Climbing a certain hill in that place, Joab caught sight of Abenner and the men of the tribe of Benjamin who were with him.^c Abenner then cried out and said that it was not right to stir up fellow-countrymen to strife and warfare, and furthermore that Joab's brother Asaël had been in the wrong in not listening to him when he had urged him to give up the pursuit, for which reason he had been struck and killed. Accepting his view and considering these words as Joab makes an expression of sympathy, Joab gave a signal on the trumpet and recalled his men, so putting a stop to

^a Abner slays Joab's brother Asahel.
^b 2 Sam. ii. 23.

^a The text is probably corrupt. Scripture says that the Benjamites were gathered together with Abner on a hill. Perhaps the variant μέγας in Josephus conceals the name Γαὶ (bibl. Giah), mentioned in the verse quoted in the preceding note. I suspect that the text originally read somewhat as follows: "Climbing a certain hill in Gai (in the territory) of the tribe of Benjamin, Joab caught sight of them (i.e. the Benjamites) and Abner."

18 πολὺ διώξεως ἐπέσχε.¹ καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνου καταστρατοπεδεύεται τοῦ τόπου τὴν νύκτα ταύτην, Ἀβενῆρος δὲ δὶ’ ὅλης αὐτῆς ὁδεύσας καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Σαούλου παῖδα εἰς τὰς Περαμβολὰς Ἱέροσθον. τῇ δ’ ἔχομένη τοὺς νεκροὺς ὁ Ἰώαβος 19 ἐξαριθμήσας ἅπαντας ἐκήδευσεν. ἐπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀβενῆρου στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι καὶ ἑξήκοντα, τῶν δὲ Δαυΐδου δέκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐννέα καὶ Ἀσάηλος, οὗ τὸ σῶμα κομίσαντες ἐκεῖθεν Ἰώαβος καὶ Ἀβισαΐος εἰς Βηθλεέμην καὶ θάψαντες ἐν τῷ πατρῷ μνήματι πρὸς Δαυΐδην εἰς Χεβρῶνα 20 παρεγένοντο. ἥρξατο μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοὺς Ἐβραίοις ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος καὶ διέμεινεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ, τῶν μὲν μετὰ Δαυΐδου κρειττόνων ἀεὶ γυνομένων καὶ πλεῖον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις φερομένων, τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου παιδὸς² καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἡμέραν ἐλαττουμένων.

21 (4) Ἐγένοντο δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ παῖδες Δαυΐδη τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔξ, ἐκ γυναικῶν τοσούτων,³ ὃν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος ἐκ μητρὸς Ἀχίνας γενόμενος Ἀμνὼν ἐκλήθη, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀβιγαίλας Δανίηλος, τῷ τρίτῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Θολομαίου θυγατρὸς Μαχάμης φύντι τοῦ Γεσητρῶν βασιλέως Ἀφάλωμος⁴ ὄνομα, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον Ἀδωνίαν ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀγίθης⁵ προσ-

¹ ἐπισχών RO.

² ex Lat. Niese: τῶν δὲ Σ. παῖδων codd. E.

³ ἐκ . . . τοσούτων om. RO.

⁴ RO: Ἀβεσ(σ)άλωμος rell. hic et infra. ⁵ Ἀγίθης RO.

^a In Hebron, as Scripture adds. The sons born to David in Jerusalem are enumerated in § 70.

further pursuit. Then, while Joab encamped that night upon the spot, Abenner marched through the whole night and, after crossing the river Jordan, came to Saul's son Jebosthos at "The Camps." On the following day Joab counted the dead and gave them all burial. There had fallen about three hundred and sixty of Abenner's soldiers, and of David's nineteen beside Asaēl, whose body Joab and Abisai brought from there to Bethlehem and buried it in the tomb of their fathers ; then they came to David at Hebron. Beginning with this time there was civil war among the Hebrews which lasted for a long while ; those on David's side continually became stronger and came off best in the fortunes of war, while Saul's son and his subjects grew weaker almost daily.

(4) About this time also there were born^a to David six sons by as many wives ; the eldest of these, whom he had by Achina,^b was called Amnōn ; the second, by Abigaia, was Daniel^c ; the name of the third, born to Machamē,^d daughter of Tholomaios,^e king of the Gesserites, was Absalom^f ; the fourth, by his wife Agithē,^g he named Adonias^h ; the fifth, son

^a Bibl. Ahinoam ; cf. A. vi. 309, 320 notes.

^b So in 1 Chron.; ^c Sam. Chileab (Heb. *Kileab*), LXX Δαλονιά. According to rabbinic tradition, he was really Nabal's son, born after Abigail's marriage to David ; his name was Daniel but he was also called Kileab, because he resembled his father (*kelō' ab*).

^d Bibl. Maacah, LXX Μααχά (Chron. Μωχά).

^e Bibl. Talmai, LXX Θολμεί, Θομμεί (Chron. Θολμεί Θοαμαί, Luc. Θολομή).

^f Variant Abessalōm, as in LXX ; Heb. *'Abshalōm*.

^g Variant Aēthē ; bibl. Haggith, LXX Φεγγείθ, Luc. Αγγείθ.

^h Bibl. Adonijah (Heb. *'Adoniyyāh*) ; LXX Ὁρνεία, Ὁρνείλ (Chron. Αδωνεία, Αδωνίας).

David's six sons (born in Hebron).

² Sam. iii. 2; 1 Chron. iii. 1.

ηγόρευσε, τὸν πέμπτον δὲ Σαφατίαν τῆς Ἀβιτάλης καὶ τὸν ἔκτον Ἰεθρόαν¹ τῆς Αἴγλας² ἐπωνόμασε. 22 τοῦ δὲ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου συνεστῶτος καὶ συμπιπτόντων εἰς ἔργα καὶ μάχην πυκνῶς τῶν μεθ'³ ἑκατέρου τῶν βασιλέων, Ἀβεννῆρος δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου παιδὸς ἀρχιστράτηγος συνετὸς ὥν καὶ σφόδρα εὗνουν ἔχων τὸ πλῆθος πάντας συμμεῖναι τῷ Ἱεβόσθῳ⁴ παρεσκεύασε· καὶ διέμειναν ἵκανὸν 23 χρόνον τὰ ἔκείνου φρονοῦντες. ὕστερον δὲ ἐν ἐγκλήματι γενόμενος Ἀβεννῆρος καὶ λαβὼν αἰτίαν ὡς συνέλθοι τῇ Σαούλου παλλακῇ Ῥεσφᾶ μὲν τοῦνομα Σιβάτου δὲ θυγατρί, καὶ καταμεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἱεβόσθου περιαλγήσας καὶ θυμωθεὶς, ὡς οὐ δικαίων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοι πάσῃ προνοίᾳ περὶ αὐτὸν χρώμενος, ἡπείλησε μὲν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Δανίδην περιστήσειν, ἐπιδείξειν δὲ ὡς οὐχὶ διὰ τὴν ἴδιαν ρώμην καὶ σύνεσιν ἄρχοι τῶν πέραν Ἰορδάνου, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατηγίαν τε καὶ 24 πίστιν. καὶ πέμψας εἰς Χεβρῶνα παρὰ Δανίδην λαβεῖν ὅρκους τε καὶ πίστεις ἡξίου, ἦ μὴν ἔξειν αὐτὸν ἑταῖρον καὶ φίλον ἀναπείσαντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Σαούλου μὲν ἀποστῆναι παιδός, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀποδεί-

¹ Γεθερσὰν ROM: Γεθραδμην ex cod. Vat. Hudson: Therran Lat.

² Γαλαὰς RO: Γάλα M Lat.: Λίγλης E.

³ τῶν μεθ' cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: μεθ' rell.: utriusque regis exercitus Lat. ⁴ τῷ Ἱεβόσθῳ om. RO.

^a Bibl. Abital; LXX Ἀβειτάλ, Ἀβιτάλ, Luc. Ἀβειτάλ (Chron. Σαβειτάλ, Ἀβιτάλ).

^b So Luc. in Sam. and most mss. of LXX in Chron.; bibl. Shephetaiah (Heb. *Shephatyāh*), LXX Σαβατεία.

^c Bibl. Eglah, LXX Αἴγαλ, Ἀγλά κτλ. (Chron. Ἄλα, Ἀγλά).

of Abitalē,^a he called Saphatias^b; and the sixth, by Aigla,^c he named Jethroas.^d Now when civil war broke out and the followers of each of the two kings had frequent encounters and fights, Abenner, the commander-in-chief of Saul's son, being a clever man and enjoying very great favour with the populace, contrived to keep them on the side of Jebosthos, and for a considerable time they supported him. Later, however, when Abenner was made the object of complaints and accused of intimacy with Saul's concubine, named Respha,^e the daughter of Sibatos,^f and was censured by Jebosthos, he was very much hurt and angered at receiving what he thought was unjust treatment from him in spite of all the kindness he had shown Jebosthos. He therefore threatened to transfer the kingship to David and to show that it was not through his own strength and understanding that Jebosthos ruled over the people across the Jordan, but through his generalship and loyalty. Then he sent to David at Hebron^g and asked for a sworn pledge^h that he would own him as a comrade and friend when once he had persuaded the people to revolt from Saul's son and caused David to be

^a Bibl. Ithream (Heb. *Yithrē'ām*), LXX Ἰεθεράμ (Chron. Ιθαράμ, Ἰεθράμ κτλ.), Luc. Ἰεθράμ.

^b Bibl. Rizpah (Heb. *Rispāh*), LXX Ῥεσφᾶ.

^c Cf. Luc. Σειβά; bibl. Aiah, LXX Ἰάλ, Ἰώλ (but *Aia* 2 Sam. xxi. 8 ff.).

^d So Luc.; LXX εἰς Θαιλάμ, apparently Telem or Telaim, a city in the south of Judah. The Hebrew "sent messengers to David where he was, saying, 'To whom is the land?'" is corrupt.

^h This "sworn pledge" is probably derived from the Targum's rendering of the obscure Hebrew verse quoted in the preceding note, "Let us swear by Him who made the earth."

25 ξαντα πάσης τῆς χώρας βασιλέα. τοῦ δὲ Δαυΐδος ποιησαμένου τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἥσθη γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς Ἀβενῆρος διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ πρωτον τεκμήριον παρασχεῖν τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀξιώσαντος ἀνασώσαντα πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν γυναικα μεγάλοις ὡνηθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κινδύνοις καὶ Παλαιστίνων κεφαλαῖς ἔξακοσίαις, ἃς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐκόμισε τῷ 26 πατρὶ Σαούλῳ, πέμπει μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν Μελχάλην ἀποσπάσας Ὁφελτίου τοῦ τότε συνοικοῦντος αὐτῇ, πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ Ἰεβόσθου συμπράξαντος ἐγεγράφει γὰρ αὐτῷ Δαυΐδης τὴν γυναικα δικαίως ἀπολαβεῖν· συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς γεγηρακότας τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ χιλιάρχους¹ λόγους ἐποιήσατο πρὸς 27 αὐτούς, ὡς ἔχοντας ἔτοιμας ἀποστῆναι μὲν Ἰεβόσθου Δαυΐδη δὲ προσθέσθαι ταύτης ἀποστρέψει τῆς ὁρμῆς, νῦν μέντοι γε ἐπιτρέποι χωρεῖν οἱ βούλονται· καὶ γὰρ εἰδέναι τὸν θεόν διὰ Σαμουῆλον τοῦ προφήτου Δαυΐδην χειροτονήσαντα πάντων Ἐβραίων βασιλέα, προειπεῖν δ' ὅτι Παλαιστίνους ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς τιμωρήσεται καὶ ποιήσει κρατήσας 28 ὑποχειρίους. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἡγεμόνες, ὡς καὶ² τὴν Ἀβενῆρον γνώμην ἥ³ πρότερον εἶχον αὐτοὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων σύμφωνον προσέλαβον, τὰ Δαυΐδου φρονεῖν μετ- 29 εβάλοντο.⁴ πεισθέντων δὲ τούτων Ἀβενῆρος συγ- καλεῖ τὴν Βενιαμιτῶν φυλήν· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης

¹ καὶ χιλ. om. ROM Zonaras.² καὶ om. RO.³ ex Lat. Niese: ἦ RO: ἦν MSP.⁴ μετεβάλλοντο ROS.^a Cf. A. vi. 203 note.^b Bibl. Michal; cf. A. vi. 204, where she is called Melcha, and vii. 85, where she is called Michalē.

declared king of the whole country. When David,^a recovers pleased at the offer which Abenner had made to him his wife through his envoys, accepted these terms, he asked Michal.^b Abenner to furnish a first proof of carrying out their 2 Sam. iii. 13. agreement by recovering for him the wife who had been purchased by him with great perils and the heads of six hundred^c Philistines, which he had brought as payment for her to her father Saul. Accordingly, Abenner took Melchale^d away from Opheltias^e who was then living with her, and sent her to David, Jebosthos also assisting in the matter, for David had written to him that he had a just claim to recover his wife. Then Abenner called together the elders of the people and the lower officers and the captains of a thousand,^f and addressed them, saying that when they had prepared to revolt from Jebosthos and to join David's side, he had dissuaded them from this attempt, but that now he gave them leave to go where they liked, his reason being that he knew that God, through the prophet Samuel, had chosen David king of all the Hebrews and had foretold that none other than he would chastise the Philistines and, by his victories, make them subject. When the elders and the leaders heard this and perceived that Abenner's view of the situation was in agreement with that which they themselves had previously held, they changed over to David's side; and when they had been won over, Abenner called together the tribe of Benjamin—for it was from this tribe that all the body-

^c Bibl. Phaltiel; cf. A. vi. 309 note.^d Scripture mentions only the elders. The word here translated "lower officers" (Gr. "taxiarchs") corresponded, in Josephus's time, to the Roman "military tribune" as well as "centurion," but is used here, as elsewhere in the *Antiquities*, of subordinate officers generally.

ἀπαντες Ἰεβόσθου σωματοφύλακες ἦσαν· καὶ ταῦτα¹ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλεχθείς, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἀντικρούοντας ἔώρα, προστιθεμένους δ' οἷς ἐβούλετο, παραλαβὼν ὡς εἴκοσι τῶν ἑταίρων ἦκε πρὸς Δαυΐδην, τοὺς ὄρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ ληφόμενος αὐτὸς (πιστότερα γὰρ τῶν δι' ἄλλου πραττομένων ὅσα δι' αὐτῶν ἔκαστοι ποιοῦμεν εἶναι δοκεῖ) καὶ προσέτι τοὺς γενομένους αὐτῷ λόγους πρὸς τε τοὺς ἥγε-
30 μόνας καὶ τὴν φυλὴν ἄπασαν σημανῶν.² ὑποδεξαμένου δ' αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ πολυτελεῖ τραπέζῃ ξενίσαντος ἐπὶ πολλὰς³ ἡμέρας, ἥξισαν ἀφεθεὶς ἀγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἵνα παρόντι καὶ βλεπομένῳ παραδῶσι⁴ τὴν ἀρχήν.

31 (5) Ἐκπέμψαντος δὲ τοῦ Δαυΐδου τὸν Ἀβεν-
νῆρον οὐδὲ ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν εἰς Χεβρῶνα ἤκεν
Ἰώαβος ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος⁵ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μαθὼν ὡς
εἴη παρὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀβεννῆρος καὶ μικρὸν
ἔμπροσθεν ἀπηλλαγμένος ἐπὶ συνθήκαις καὶ ὄμο-
λογίαις τῆς ἥγεμονίας, δείσας μὴ τὸν μὲν ἐν τιμῇ
καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ποιήσει⁶ τάξει συνεργόν τε τῆς
βασιλείας ἐσόμενον καὶ τάλλα δεινὸν ὄντα συνιδεῖν
πράγματα καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ὑποδραμεῖν, αὐτὸς δ'
ἐλαττωθείη καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀφαιρεθείη,⁷ κακ-
32 οὐργον καὶ πονηρὰν ὄδὸν ἀπεισι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
ἐπιχειρεῖ διαβαλεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, φυλάτ-
τεσθαι παραινῶν καὶ μὴ προσέχειν οἷς Ἀβεννῆρος
συντίθεται· πάντα γὰρ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βε-

¹ Ernesti: τὰ αὐτὰ E: ταῦτα codd.: ista Lat.

² E: σημανῶν codd. ³ συχνὰς MSPE.

⁴ Niese: παραδῶσει ROMS²P²: παραδῶσῃ S¹P¹: traderet Lat.

⁵ ἀρχιστράτηγος RO: pro eo militiae princeps Lat.

⁶ Niese: ποιήσεται codd.: ποιήσηται ed. pr.

⁷ ἀφεθείη RO.

guards of Jebosthos came^a—and made the same speech to them. As he saw that they made no objection but acceded to his wishes, he took some twenty companions and came to David in order to receive his oath in person—for we all seem to have more faith in what we do ourselves than in what is done through others,—and also to acquaint him with the speech he had made to the leaders and to the whole tribe. David received him in friendly fashion and entertained him with splendid and lavish feasts that lasted many days.^b Then Abenner asked to be dismissed and given leave to bring the people, in order that they might hand over the royal power to David when present and before their eyes.

(5) Hardly had David sent Abenner away when Joab's envy of Abner. 2 Sam. iii. 23. Joab, his commander-in-chief, came to Hebron and, when he learned that Abenner had been there to see David and had departed a little while before, after reaching an understanding and agreement about the sovereignty, he feared that David might give him honours of the first rank as one who would help him in securing the kingdom and who was, besides, apt in understanding matters of state and in seizing opportunities, while he himself might be set down and deprived of his command.^c He therefore took a dishonest and evil course; first of all he attempted to calumniate Abenner to the king, urging him to be on his guard and not to pay attention to the agreements Abenner had made; for he was doing everything, he said, in order to secure the sovereignty for

^a Addition to Scripture.

^b The "many days" is a detail added by Josephus.

^c This motive for Joab's hatred of Abner is supplied by Josephus; cf. § 36.

βαιώσασθαι τῷ Σαούλου παιδὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα μεθ' ἣς ἔβούλετο νῦν ἐλπίδος καὶ οἰκονομίας τῶν κατα-
 33 σκευαζομένων ἀπελθεῖν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπειθεὶ τὸν Δανιδὸν τούτοις οὐδὲ παροξυνόμενον ἔώρα, τρέ-
 πεται ταύτης τολμηροτέραν ὁδὸν καὶ κρύνας Ἀβεν-
 νῆρον ἀποκτεῖναι πέμπει τοὺς ἐπιδιώξοντας, οἷς καταλαβοῦσι προσέταξεν αὐτὸν καλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Δανιδού ὄνόματος, ὡς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τινα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἢ μὴ διεμνημόνευσε
 34 παρόντος, εἰπεῖν. Ἀβεννῆρος δ' ὡς ἥκουσε τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων, κατέλαβον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ Βησηρᾶ καλουμένῳ ἀπέχοντι τῆς Χεβρῶνος σταδίους εἴκοσι, μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενος¹ τῶν συμβησο-
 μένων ὑπέστρεψεν. ἀπαντήσας δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ ὁ Ἰώαβος καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ὡς μάλιστ' εὔνους καὶ φίλος, ὑποκρίνονται γὰρ ἵκανως πολ-
 λάκις εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον τῆς ἐπιβούλης τὰ τῶν ἀληθῶς ἀγαθῶν οἱ πράγμασιν ἐγχειροῦντες ἀτόποις,
 35 ἀποσπῆ μὲν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διαλεξόμενος, παραγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐρημότερον τῆς πύλης μόνος αὐτὸς ὥν σὺν Ἀβισαΐῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν ὑπὸ τὴν λαγόνα παίει.
 36 καὶ τελευτὴ μὲν Ἀβεννῆρος τοῦτον ἐνεδρευθεὶς τὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ Ἰωάβου, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλεγε τιμω-
 ρήσαντος Ἀσαήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, διν διώκοντα λαβὼν Ἀβεννῆρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Χεβρῶνι μάχῃ, ὡς δὲ τάληθὲς εἶχε δείσαντος περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς, μὴ τούτων μὲν

¹ Bekker: ὑπειδόμενος codd.

^a Joab's message is an amplification of Scripture.

^b Bibl. Bor-sirah ("cistern of Sirah"), LXX Φρέατος τοῦ

Saul's son, and, after having come to David with deceit and guile, he had now gone away with the hope of realizing his wish and carrying out his carefully laid plans. But as he could not persuade David by these means and saw that he was not moved to anger, he turned to a course still bolder, and, having decided to kill Abenner, sent men in pursuit of him, to whom he gave orders that when they came up with him they should call to him in David's name and say that he had certain things to discuss with him concerning their affairs, which he had forgotten to mention when Abenner was with him.^a When Abenner heard this from the messengers—they had come upon him at a certain place called Bēsēra,^b twenty stades distant from Hebron—he turned back with no suspicion of what was to come. Joab met him at the gate and greeted him with the greatest show of goodwill and friendship—for very often those who undertake disgraceful acts assume the part of truly good men, in order to avert suspicion of their design—and then, having drawn him apart from his attendants, as if to speak with him privately, led him to a more deserted part of the gate, where he was alone with his brother Abisai, drew his sword and struck him under the flank. So died Abenner through this treachery of Joab, who claimed to have done it to avenge his brother Asaēl, for when he had pursued Abenner, the latter had caught and slain him in the fight near Hebron^c; but in truth it was because he feared for his command of the army and his place of honour with the king, of which he himself might have been

Σεειράμ, Luc. Σεειρά. The site is unidentified. Its distance from Hebron (c. 2½ m.) is a detail added by Josephus.

^a A slip for "Gibeon," as in Scripture and in the account given earlier by Josephus, § 11.

αὐτὸς ἀφαιρεθείη, λάβοι δὲ παρὰ Δανίδου τὴν
 37 πρώτην τάξιν Ἀβεινῆρος. ἐκ τούτων ἀν τις
 κατανοήσειεν, ὅσα καὶ πηλίκα τολμῶσιν ἄνθρωποι
 πλεονεξίας ἔνεκα καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ μηδενὶ τού-
 των παραχωρῆσαι· κτήσασθαι γὰρ αὐτὰ ποθοῦντες
 διὰ μυρίων κακῶν λαμβάνουσι, καὶ δείσαντες
 ἀποβαλεῖν πολλῷ χείροις τὸ βέβαιον αὐτοῖς τῆς
 38 παραμονῆς περιποιοῦσιν, ὡς οὐχ ὅμοιον δεινοῦ
 τυγχάνοντος μὴ¹ πορίσασθαι τηλικοῦτον μέγεθος
 ἔξουσίας, καὶ συνήθη τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς γε-
 νόμενον ἔπειτ² αὐτὴν ἀπολέσαι· τούτου δὲ ὑπερβολὴν
 ἔχοντος συμφορᾶς, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χαλεπώτερα μη-
 χανῶνται καὶ τολμῶσιν ἔργα³ ἐν φόβῳ πάντες
 τοῦ ἀποβαλεῖν γενόμενοι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων
 ἐν βραχέσιν ἀρκεῖ δεδηλώσθαι.

39 (6) Δανίδης δ' ἀκούσας ἀνηρημένον τὸν Ἀβει-
 νῆρον ἥλγησε μὲν τὴν ψυχήν, ἐμαρτύρατο δὲ πάντας
 ἀνατείνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ βοῶν, ὡς
 οὕτε κοινωνὸς εἴη τῆς Ἀβεινῆρου σφαγῆς, οὕτε
 κατ' ἐντολὴν καὶ βούλησιν ἴδιαν ἀποθάνοι. ἀρὰς
 δὲ κατὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος αὐτὸν δεινὰς ἐτίθετο,
 καὶ τὸν οἶκον ὅλον αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς συμπράξαντας
 ὑπευθύνους ἐποιεῖτο ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος
 40 ποιναῖς· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ δόξαι παρὰ τὰς πίστεις
 καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους οὓς ἔδωκεν Ἀβεινῆρω τοῦτο εἰργά-
 σθαι. προσέταξε μέντοι γε παντὶ τῷ λαῷ κλαίειν
 καὶ πενθεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς νομιζομένοις τιμᾶν
 αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα περιρρήξαμένω μὲν τὰς ἐσθῆτας

¹ μὴ ins. Cocceji.

² Holwerda: ἐπι codd.

³ ἔργα post φόβῳ hab. codd.: del. Holwerda.

deprived while Abenner received the foremost place from David. From this one may perceive to what lengths of recklessness men will go for the sake of ambition and power, and in order not to let these go to another; for, in their desire to acquire them, they obtain them through innumerable acts of wrongdoing and, in their fear of losing them, they ensure the continuance of their possession by much worse acts, their belief being that it is not so great an evil to fail to obtain a very great degree of authority as to lose it after having become accustomed to the benefits derived therefrom. Since this last would be a surpassing misfortune, they accordingly contrive and attempt even more ruthless deeds, always in fear of losing what they have.^a But concerning such matters it is enough to have discoursed thus briefly.

(6) When David heard that Abenner had been slain, he was grieved in spirit and, with his right hand upraised to God and in a loud voice, called upon all to bear witness that he had had no share in Abenner's murder and that it was not by his command or at his own wish that Abenner had died. He also called down terrible curses^b upon the man who had murdered him and declared his whole house and his accomplices liable to the penalties for having caused his death; for he was concerned that he himself should not seem to have brought this about in violation of the sworn pledges which he had given Abenner. Furthermore, he commanded all the people to weep and mourn for the man and to honour his body with the customary rites by rending their gar-

^a Lit. "all in fear of losing." The text is doubtful.

^b 2 Sam. iii. 29 "Let there not fail from the house of Joab one that has an issue or is a leper or leans on a staff or falls by the sword or lacks bread."

ἐνδύντι δὲ σάκκους, ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν προάγοντας
 41 τὴν κλίνην. αὐτὸς δ’ ἐφείπετο μετὰ τῶν γεγμ-
 ρακότων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις ὄντων κοπτόμενός
 τε καὶ τοῖς δακρύοις ἐνδεικνύμενος τό τε εὔνουν τὸ
 πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι λύπην, καὶ
 42 ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀνήρηται. θάψας
 δ’ αὐτὸν ἐν Χεβρῶνι μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπιταφίους τε
 συγγραφάμενος θρήνους αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου στὰς
 πρῶτος ἀνεκλαύσατο καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἄλλοις.
 οὕτως δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀβεννήρος συνέσχε θάνατος ὡς
 μηδὲ τροφὴν ἀναγκαζόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἔταίρων
 λαβεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὥμοσε γεύσεσθαι¹ μηδενὸς ἕχρι ἡλίου
 43 δυσμῶν. ταῦτ’ εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους
 ἐγέννησεν· οἵ τε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβεννήρον φιλο-
 στόργως διακείμενοι σφόδρ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν
 τιμὴν ἀποθανόντα καὶ φυλακὴν τῆς πίστεως ἡγά-
 πησαν, ὅτι² πάντων αὐτὸν ἀξιώσειεν τῶν νομιζό-
 μένων ὡς συγγενῆ καὶ φίλον, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὡς ἐχθρὸν
 γενόμενον ὑβρίσειν ἀκόσμω ταφῆ καὶ ἡμελημένη.
 τό τε ἄλλο πᾶν ὡς ἐπὶ χρηστῷ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν
 φύσιν ἔχαιρε, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔκαστου λογιζομένου
 πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς ὅμοίοις
 ἦς³ τυγχάνοντα τὸν Ἀβεννήρον νεκρὸν ἔώρα.
 44 πρὸς τούτοις⁴ οὖν μάλιστα Δαυίδην γλίχεσθαι
 δόξης ἀγαθῆς ποιούμενον πρόνοιαν εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν,
 ὡς⁵ οὐθεὶς ὑπενόησεν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φονευθῆναι τὸν
 Ἀβεννήρον· ἔλεξε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλήθος ὡς αὐτῷ

¹ ex Lat. Niese: γεύσασθαι codd.² ἔτι RO: ἔτι δὲ ὅτι conj. Thackeray (vid.).³ Niese: ὅποιοις codd.: ὅποιων ed. pr.: ὅποιας Naber.⁴ πρὸς τούτοις κτλ. corrupta esse susp. Niese.⁵ εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν ὡς conj.: ὡς εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν ὡς M: ἦν εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν
 ὡς SP: ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν RO.

ments and putting on sackcloth, and in this fashion to escort the bier. He himself followed with the elders and those in office, beating his breast and showing by his tears both his affection^a for him when alive and his grief for him in death, and also that the slaying had not been in accordance with his will. He then gave him a magnificent burial in Hebron and composed laments for the dead^b; standing by his grave, he himself first began the wailing which was taken up by the others. So greatly did Abenner's death affect him that he did not take the food which his comrades forced upon him, but swore that he would taste nothing until the setting of the sun. This conduct procured for him the favour of the people, David's grief impresses the people favourably. 2 Sam. iii. 36. for those who held Abenner in affection were greatly pleased with him for honouring the dead man and keeping faith with him, in that he had seen fit to pay him all the customary tributes as if he had been a kinsman and friend, and had not treated him shamefully, as if an enemy, by giving him a bare and neglectful funeral; and all the others rejoiced that he was of so kind and gentle a nature, for each thought he himself would in like circumstances receive from the king the same care that he saw the corpse of Abenner receive.^c Moreover it was quite natural^d that David should desire to merit a good opinion by showing care (for the dead), so that^e no one suspected that Abenner had been murdered by him. He also said to the people that he himself felt more

^a There are reminiscences of Thucydides in this sentence (*ἐν ἡγεμονίαις . . . τὸ εὔνουν*).^b A reference to the brief lament in 2 Sam. iii. 33, 34.^c The last remarks are an addition to Scripture.^d Text doubtful.

μὲν οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα λύπη γένοιτ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τετελευτηκότος, οὐ μικρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἐβραίων πράγμασι βλάβη στερηθέντων τοῦ¹ καὶ συνέχειν αὐτὰ² καὶ σώζειν βουλαῖς τε ἀρίσταις καὶ ρώμη χειρῶν 45 ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις δυναμένουν. “ ἀλλὰ θεὸς μέν,” εἶπεν, “ ὁ μέλει πάντων, οὐκ ἔάσει τοῦτον ἥμιν³ ἀνεκδίκητον· ἔγὼ δὲ ἐπίστασθε ὡς οὐδὲν Ἰώαβον καὶ Ἀβισαΐον τοὺς Σαρούιας παῖδας ποιεῦν ἵκανός εἴμι πλέον ἐμοῦ δυναμένους, ἀλλ’ ἀποδώσει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τετολμημένων αὐτοῖς ἀμοιβὴν τὸ θεῖον.” καὶ Ἀβεινῆρος μὲν εἰς τοιοῦτο κατέστρεψε τέλος τὸν βίον.

46 (ii. 1) Ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς Ἰέβοσθος οὐ πράως ἴνεγκεν ἀνδρὸς ἐστερημένος συγγενοῦς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντος, ἀλλ’ ὑπερεπάθησε καὶ λίαν αὐτὸν ὠδύνησεν ὁ Ἀβεινῆρος θάνατος. ἐπεβίω δ’ οὐδ’ αὐτὸς πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρέμμωνος⁴ νιῶν Βανά,⁵ ἐτέρῳ δὲ Θαηνὸς⁶ ὄνομα ἦν, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. οὗτοι γὰρ ὅντες τὸ μὲν γένος Βενιαμῖται τοῦ δὲ πρώτου τάγματος, λογισάμενοι δὲ ὡς ἂν ἀποκτείνωσι τὸν Ἰέβοσθον μεγάλων παρὰ Δανίδου τεύξονται δωρεῶν, καὶ στρατηγίας ἡ τινος

¹ Niese: αὐτοῦ codd.

² καὶ συνέχειν αὐτὰ om. MSP Lat.

³ ἥμιν MSP.

⁴ Ἐρέμμωνos MSP: Ἐρεμμῶτος E: Remnon Lat.

⁵ Βαναόθα (-ᾶ P) MSP: Βανασθάνου E: Bana (sive Bena) Lat.

⁶ Θαῖνος SP: Θάννος M: Βαῆθου E: Ratha Lat.

^a Josephus properly omits the reference at this point in Scripture (2 Sam. iv. 4) to the laming of Jonathan's son Mephibosheth, with whom Saul's son Ishbosheth is confused.

than passing grief at the death of so good a man, while the fortunes of the Hebrews had suffered a great blow when they were deprived of one who could have held them together and preserved them, both by his excellent counsels and by his bodily strength in time of war. “ But God,” he said, “ who has all things in His care will not let us see this deed go unavenged. As for me, you know that I can do nothing to Joab and Abisai, the sons of Saruia, who are more powerful than I, but the Deity will inflict upon them just punishment for their lawless deed.” In such manner, then, did Abenner meet his end.

(ii. 1) When Saul's son Jebosthos heard of Abenner's passing, he took it not lightly to heart, for he was deprived of a kinsman and one who had procured him the kingship; indeed he suffered exceedingly and was sorely afflicted by Abenner's death. He himself did not long survive,^a but died the victim of a plot by the sons of Eremmōn,^b whose names were Bana^c and Thaēnos.^d These men, who were Benjamites^e by birth and of the foremost rank, reckoned that if they killed Jebosthos they would receive great gifts from David and that their deed would bring them a military command or some other mark of

Assassination of
Saul's son
Ishbosheth
(Jebosthos)
2 Sam. iv. 1

Josephus follows the Hebrew in making Ishbosheth, not Mephibosheth (as in the LXX), the victim of the plot narrated in the following lines.

^b Bibl. Rimmon, LXX 'Ρεμμών.

^c Bibl. Baanah, LXX Βαανά, Luc. Βααλα.

^d Bibl. Rechab (Heb. *Rēkāb*), LXX 'Ρηχάβ. Josephus's form Thaēnos (var. Thaunos, Thannos) is puzzling. I suspect that it has arisen from a careless reading of the Targum, which translates “ the name of the second (son was) Rechab ” by *shum tinyānā* etc.; *tinyānā*, “ second, ” was taken as a proper name and corrupted to Thaēnos etc. in the Greek.

^e From Beeroth (2 Sam. iv. 5).

ἄλλης πίστεως τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἔσται παρ' αὐτῷ
 48 αἴτιον, μόνον εὑρόντες μεσημβρίζοντα καὶ κοιμώ-
 μενον τὸν Ἰέβοσθον καὶ μήτε τοὺς φύλακας παρόν-
 τας μήτε τὴν θυρωρὸν ἐγρηγοροῦνταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν
 ὑπὸ τε τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας, ἥν μετεχειρί-
 ζετο, καὶ τοῦ καύματος εἰς ὅπνον καταπεσοῦσαν,
 παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἐν ᾧ συνέβαινε κατα-
 κεκοιμῆσθαι τὸν Σαούλον παῖδα, κτείνουσιν αὐτὸν.
 49 καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς
 καὶ ἡμέρας ποιησάμενοι τὴν πορείαν, ὡς ἀν φεύ-
 γοντες ἐκ τῶν ἡδικημένων πρὸς τὸν ληφόμενόν
 τε τὴν χάριν καὶ παρέξοντα τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, εἰς
 Χεβρῶνα παρεγένοντο· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιδεί-
 ξαντες τῷ Δαυὶδῃ τὴν Ἰεβόσθου συνίστων αὐτοὺς
 ὡς εὔνους καὶ τὸν ἔχθρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας
 50 ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀνηρηκότας. ὁ δ' οὐχ ὡς ἥλπιζον
 οὗτως αὐτῶν προσεδέξατο τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' εἰπών·
 “ ὡς κάκιστοι καὶ παραχρῆμα δίκην ὑφέξοντες, οὐκ
 ἔγνωτε πῶς ἐγὼ τὸν Σαούλον φονέα καὶ τὸν κομί-
 σαντά μοι τὸν χρυσοῦν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἡμυνάμην,
 καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενον τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἵνα
 51 μὴ συλλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι; ἢ μεταβεβλῆ-
 σθαί με καὶ μηκέτ' εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπωπτεύσατε,
 ὡς χαίρειν κακούργοις ἀνδράσι καὶ χάριτας ἡγή-
 σασθαι τὰς κυριοκτόνους ὑμῶν πράξεις, ἀνηρη-
 κότων ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοίτης ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ
 μηδένα μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργασμένον, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ διὰ
 52 πολλῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς ἐσχηκότα; διὸ δώσετε
 ποινὴν μὲν αὐτῷ κολασθέντες, δίκην δ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ
 νομίσαντας ἡδέως ἔξειν με τὴν Ἰεβόσθου τελευτὴν¹

¹ τῇ . . . τελευτῇ SPE.

confidence from him. So, when they found Jebosthos alone, taking his noonday rest and lying asleep with no guards present and not even the portress awake—she too had fallen asleep as a result of fatigue from the labour she had performed and the heat ^a—they made their way into the particular room where Saul's son lay asleep, and killed him. Then they cut off his head and, travelling a whole night and day ^b with the thought of fleeing from those whom they had wronged to one who would accept their deed as a kindness and offer them security, they came to Hebron. Here they showed the head of Jebosthos to David and presented themselves as his well-wishers, who had removed his enemy and rival for the kingdom. He did not, however, receive their ^{David} ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^{aa} ^{bb} ^{cc} ^{dd} ^{ee} ^{ff} ^{gg} ^{hh} ⁱⁱ ^{jj} ^{kk} ^{ll} ^{mm} ⁿⁿ ^{oo} ^{pp} ^{qq} ^{rr} ^{ss} ^{tt} ^{uu} ^{vv} ^{ww} ^{xx} ^{yy} ^{zz} ^{aa} ^{bb} ^{cc} ^{dd} ^{ee} ^{ff} ^{gg} ^{hh} ⁱⁱ ^{jj} ^{kk} ^{ll} ^{mm} ⁿⁿ ^{oo} ^{pp} ^{qq} ^{rr} ^{ss} ^{tt} ^{uu} ^{vv} ^{ww} ^{xx} ^{yy} ^{zz} ^{aa} ^{bb} ^{cc} ^{dd} ^{ee} ^{ff} ^{gg} ^{hh} ⁱⁱ ^{jj} ^{kk} ^{ll} ^{mm} ⁿⁿ ^{oo} ^{pp} ^{qq} ^{rr} ^{ss} ^{tt} ^{uu} ^{vv} ^{ww} ^{xx} ^{yy} ^{zz} ^{aa} ^{bb} ^{cc} ^{dd} ^{ee} ^{ff} ^{gg} ^{hh} ⁱⁱ ^{jj} ^{kk} ^{ll} ^{mm} ⁿⁿ ^{oo} ^{pp} ^{qq} ^{rr} ^{ss} ^{tt} ^{uu} ^{vv} ^{ww} ^{xx} ^{yy} ^{zz} ^{aa} ^{bb} ^{cc} ^{dd} ^{ee} ^{ff} ^{gg} ^{hh} ⁱⁱ ^{jj} ^{kk} ^{ll} ^{mm} ⁿⁿ ^{oo} ^{pp} ^{qq} ^{rr} ^{ss} ^{tt} ^{uu} ^{vv} ^{ww} ^{xx} ^{yy} ^{zz} ^{aa} ^{bb} ^{cc} ^{dd} ^{ee} ^{ff} ^{gg} ^{hh} ⁱⁱ ^{jj} ^{kk} ^{ll} ^{mm} ⁿⁿ ^{oo} ^{pp} ^{qq} ^{rr} ^{ss} ^{tt} ^{uu} ^{vv} ^{ww} 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τοῦτον ἀνελεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνασθε μᾶλλον ἀδικῆσαι τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν ἡ τοῦθ' ὑπολαβόντες.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν πᾶσαν αἰκίαν αὐτὸὺς αἰκισάμενος διεχρήσατο καὶ τὴν Ἰεβόσθου κεφαλὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀβεννήρου τάφῳ πάντων ἀξιώσας ἐκήδευσε.

53 (2) Τούτων δὲ τοιούτων λαβόντων τέλος ἦκον ἄπαντες οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἐβραίων πρώτοι πρὸς Δαυΐδην εἰς Χεβρῶνα οἵ τε χιλίαρχοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν, καὶ παρεδίδοσαν αὐτούς, τὴν τε εὗνοιαν, ἥν ἔτι καὶ Σαούλον ζῶντος εἶχον πρὸς αὐτόν, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες καὶ τὴν τιμήν, ἥν γενόμενον τότε χιλίαρχον τιμῶντες οὐ διέλιπον, ὅτι τε βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου χειροτονηθείη καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς τὴν Ἐβραίων χώραν αὐτῷ σῶσαι καταγωνισαμένῳ Παλαιστίνους
54 δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐμφανίζοντες. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τε ἀποδέχεται τῆς προθυμίας αὐτούς καὶ παρακαλέσας διαμένειν, οὐ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι μετάνοιαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, καὶ κατευωχήσας καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος ἐπεμψε τὸν λαὸν παρ’ αὐτὸν ἄξοντας
55 ἄπαντα. καὶ συνῆλθον ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ὄπλιτῶν ὡς ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ ἔξακισχίλιοι φοροῦντες ὄπλα θυρεὸν καὶ σιρομάστην· οὗτοι δὲ τῷ Σαούλου παιδὶ παρέμενον· τούτων γὰρ χωρὶς ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ
56 τὸν Δαυΐδην ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Σεμεωνίδος φυλῆς ἐπτάκισχίλιοι καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς

^a Or, less probably, “my thoughts (or “intentions”).” The last sentence is an amplification of Scripture.

^b 2 Sam. iv. 12 “And David commanded his servants and

the belief that I should be glad of his death, for you could not have done my reputation ^a a greater wrong than by supposing such a thing.” When he had so spoken, he inflicted every kind of torture ^b on them and put them to death. The head of Jebosthos he buried in Abenner’s grave with every honour.

(2) When these matters had thus been brought to ^{The tribal leaders pay homage to David at Hebron.} an end, there came to David at Hebron all the principal men of the Hebrew people, the captains of thousands and their leaders,^c and offered themselves to him while reminding him of the loyalty they had shown him when Saul was still alive, and the honour which they had not ceased to pay him since he had become captain of a thousand; they also declared that he had been chosen king by God through the prophet Samuel, together with his sons, and that God had given him power to save the Hebrews’ country by conquering the Philistines. David commended them for their devotion and urged them to continue in it, for, he said, they would have no regrets for so doing. Then, after entertaining them and treating them hospitably, he sent them to bring all the people to him.^d Thereupon there came to him from the tribe of Judah about six thousand eight hundred armed ^{The tribal forces.} men carrying as weapons long shields and barbed lances, who had remained loyal to the son of Saul and had not joined the tribe of Judah in proclaiming David king.^e From the tribe of Simeon came seven thousand one hundred. From the tribe of Levi came

they slew them and cut off their hands and feet and hanged them beside the pool in Hebron.”

^c Scripture says merely “all the tribes of Israel.”

^d David’s reply and the entertainment are not mentioned in Scripture.

^e The last clause is a detail added by Josephus.

Ληονίτιδος τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑπτακόσιοι ἔχοντες ἄρχοντα Ἰώδαμον· μετὰ τούτοις ἦν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σάδωκος σὺν εἴκοσι δύο συγγενέσιν ἡγεμόσιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς ὅπλῖται τετρακισχίλιοι· ἡ γὰρ φυλὴ περιέμενεν ἔτι τῶν τοῦ γένους Σαούλου 57 τινὰ βασιλεύσειν¹ προσδοκῶσα. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἐφραϊμού φυλῆς δισμύριοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι τῶν δυνατωτάτων καὶ κατ' ἵσχυν διαφερόντων. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μανασσήτιδος φυλῆς τοῦ ἡμίσους μύριοι ὀκτακισχίλιοι.² ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰσαχάρου φυλῆς διακόσιοι μὲν οἱ προγυνώσκοντες τὰ μέλλοντα, ὅπλῖται δὲ 58 δισμύριοι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ζαβουλωνίτιδος φυλῆς ὅπλιτῶν ἐπιλέκτων πέντε μυριάδες· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φυλὴ μόνη πᾶσα πρὸς Δαυΐδην συνῆλθεν· οὗτοι πάντες τὸν αὐτὸν ὅπλισμὸν εἶχον τοῖς τῆς Ἰούδα³ φυλῆσι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Νεφθαλίτιδος φυλῆς ἐπίσημοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες χίλιοι ὅπλοις χρώμενοι θυρεῷ καὶ δόρατι, ἥκολούθει δ' ἡ φυλὴ ἀναρίθμητος οὖσα. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Δανίτιδος φυλῆς ἐκλεκτοὶ δισμύριοι ἑπτακισχίλιοι ἔξακόσιοι. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀσήρου φυλῆς μυριάδες τέσσαρες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν δύο φυλῶν τῶν πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς Μανασσήτιδος φυλῆς

¹ ex Lat. Niese: βασιλεύσαι codd.

² + τῶν δυνατωτάτων ROSPE.

³ Reinach: Γαλάδου Ο: Γάδου rell.: Gath Lat.

^a 4600 according to Scripture. Josephus omits the 3700 of the house of Aaron under Jehoiada (*cf.* next note).

^b Bibl. Jehoiada (Heb. *Yehôyâdâ'*), LXX Ἰωάδης, Ἰωδαῖς κτλ.

^c 3000 according to Scripture.

^d 2 Chron. xii. 33 "men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel should do."

^e Heb. "their leaders were two hundred and all their

four thousand seven hundred^a with Jōdamos^b commanding; among them were the high priest Sadok and twenty-two kinsmen as leaders. From the tribe of Benjamin came four^c thousand armed men; for (the rest of) the tribe hesitated in the expectation that someone of the family of Saul would still be king. From the tribe of Ephraim came twenty thousand eight hundred of the ablest and exceptionally powerful men. From the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand. From the tribe of Issachar came two hundred who could foretell the future,^d and twenty thousand^e armed men. From the tribe of Zabulon came fifty thousand picked men, for this tribe was the only one which joined David as a whole.^f All these had the same armour as the tribe of Judah.^g From the tribe of Naphtali came a thousand eminent men and leaders whose weapons were shield and spear, and (the rest of) the tribe which followed was innumerable.^h From the tribe of Dan came twenty-seven thousand six hundredⁱ picked men. From the tribe of Asher came forty thousand. From the two tribes across the Jordan^k and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh came a hundred brothers were at their commandment" (?*'al pîhem*). Possibly Josephus has taken the words *'al pîhem* to mean "in proportion to them" and assumed that the proportion is 100 to 1. Weill suggests that Josephus read *'esrîm 'aleph*, "20,000," instead of *'al pîhem*. The LXX has merely "200, and all their brothers were with them."

^j Apparently an interpretation of the obscure Heb. text of 1 Chron. xii. 34 "to fight without heart and heart," which some rabbinic commentators explain as "with singleness of mind."

^l Reinach's plausible emendation for "Gad," which has not yet been mentioned.

^m 37,000 according to Scripture.

ⁿ Heb. 28,600, LXX 28,800.

^o Reuben and Gad.

ώπλισμένων θυρεὸν καὶ δόρυ καὶ περικεφαλαίαν καὶ ρομφαίαν μυριάδες δώδεκα· καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ^¹ 60 φυλαὶ ρομφαίαις ἔχρωντο. τοῦτο δὴ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς Χεβρῶνα πρὸς Δανίδην συνῆλθε μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς σιτίων καὶ οἶνου καὶ τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν πάντων, καὶ μιᾶ γυνώμῃ βασιλεύειν τὸν Δανίδην ἐκύρωσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἑορτάσαντος τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ κατευωχθέντος ἐν Χεβρῷν, ὁ Δανίδης μετὰ πάντων ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

61 (iii. 1) Τῶν δὲ κατοικούντων τὴν πόλιν Ἱερουσαίμων, γένος δ' εἰσὶν οὗτοι Χαναναίων, ἀποκλεισάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς πεπηρωμένους τὰς ὅψεις καὶ τὰς βάσεις καὶ πᾶν τὸ λελωβημένον στησάντων ἐπὶ χλεύη τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους καὶ λεγόντων κωλύσειν^² αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν τοὺς ἀναπήρους, ταῦτα δ' ἐπραττον καταφρονοῦντες τῇ τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι, ὀργισθεὶς πολιορκεῖν ἥρξατο τὰ 62 Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρησάμενος ὡς διὰ τοῦ ταύτην ἐλεύν εὐθὺς ἐμφανίσων^³ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ καταπληξόμενος εἴ τινες ἄρα καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τρόπον διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτόν, λαμβάνει κατὰ κράτος τὴν κάτω πόλιν. 63 ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἄκρας λειπομένης ἔγνω τιμῆς ὑποσχέσει καὶ γερῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς προθυμοτέρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τοὺς στρατιώτας παρασκευάσαι, καὶ τῷ διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων φαράγγων ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἀναβάντι

^¹ δὲ ex Lat. ins. Niese. ^² Niese: κωλύειν codd.

^³ Ernesti: ἐμφανίζων codd.

^a 1 Chron. xii. 37 “with all weapons of an army in war.”
^b καταφρονεῖν with the dat. has this peculiar force in Josephus. The details about the cripples on the wall are added by Josephus, who takes literally the Jebusites’ state-
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and twenty thousand, armed with shield, spear, helmet and sword.^a The other tribes also used swords. All this multitude, then, assembled before David at Hebron, with a great supply of grain, wine and all sorts of food, and with one voice confirmed David as king. For three days the people feasted and made good cheer at Hebron, and then David with all of them departed from there and came to Jerusalem.

(iii. 1) But the Jebusites who inhabited the city and were of the Canaanite race shut their gates against him and placed on the wall those who had lost an eye or a leg or were crippled in any way, to mock at the king; these cripples, they said, would prevent him from entering, and they so acted because of their sublime confidence^b in the strength of their walls. David’s wrath, however, was aroused and he began to besiege Jerusalem. By displaying great zeal and ardour in order to show his strength at once by the capture of the city, and to strike terror into any others who might treat him in the same manner as the Jebusites had done, he took the lower^c city by force. As the citadel^d still remained, the king decided to increase his soldiers’ ardour for their task by the promise of honour and rewards, and offered to give to any man who should climb up to the citadel

ment in 2 Sam. v. 6, “ thou shalt not come in hither unless thou remove the blind and the lame, thinking ‘ David shall not come in hither ’.”

^a Probably the southern part of the eastern hill of Jerusalem. The topography of ancient Jerusalem is still uncertain. This “lower city” is not mentioned in Scripture.

^b The LXX, like Josephus, has ἄκρα for Heb. *meṣudāh* (A.V. “stronghold”), called “the City of David.” This was probably north of the lower city, mentioned above, although Josephus, B.J. v. 137, identifies it with the S.W. hill, the upper agora, as did early Christian tradition.

David captures
Jerusalem
from the
Jebusites.
2 Sam. v. 6;
1 Chron.
xi. 4.

καὶ ταύτην ἐλόντι στρατηγίαν ἀπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ
 64 δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο. πάντων δὲ φιλοτιμουμένων
 ἀναβῆναι καὶ μηδένα πόνον ὀκνούντων ὑφίστασθαι
 δι' ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς στρατηγίας, ὁ Σαρονίας πᾶς
 Ἰώαβος ἔφθη τοὺς ἄλλους, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐβόήσε
 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀπαιτῶν.
 65 (2) Ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἰεβουσαίους ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνοικοδομήσας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, πόλιν
 αὐτὴν Δαυΐδου προσηγόρευσε, καὶ τὸν ἀπαντα
 χρόνον ἐν αὐτῇ διέτριβε βασιλεύων. ὁ δὲ χρόνος
 ὃν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἦρξε μόνης ἐν Χεβρῶνι
 ἐγένετο ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ μῆνες ἔξ. ἀποδείξας δὲ
 βασιλείου τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα λαμπροτέροις αἰεὶ καὶ
 μᾶλλον ἔχρητο τοὺς πράγμασι, τοῦ θεοῦ προνοου-
 μένου κρείττῳ ποιεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐπίδοσιν.
 66 πέμψας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ Εἴρωμος¹ ὁ Τυρίων
 βασιλεὺς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν συνέθετο· ἐπειψε
 δ' αὐτῷ καὶ δωρεὰς ἔνδια κέδρινα καὶ τεχνίτας
 ἄνδρας τέκτονας καὶ οἰκοδόμους, οἵ κατασκευά-
 σειαν² βασιλείου ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Δαυΐδης δὲ τὴν
 τε κάτω³ πόλιν περιλαβὼν⁴ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν συνάψας
 αὐτῇ ἐποίησεν ἐν σώμα, καὶ περιτειχίσας ἐπιμελη-
 67 τὴν τῶν τειχῶν κατέστησεν Ἰώαβον. πρῶτος οὖν
 Δαυΐδης τοὺς Ἰεβουσαίους ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκ-
 βαλὼν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσε τὴν πόλιν· ἐπὶ
 γὰρ Ἀβράμου τοῦ προγόνου ἡμῶν Σόλυμα ἐκα-

¹ VE: Ἰέρωμος (I. R) RO: Χείραμος SP: Εἴρωμος M: Chiram Lat.

² κατεσκεύασαν RO Lat.

³ SP: ἀνω rell. E Lat.

⁴ παραλαβὼν E: muniens Lat.

* Bibl. Hiram or Huram (Chron.), LXX Χειράμ.

from the valley that lay beneath it and capture it, the command of all the people in war. They all vied with each other to make the climb and, in their desire for the post of commander, did not draw back from facing any difficulty, but Joab, the son of Saruia,^{1 Chron xi. 6.} outdistanced the others and, when he had reached the top, shouted to the king, claiming the office of commander.

(2) When David had driven the Jebusites out of the Jerusalem citadel and had himself rebuilt Jerusalem, he called it fortified by David. ^{2 Sam. v. 9} the City of David and continued to dwell in it for the whole length of time that he reigned. Now the time that he ruled over the tribe of Judah alone at Hebron was seven years and six months. But after he had chosen Jerusalem for his royal residence, he enjoyed ever more brilliant fortune because of God's provident care in enhancing it and causing it to increase. Eirōmos^a also, the king of Tyre, wrote to him, proposing friendship and alliance, and sent him gifts of cedar wood and skilled men as carpenters and builders to construct a palace in Jerusalem. And David enclosed the lower city^b and joined it to the citadel so as to form one whole,^c and, having put a wall around this, appointed Joab keeper of the walls. Thus David, who was the first to drive the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, named the city after himself^d; for in the time of our forefather Abraham it was called

^b Variant "upper city." In view of the uncertainty as to the ancient topography, it is difficult to establish Josephus's text on the basis of 2 Sam. v. 9, "And David built around from Millo and inwards." The meaning and location of "Millo" are not certain. Probably Scripture means that David joined the northern part of the E. hill (the citadel) to the southern spur, the Ophel (the lower city).

^c Lit. "body."

^d i.e. "the city of David" (1 Kings iii. 1 et al.).

λεῖτο, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτὴν¹ ὡνόμασεν 'Ιεροσόλυμα· τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν² κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραιῶν γλώτταν ὡνόμασε 68 τὰ Σόλυμα³ ὃ ἐστιν ἀσφάλεια. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ Χανανίους στρατείας καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, καθ' ὃν κρατήσας αὐτῶν κατένειμε ταύτην τοὺς Ἐβραίους καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς Χαναναίους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐδυνήθησαν οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται, μέχρις ὃ Δαυΐδης αὐτοὺς ἐξεπολιόρκησεν, ἔτη πεντακόσια καὶ δέκα καὶ πέντε.

69 (3) Ποιήσομαι δὲ καὶ μνήμην Ὀρόννα⁴ πλουσίου μὲν ἀνδρὸς τῶν Ἱεβουσαίων, οὐκ ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίᾳ ὑπὸ Δαυΐδου διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἐβραίους εὑνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τινα καὶ χάριν καὶ σπουδὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν γενομένην τὸν

¹ post αὐτὴν] φασὶ τινες δτι καὶ "Ομηρος ταῦτ" add. codd.

² ἱεροῦ RO: ἱερὸν (τὰ) Σόλυμα MSP.

³ τὰ Σόλυμα om. MSP.

⁴ Hudson (cf. § 329): Ὀρφόνα M: Ὀρφνᾶ ROSPLV: Orfin Lat.

^a "But afterwards" etc.: text doubtful. The mss. read "but some say that afterwards Homer called it Hierosolyma"; these words are probably a gloss, although in *Ap.* i. 172 f. Josephus, quoting from the Greek poet Choerilus (a contemporary of Herodotus), who alludes to the "Solymian hills" after Homer (*Od.* v. 283), identifies them with Jerusalem. In view of the reference in *B.J.* vi. 438 f. (cf. also *A.* i. 180) to Melchizedek, who "gave the city, previously called Solyma, the name of Jerusalem," Niese (*Praef.* vol. i. p. xxxii) has reconstructed the present passage as follows: μετὰ ταῦτα δ' αὐτὴν Μελχισεδέκης ὃ τῶν Χαναναίων δυνάστης τειχίσας καὶ ἀσφαλισάμενος Ἱεροσόλυμα ὡνόμασε· τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραιῶν γλώτταν ἐστιν ἀσφάλεια, "afterwards Melchisedekēs, the ruler of the Canaanites, built walls around it and made it secure, and called it Hierosolyma, for *hierou* in Hebrew means 'security.'" Niese questions

Solyma, but afterwards they named it Hierosolyma, calling the temple (*hieron*) Solyma, which, in the Hebrew tongue, means "security."^a Now the whole period from the time of Joshua, the commander of the expedition and war against the Canaanites in which he conquered them and apportioned this (city) to the Hebrews^b—although the Israelites were not able to drive the Canaanites out of Jerusalem—until David took it from them by siege, was five hundred and fifteen years.^c

(3) I shall also make mention here of Oronnas,^d who was a wealthy Jebusite but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem because of his friendliness to the Hebrews and also because of a certain kindness and devotion to the king himself which I shall

the genuineness of the reference to the temple (*ἱερὸν*) in our text, but it is difficult to believe that Josephus connected *hierou* (as Niese gives it), rather than Solyma, with the Hebrew word for "security," i.e. *shālōm*.

^b Jos. x. 5 ff.

^c This figure agrees with that in *A.* viii. 61, where Josephus reckons 592 years from the Exodus to the building of the temple in Solomon's fourth year (Scripture gives 480 years for this period, 1 Kings vi. 1); if we subtract from 592 the sum of 77 years (40 years for the activity of Moses + 33 years for David's reign in Jerusalem + 4 years for the reign of Solomon before the building of the temple), we get the above figure of 515 years for the period between the conquest of Canaan by Joshua and the conquest of Jerusalem by David. But Josephus has no consistent scheme of Biblical chronology, for in *A.* xx. 230 and *Ap.* ii. 19 he gives 612 instead of 592 years for the interval between the Exodus and the building of the temple. Moreover, Weill finds that the figures given in *A.* bks. v.-vii. for the various judges and rulers between Joshua and Solomon add up to only 504½ years.

^d Bibl. Arauna (Chron. Ornan), lxx 'Ὀρνα. Scripture first mentions him in 2 Sam. xxiv. 16.

βασιλέα, ἦν μικρὸν ὕστερον εὐκαιρότερον σημανῶ.
 70 ἔγημε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας γυναικας πρὸς τὰς οὖσαις
 αὐτῷ Δαυίδης καὶ παλλακὰς ἔσχεν. ἐποιήσατο δὲ
 καὶ παῖδας ἔνδεκα¹ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, οὓς προσηγόρευεν
 Ἀμασέ, Ἀμνοῦ, Σεβάν, Νάθαν, Σολομῶνα, Ἰεβαρῆ,
 Ἐλιήν, Φαλναγέην, Ναφήν, Ἰεναέ, Ἐλιφαλέ,² ἔτι
 δὲ καὶ θυγατέρα Θαμάραν. τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐννέα
 ἔξι εὐγενίδων ἦσαν γεγονότες, οὓς δὲ τελευταίους
 εἰρήκαμεν δύο ἐκ τῶν παλλακίδων. Θαμάρα δὲ
 ὅμοιμήτριος Ἀφαλώμῳ ἦν.

71 (iv. 1) Γνόντες δ' οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τὸν Δαυίδην
 βασιλέα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀποδεδειγμένον στρα-
 τεύοντιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· καὶ κατα-
 λαβόμενοι τὴν κοιλάδα τῶν Γιγάντων³ καλουμένην,
 τόπος δέ ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν αὐτῇ
 72 στρατοπεδεύονται. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς
 (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄνευ προφητείας καὶ τοῦ κελεῦσαι τὸν
 θεὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων λαβεῖν ἐγγυητὴν
 ἐκεῖνον ἔαυτῷ ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν) ἐκέλευσε τὸν
 ἀρχιερέα τί δοκεῖ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ποδαπὸν ἔσται τὸ
 73 τέλος τῆς μάχης προλέγειν αὐτῷ. προφητεύσαντος
 δὲ νίκην καὶ κράτος ἔξαγει τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοὺς

¹ ed. pr.: ἐννέα codd.

² Ἀμασέ . . . Ἐλιφαλέ] cf. Hudson ad loc.: "innumeris et monstrosas illorum varietates . . . referre piget."

³ Τιτάνων SP.

^a §§ 329 ff.

It is impossible to restore the correct forms of these names in Josephus's text, except those of Nathan and Solomon. Moreover, three separate lists are found in Scripture and neither in the Hebrew nor in the Greek do the various lists exactly agree. It may suffice to give the Biblical forms found in the first passage, 2 Sam. v. 14: Shammua, Shobab, Nathan, Solomon, Ibhar, Elishua, Nepheg, Japhia, Elishama,

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point out a little later in a more suitable place.^a Now David married still other wives in addition to David's children. sons whom he named Amase, Amnū, Seba, Nathan, 1 Chron. iii. 5. Solomon, Jebarē, Eliēs, Phalnageēs, Naphēs, Jenaē, xiv. 4. Eliphale,^b and also a daughter, Thamara.^c Of these nine were the offspring of well-born mothers, but the two last mentioned, of concubines.^d Thamara had the same mother as Absalom.

(iv. 1) When the Philistines learned that David had been chosen by the Hebrews as their king, they marched against him to Jerusalem and, when they had taken the so-called Valley of the Giants^e—this is a place not far from the city,—they encamped there. But the king of the Jews, who permitted himself to do nothing without an oracle and a command from God and without having Him as surety for the future, ordered the high priest^f to foretell to him what was God's pleasure and what the outcome of the battle would be; and when he prophesied a decisive victory,^g David led his force out against the

Eliada, Elipelet. The two lists in Chron. repeat Elipelet and add Nogah, giving 13 names.

^a Bibl. Tamar, LXX Θαμάρ, Θημάρ.

^b Scripture implies that none of the eleven were sons of concubines, 1 Chron. iii. 9 "all these were the sons of David beside the sons of the concubines." The preceding verse, however, ends with the word "nine" (wrongly reckoning the number of sons), and Josephus apparently took it to refer to the number of well-born sons.

^c So the LXX in Chronicles; in Samuel the LXX has Τιτάνων (cf. the variant in Josephus); bibl. Valley of Rephaim. Rephaim was traditionally taken to mean "giants."^h The site is probably the modern *el Buqeī'a*, the plain S.W. of Jerusalem.

^f In Scripture David consults God directly.

^g Lit. "victory and mastery." This phrase occurs several times in the early books of the *Antiquities*.

Παλαιστίνους· καὶ γενομένης συμβολῆς αὐτὸς κατόπιν αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσὼν τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέψατο.
 74 ὑπολάβῃ δὲ μηδεὶς ὀλίγην τὴν τῶν Παλαιστίνων στρατιὰν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους τῷ τάχει τῆς ήττης καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔργον ἐπιδείξασθαι γενναῖον μηδὲ μαρτυρίας ἄξιον στοχαζόμενος αὐτῶν τὴν βραδυτήτα καὶ τὴν ἀγέννειαν, ἀλλὰ γινωσκέτω Συρίαν τε ἄπασαν καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ μάχιμα συστρατεῦσαι αὐτοῖς
 75 καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κοινωνῆσαι· ὁ καὶ μόνον ἦν αἴτιον τοσαντάκις αὐτοῖς νικωμένοις καὶ πολλὰς ἀποβαλοῦσι μυριάδας μετὰ μείζονος ἐπιέναι τοὺς Ἐβραίους δυνάμεως. ἀμέλει καὶ ταύταις πταίσαντες ταῖς μάχαις τριπλάσιος στρατὸς ἐπῆλθε τῷ Δανίδῃ καὶ εἰς ταύτῳ χωρίον ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο.
 76 πάλιν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐρομένου τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν μάχην ἔξόδου, προφητεύει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσι τοῖς καλουμένοις Κλαυθμῶσι κατέχειν τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκ ἄπωθεν¹ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου, κινεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ πρότερον μηδὲ ἀρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης, πρὶν ἢ τὰ
 77 ἄλση σαλεύεσθαι μὴ πνέοντος ἀνέμου. ὡς δὲ ἐσαλεύθη τὰ ἄλση καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ὃν αὐτῷ προείπεν ὁ θεὸς παρῆν, οὐδὲν ἐπισχὼν ἐφ' ἔτοιμην ἥδη καὶ φανερὰν ἔξηλθε τὴν νίκην· οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν αὐτὸν

¹ + μὲν οὖσι MSP Lat.: + οὖσι E.

^a According to Scripture, it was in the second battle with the Philistines (described below) that David took them by surprise in the rear.

^b The participation of other nations in the war is an invention of Josephus.

^c Unscriptural detail.

^d Cf. § 72 note.

Philistines. At the first encounter he fell suddenly upon the enemy's rear,^a slew part of them and put the rest to flight. Let no one, however, suppose that it was a small army of Philistines that came against the Hebrews, or infer from the swiftness of their defeat or from their failure to perform any courageous or noteworthy act that there was any reluctance or cowardice on their part; on the contrary, it should be known that all Syria and Phoenicia and beside them many other warlike nations fought along with them and took part in the war.^b It was for this reason alone that, after having been defeated so often and lost so many tens of thousands, they attacked the Hebrews with a larger force. In fact, after their discomfiture in these battles, they came ^{2 Sam. v. 22;} ^{David's second victory over the Philistines.} ^{1 Chron. xiv. 13.} against David with an army three times as large,^c and encamped on the same site. Again the Israelites' king inquired of God concerning the issue of the battle, and the high priest ^d gave the prophetic warning to hold his army in the so-called Weeping Groves^e not far from the enemy's camp, and not to move nor begin battle until the grove should be agitated with no wind blowing. And, when the grove was agitated and the moment came which God had foretold to him,^f he delayed no longer but went out to seize the victory which he saw awaiting him. The enemy's

^e So the LXX, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλσους τοῦ κλαυθμῶσι, translating Heb. *mimmūl bekā'īm* "opposite the balsam(?)-trees" (A.V. "mulberry-trees") as if *bekā'īm* were from the root *bkh* "to weep." The Targum and other versions correctly take *bekā'īm* as a kind of tree, as does the LXX in Chronicles, *πλησίον τῶν ἀπίων* "near the pear-trees."

^f 2 Sam. v. 24 "when thou hearest the sound of marching in the tops of the balsam-trees, then thou shalt bestir thyself, for then is the Lord gone out before thee to smite the camp of the Philistines."

αἱ τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγες, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς τραπέντας ἐνέκειτο κτείνων· καὶ διώκει μὲν αὐτοὺς ἄχρι πόλεως Γαζάρων, ἡ δ' ἐστὶν ὅρος αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας, διαρπάζει δ' αὐτῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ πολὺν εύρων ἐν αὐτῇ πλοῦτον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε.

78 (2) Τοιαύτης δ' ἀποβάσης καὶ ταύτης τῆς μάχης² ἔδοξε Δαυίδη συμβουλευσαμένῳ μετὰ τῶν γερόντων καὶ ἥγεμόνων καὶ χιλιάρχων μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἐπειτα τοὺς ἵερεῖς καὶ Λησούίτας³ πορευθέντας εἰς Καριαθιάριμα μετακομίσαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κιβωτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ θρησκεύειν ἐν αὐτῇ λοιπὸν ἔχοντας αὐτὴν θυσίας 79 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς, αἷς χαίρει τὸ θεῖον· εἰ γὰρ ἔτι Σαούλον βασιλεύοντος τοῦτ' ἐπραξαν, οὐκ ἀν δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἐπαθον. συνελθόντος οὖν τοῦ λαοῦ παντός, καθὼς ἐβούλεύσαντο, παραγίνεται ὁ βασι λεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, ἦν βαστάσαντες⁴ ἐκ τῆς Ἀμιναδάβου οἰκίας οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐπιθέντες ἐφ' ἄμαξαν καινὴν ἔλκειν ἀδελφοῖς τε καὶ παισὶν ἐπ 80 ἐτρεψαν μετὰ τῶν βοῶν. προήγε δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ

¹ διαρπάσας M: εἴτα διαρπάσας SP: διαρπάσας δὲ E.

² τοιαύτης . . . μάχης] τοιούτου δ' ἀποβάντος καὶ ταύτης τῆς μάχης τέλος MSP.

³ + καὶ codd.
⁴ E Suidas: βαστάζοντες RO: βαστάζαντες MSP.

^a Bibl. Gezer, cf. A. v. 83 note.

^b The plundering of the camp is a detail added by Josephus. Moreover, Scripture mentions the Philistine gods (Heb. "idols") only in connexion with the first battle. According to 1 Chron. xiv. 12 (cf. the Targum on 2 Sam. v. 21) David burnt them.

^c In mentioning the council of elders, etc., Josephus follows Chronicles. 2 Samuel merely says that he collected 30,000 (LXX 70,000) chosen men.

lines did not stand up under his attack but from the very first encounter were routed, with David close behind, slaughtering them. He pursued them as far as the city of Gazara,^a which is the border of their country, and, when he plundered their camp, found in it great wealth ; he also destroyed their gods.^b

(2) But when this battle also had come to such an end, David, after consulting with the elders, leaders and captains of thousands, decided to summon to him those of his countrymen throughout the entire land who were in the prime of life,^c and then have the priests and Levites proceed to Kariathjarim^d to take the ark of God from there and bring it to Jerusalem ; there they should in future keep it and worship the Deity with such sacrifices and other forms of homage as are pleasing to Him, for, he believed, if they had done this while Saul was still reigning, they would not have suffered any misfortune.^e So then, when all the people had assembled in accordance with this plan, the king came to the ark, and the priests carried it out of the house of Aminadab^f and placed it upon a new wagon which they permitted his brothers and sons^g to draw with the help of oxen. Before it went

^a Bibl. Kirjath Jearim, cf. A. vi. 17.

^b The thought here attributed to David is an amplification of 1 Chron. xiii. 3.

^c Bibl. Abinadab, cf. A. vi. 18 note.

^d 2 Sam. vi. 3 "and Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, drove the new cart." Josephus follows the LXX in reading 'ehaw "his brothers" for 'Ahyō "Ahio" (the two forms are identical in the consonantal text). The LXX also repeats the phrase οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ "his brothers," meaning Uzzah's, but Josephus takes the αὐτοῦ to refer to Abinadab, Uzzah's father. Finally, the omission of Uzzah's name at this point in Josephus's text may be due to a lacuna, as Niese suspects.

The ark is brought to Jerusalem.

² Sam. vi. 1;
1 Chron. xiii. 1.

πᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἄδοντες πᾶν εἶδος μέλους ἐπιχώριον σύν τε ἥχῳ ποικίλῳ κρουσμάτων τε καὶ ὄρχήσεων καὶ φαλμῶν ἔτι δὲ σάλπιγγος καὶ κυμβάλων κατάγοντες τὴν 81 κιβωτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὡς δ' ἦχρι τῆς Χειδῶνος¹ ἄλωνος, τόπου τινὸς οὗτῳ καλουμένου, προηλθον, τελευτῇ Ὁζᾶς κατ' ὄργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ· τῶν βοῶν γὰρ ἐπινευσάντων τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐκτείναντα τὴν χεῖρα καὶ κατασχεῖν ἐθελήσαντα, ὅτι μὴ ὧν ἱερεὺς ἦψατο 82 ταύτης, ἀποθανεῖν ἐποίησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐδυσφόρησαν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Ὁζᾶ, ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἐτελεύτησεν Ὁζᾶ² διακοπὴ καλεῖται. δείσας δ' ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ λογισάμενος μὴ ταύτῳ πάθῃ τῷ Ὁζᾷ δεξάμενος τὴν κιβωτὸν παρ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκείνου διότι μόνον ἐξέτεινε τὴν 83 χεῖρα πρὸς αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀποθανόντος, οὐκ εἰσδέχεται μὲν αὐτὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐκνεύσας εἰς τι χωρίον ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, Ὁβαδάρου³ ὄνομα Ληούίτου τὸ γένος, παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν κιβωτὸν τίθησιν· ἔμεινε δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας αὐτόθι καὶ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ὁβαδάρου ηὔξησε τε καὶ πολλῶν 84 αὐτῷ μετέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν Ὁβαδάρῳ καὶ ἐκ τῆς προ-

¹ Χειδῶνος RO: Χήλωνος E: Χειδῶνος S Exc. Suidas: Χειδῶνος P: Chedon Lat.

² ἔτι νῦν Ὁζᾶ MSP Lat.

³ Βαδάρου SP¹: Ὁβαδάμου ME: Ὁβεδάμου Exc.: Obidam Lat.

^a So the Hebrew in 1 Chron. xiii. 9 (some LXX mss. have Χειλῶν; cf. the variant in Josephus). In 2 Sam. vi. 6 the Hebrew has Nachon; LXX Νωδάβ, Ναχώρ. It is probable that Nachon (*Nakón*) is not a proper name but a passive (niphil) ptc. of the verb *kún* and means "prepared" or the like, as the Targum renders it.

the king and all the people with him, chanting in praise of God and singing all manner of native melodies; thus, with the mingled sounds of stringed instruments and with dancing and singing to the harp, as well as with trumpets and cymbals, they escorted the ark to Jerusalem. When they had come as far as the threshing-floor of Cheidōn^a—so the place was called,—Ozas^b met his death through the wrath of God, for, when the oxen tilted the ark forward, he stretched out his hand in an attempt to hold it in place and, because he had touched it though not a priest, God caused his death.^c Both the king and his people were displeased at the death of Ozas,^d David, therefore, fearful at the thought that he might suffer the same fate as Ozas if he received the ark into his house in the city, since the former had perished in this way merely because he had stretched out his hand toward it, did not bring it into his house in the city; instead he brought it elsewhere to a certain place belonging to a righteous man named Obadaros,^e a Levite^f by descent, and deposited the ark with him. It remained there for three whole months and brought increase to Obadaros's house, and for himself procured great good. But when the king heard what had befallen Obadaros, and that from his former poverty and

^a Bibl. Uzzah, LXX Ὁζά.

^b This explanation of Uzzah's death is not given in Scripture, but is derived by Josephus, as by the rabbis, from the Mosaic prescriptions, Num. iv. 5 ff., concerning the duties of priests and Levites in transporting the ark.

^c Bibl. Perez-Uzzah. Josephus follows the LXX in translating Perez (*Peres*) "breach" by διακοπὴ.

^d Bibl. Obed-Edom, LXX Ἀβεδδαρά, Luc. Ἀβεδδαδάν.

^e According to 1 Chron. xv. 18. In 2 Sam. vi. 10 he is called a Gittite, i.e. a native of Gath.

Death of
Uzzah
(Ozas).
² Sam. vi. 6;
¹ Chron.
xiii. 9.

The ark is
left with
Obad-Edom
(Obadaros)
for three
months.
² Sam. vi. 10;
¹ Chron.
xiii. 13.

τέρας¹ πενίας καὶ ταπεινότητος ἀθρόως εὐδαιμών καὶ ζηλωτὸς γέγονε παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ὄρωσι καὶ πυνθανομένοις τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, θαρσήσας ὡς οὐδενὸς κακοῦ πειρασόμενος τὴν κιβωτὸν πρὸς 85 αὐτὸν μετακομίζει, τῶν μὲν ἱερέων βασταζόντων αὐτήν, ἐπτὰ δὲ χορῶν οὓς διεκόσμησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς προαγόντων, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐν κινύρᾳ παιζόντος καὶ κροτοῦντος, ὥστε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Μιχάλην² Σαούλου δὲ θυγατέρα τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἴδουσαν αὐτὸν 86 τοῦτο ποιοῦντα χλευάσαι. εἰσκομίσαντες δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν τιθέασιν ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνήν, ἦν Δαυίδης ἔπηξεν αὐτῇ,³ καὶ θυσίας τελείας⁴ καὶ εἱρηνικὰς ἀνήνεγκε, καὶ τὸν ὄχλον εἰστίασε πάντα καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ νηπίοις διαδοὺς κολλυρίδα ἄρτου καὶ ἐσχαρίτην καὶ λάγανον τηγανιστὸν καὶ μερίδα θύματος. καὶ τὸν μὲν λαὸν οὕτως κατευωχήσας ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν αὐτοῦ παραγίνεται.

87 (3) Παραστᾶσα δὲ αὐτῷ Μιχάλη ἡ γυνὴ Σαούλου δὲ θυγάτηρ τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ κατηγύχετο καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἢτει πάνθ' ὅσα παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν εὔμενει τυγχάνοντι, καὶ δὴ κατεμέμφατο ὡς ἀκοσμήσειν ὀρχούμενος ὁ τηλικοῦτος βασιλεὺς

¹ τῆς προτέρας om. ROM Exc.

² Μελχάλην RE: Μελχόλην SP Lat. hic et infra.

³ post αὐτῇ lacunam statuit Niese haud recte.

⁴ τελείας] τε ἐπετέλεσε πολυτελεῖς (om. τε Exc.) MSP Exc.: πολυτελῶς E: copiosas Lat.

^a An amplification of 2 Sam. vi. 11 “and the Lord blessed Obed-Edom and all his house.”

^b Josephus here follows the order of 2 Sam.; in 1 Chron. the narrative of the ark's entry is preceded by an account of 404

humble station he had all at once risen to prosperity and become an object of envy to all those who saw his house or heard about it,^a he was encouraged in the belief that he would suffer no harm, and removed the ark to his own house.^b It was carried by the priests and these were preceded by seven choirs^c whom the king had marshalled, while he himself played the harp and loudly plucked its strings,^d so that Michalē,^e the daughter of Saul the first king, laughed mockingly to see him act in this way. Then they brought the ark into the city and placed it under a tent which David had set up for it, and he sacrificed whole burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and feasted the people, distributing among men, women and children twists of bread, ash-baked bread, fried mealcakes and a portion of the sacrifice.^f Having thus entertained the people, he dismissed them, while he himself went to his own home.

(3) Then Michalē his wife, the daughter of Saul,^{Michal rebukes David.} came to his side and invoked blessings upon him and also asked of God that all those things should be granted him which He in His graciousness might bestow.^g None the less, she reproached him for his unseemly behaviour in dancing—so great a king as

Hiram's embassy, David's family, and the preparation of the Levites (1 Chron. xiv.–xv. 24).

^c So the LXX, 2 Sam. vi. 13; the Heb. has something quite different, “And when those who bore the ark had gone six paces, they sacrificed an ox and a fatling”; 1 Chron. xv. 26 “those who bore the ark sacrificed seven bullocks and seven rams.”

^d Or perhaps “stamped his feet.”

^e Bibl. Michal, cf. § 25 note.

^f The last is a detail added by Josephus.

^g Scripture says nothing of Michal's blessing, but merely that she came to meet David and reproached him for his unseemly conduct.

David dances before the ark.
2 Sam. vi. 14

καὶ γυμνούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ὄρχήσεως καὶ ἐν δούλοις
 88 καὶ ἐν θεραπαινίσιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ αἰδεῖσθαι ταῦτα
 ποιήσας εἰς τὸ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον ἔφασκεν,
 ὃς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀπάντων προετίμησε· παίξειν τε πολλάκις καὶ χορεύ-
 σειν,¹ μηδένα τοῦ δόξαι ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν αἰσχρὸν
 89 καὶ αὐτῇ τὸ γινόμενον ποιησάμενος λόγον. ἡ δὲ
 Μιχάλη αὕτη Δαυΐδη μὲν συνοικοῦσα πᾶδας οὐκ
 ἐποιήσατο, γαμηθεῖσα δὲ ὕστερον ὥπερ παρέδωκεν
 αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ Σαοῦλος, τότε δὲ ἀποσπάσας αὐτὸς
 εἶχε, πέντε παῖδας ἔτεκε. καὶ πέρι μὲν τούτων
 κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

90 (4) Ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὰ
 πράγματα σχεδὸν ἡμέραν ἀμείνω γινόμενα ἐκ τῆς
 τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεως ἐνόμιζεν ἔξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν
 εἰ μένων αὐτὸς ἐν οἴκοις ἐκ κέδρου πεποιημένοις
 ὑψηλοῖς τε καὶ καλλίστην τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν
 ἔχουσι περιορὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐν σκηνῇ κειμένην.
 91 ἐβούλετο δὲ τῷ θεῷ κατασκευάσαι ναόν, ὡς
 Μωυσῆς προεῖπε,² καὶ περὶ τούτων Νάθα³ τῷ
 προφήτῃ διαλεχθεῖσι, ἐπεὶ ποιεῖν ὁ τι περ ὥρμηται
 προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἄπαντ' αὐτῷ
 συνεργοῦ παρόντος, εἶχεν ἦδη περὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ
 92 κατασκευὴν προθυμότερον. τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ κατ'

¹ παίξειν . . . χορεύσειν] Niese: παίξειν . . . χορεύσαι codd.
² εἴπει RO.

³ Νάθαν O: Ναθάνα MSP Exc.: Nathan Lat. hic et infra.

^a Similar to the LXX, 2 Sam. vi. 22 ἔσομαι ἀχρεῖος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ μετὰ τῶν παιδισκῶν ὧν εἶπάς με μὴ δοξασθῆναι (v.l. om. αἵ); Heb. "I shall be base in mine own eyes, and

he was—and in uncovering himself, as he danced, in the presence of slaves and maid-servants. He replied, however, that he was not ashamed of having done what was pleasing to God, who had honoured him above her father and all other men, and that he would often play and dance without caring whether his actions seemed disgraceful to her maid-servants^a or herself. Now this Michalē, while she lived with David, bore no children, but, after her later marriage to the man^b on whom her father Saul bestowed her—at this particular time David, who had taken her away from him was again her husband—she bore five children.^c But of this we shall treat in its proper place.^d

(4) When the king saw that almost from day to day his affairs prospered more and more by the will of God, he thought that he should be guilty of sin if, while he himself lodged in a lofty dwelling made of cedar wood and beautifully appointed in other ways,^{to build a temple, but God disapproves.} he allowed the ark to lie in a tent. He wished, therefore, to build such a temple to God as Moses had formerly spoken of, and after discussing this with the prophet Nathan, when he bade him do as he was minded, seeing that God was with him to help him in all things, he became still more eager to build the temple. But God appeared to Nathan that very with the handmaids of whom thou hast spoken, with them I shall have honour."

^b Adriel, the son of Barzillai, 2 Sam. xxi. 8.

^c Josephus harmonizes the contradictions in Scripture. According to 2 Sam. vi. 23 Michal had no children as long as she lived, but 2 Sam. xxi. 8 states that she bore five children to Adriel. Rabbinic tradition following the Targum holds that the five children were Merab's but were brought up by Michal (cf. Luc. which has Merab for Michal in 2 Sam. xxi. 8).

^d Michal is not mentioned again in our text of Josephus.

ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα τῷ Νάθᾳ φανέντος καὶ φράσαι κελεύσαντος τῷ Δαυίδῃ ὡς τὴν μὲν προαιρέσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν¹ ἀποδέχεται, μηδενὸς μὲν πρότερον εἰς νοῦν βαλομένου ναὸν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι, τούτου δὲ ταύτην τὴν διάνοιαν λαβόντος· οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν δὲ πολλοὺς πολέμους ἡγωνισμένῳ καὶ φόνῳ τῶν ἔχθρῶν μεμιασμένῳ ποιῆσαι ναὸν 93 αὐτῷ. μετὰ μέντοι γε τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, γηράσαντος καὶ μακρὸν ἀνύσαντος βίον, γενήσεσθαι² τὸν ναὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν παραληφθομένου κληθησομένου δὲ Σολομῶνος, οὗ προστήσεσθαι καὶ προνοήσειν ὡς πατὴρ οὗν κατεπηγγέλλετο, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν τέκνων ἐγγόνοις φυλάξων καὶ παραδώσων, αὐτὸν δὲ τιμωρήσων, 94 ἃν ἀμαρτῶν τύχῃ, νόσῳ καὶ γῆς ἀφορίᾳ. μαθὼν ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ προφήτου Δαυΐδης καὶ περιχαρής γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαμένουσαν ἐγγωκέναι βεβαίως, καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐσόμενον καὶ περιβόητον πρὸς τὴν 95 κιβωτὸν παραγίνεται· καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἥρξατο προσκυνεῖν καὶ περὶ πάντων εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ, ὃν τε αὐτῷ παρέσχηκεν ἥδη ἐκ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ποιμένος εἰς τηλικοῦτο μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας τε καὶ δόξης ἀναγαγών, ὃν τε τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ καθυπέσχετο, ἔτι δὲ περὶ³ τῆς προνοίας, ἦν

¹ + λιαν ROS.

² Niese: γενέσθαι RO: ἔσεσθαι rell.: faciendum Lat.
³ ἔτι δὲ περὶ ex Lat. add. Niese: καὶ Naber cum Hudson.

^a This expression of God's approval is unscriptural.

^b 1 Chron. xxviii. 3.

^c 2 Sam. vii. 14 "with the rod of men and with the stripes of the children of men," which some rabbinic authorities take to mean evil spirits.

night and bade him tell David that while He approved of his purpose and desire—for no one before him had taken it into his mind to build Him a temple, as David had thought to do—^a still He could not permit him to construct a temple for Him, because he had fought in many wars and was stained with the blood of his enemies^b; but in any case, He said, after God's promise concerning Solomon. 2 Sam. vii. 12; 1 Chron. xvii. 11. a long life, the temple should be brought into being by his son and successor to the kingdom, whose name would be Solomon, and whom He promised to watch over and care for as a father for his son, and to preserve the kingdom for his children's children and transmit it to them, but He would punish him, if he sinned, with sickness and barrenness of the soil.^c When David heard this from the prophet, he rejoiced greatly to know assuredly that the royal power would remain with his descendants and that his house would become glorious and renowned. Then he went to the ark and, falling on his face,^d began to worship God and render thanks to Him for all that He had already done for him in raising him from the humble station of a shepherd to so great a height of power and glory,^e and for His promise to his descendants, and

^d 2 Sam. vii. 18 "and he sat before the Lord (i.e. the ark)." Rappaport suggests that Josephus's paraphrase ("falling on his face" instead of "sat") may have some connexion with the controversy in the Hasmonean period between the partisans of the king and those of the high priests as to whether kings of Davidic lineage had the right to sit in the temple court or not, and that the controversy centred about the interpretation of the verb "sat" in this verse of Scripture.

^e In Scripture the reference to David's humble origin is found earlier (2 Sam. vii. 8) in God's charge to David by Nathan, and not in David's prayer, as in Josephus.

Ἐβραίων καὶ τῆς τούτων ἐλευθερίας ἐποιήσατο.
ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσας ἀπαλλάσσεται.

96 (v. 1) Διαλιπὼν δὲ ὄλγον χρόνον ἔγνω δεῖν ἐπὶ¹
τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐκστρατεύειν, καὶ μηδὲν ἀργὸν
μηδὲ ῥάθυμον ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν περιορᾶν¹ γινό-
μενον, ἵν’ ὡς τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ προεῖπε καταστρε-
ψάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς
97 ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντας καταλείποι. καὶ συγ-
καλέσας πάλιν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παραγγεῖλας αὐτῇ
πρὸς πόλεμον ἐτοίμην καὶ παρεσκευασμένην τυγ-
χάνειν, ὅτ’ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ παρ’
αὐτῆς, ἅρας ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαι-
98 στίνους ἦκε. κρατήσας δ’ αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ
πολλὴν τῆς χώρας ἀποτεμόμενος καὶ προσορίσας
τῇ τῶν Ἐβραίων, ἐπὶ τοὺς Μωαβίτας τὸν πόλεμον
μετήγαγε, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη τῆς στρατιᾶς
αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ νικήσας διέφθειρε, τὸ δὲ λειπόμενον
θαλάσσης αἱχμάλωτον ἔλαβε. φόρους δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξας
κατ’ ἔτος τελεῖν ἐπὶ Ἀδράζαρον² τὸν Ἀραοῦ μὲν
νιὸν βασιλέα δὲ τῆς Σωφηνῆς ἐστράτευσε, καὶ συμ-
βαλὼν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν τῶν μὲν
πεζῶν αὐτοῦ διέφθειρεν ὡσεὶ δισμυρίους, τῶν δ’

¹ Naber: ὄρᾶν codd.

² Ἀρτάζαρον ROE.

^a The account of the preparations is an amplification of Scripture, which merely says, "And after this David smote the Philistines."

^b 1 Chron. xviii. 1 "and took Gath and its villages out of the hand of the Philistines"; the parallel verse 2 Sam. viii. 1, "and David took Metheg-ha-ammah, etc., " is obscure

also for His care of the Hebrews and their liberty.
When he had so spoken and recited the praises of
God, he departed.

(v. 1) After a short interval of time, he decided that David's
he ought to march against the Philistines, and not over
permit any idleness or slackness in his conduct of Philistines,
affairs, in order that he might, as God had foretold¹ to him,
to overthrow his enemies and leave behind descendants who would reign thereafter in peace. So once again he assembled his army and gave them orders to be in readiness and equipped for war, and, when they seemed to him to be in good condition, he left Jerusalem and advanced upon the Philistines.^a Having overcome them in battle, he cut off much of their territory and annexed it to the country of the Hebrews.^b Then he carried the war over to the Moabites, and, upon defeating them in battle, destroyed two-thirds of their army and took the rest captive^c; he also ordered them to pay a yearly tribute. He next marched against Adrazaros,^d the son of Araos,^e king of Sophéné,^f and encountered him beside the Euphrates river, where he slew some twenty thousand of his infantry and about five and probably corrupt; the LXX has καὶ ἔλαβεν Δανεῖδ τὴν ἀφωρισμένην ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων.

^a 2 Sam. viii. 2 "And he smote Moab and measured them with the line, making them lie down on the ground, and he measured two lines to put to death, and one full line to keep alive." Josephus follows the LXX, which has ἐξώγρησεν "took captive" for the Heb. "keep alive."

^b Variant Artazaros; bibl. Hadadezer, LXX Ἀδραάζαρ.

^c Bibl. Rehob, LXX Ραΐβ, Luc. Ραΐφ.

^d Bibl. Zobah (Σόβαχ), LXX Σουβά: an Aramaean state N.W. of Damascus in the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, according to Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 40. Josephus's "Sophene" is misleading, as this is the Greek name of a district in Armenia.

ιπποτῶν ὡς πεντακισχιλίους.¹ ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἄρματα χίλια, καὶ τὰ πλείω μὲν αὐτῶν ἡφάνισεν, ἑκατὸν δὲ μόνα προσέταξεν αὐτῷ² φυλαχθῆναι.

100 (2) Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Δαμασκοῦ καὶ Σύρων βασιλεὺς Ἀδαδος ὅτι πολεμεῖ Δανιδης τὸν Ἀδράζαρον, φίλος ὃν αὐτῷ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἤκεν ἴσχυρᾶς συμμαχήσων· ἀπήλλαξε δ' οὐχ ὡς³ προσεδόκα συμβαλὼν πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, πταίσας δὲ τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν· ἔπεισον γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐβραίων ἀναιρούμενοι τῆς Ἀδάδου δυνάμεως δισμύριοι,⁴ οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἔφυγον.

101 μέμνηται δὲ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Νικόλαος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως· “μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον τῶν ἐγχωρίων τις Ἀδαδος ὄνομα πλεῖον ἴσχυσας Δαμασκοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς Συρίας ἔξω Φοινίκης ἐβασίλευσε. πόλεμον δ' ἔξενέγκας πρὸς Δανιδην βασιλέα τῆς Ιουδαίας καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις κριθείσ, ὑστάτῃ δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐν ᾧ ἥττάτο, ἀριστος ἔδοξεν εἶναι βασιλέων ρώμη καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ.” πρὸς τούτους δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτοῦ φησιν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἔξεδέχοντο παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, λέγων οὕτως· “τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου ἀπόγονοι ἐπὶ δέκα γενεὰς ἐβασίλευον ἑκάστου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄμα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν⁵ καὶ τούνομ' ἐκδεχομένου, ὥσπερ οἱ Πτολε-

1 ἐπτακισχιλίους MSP. 2 edd.: αὐτῷ codd.
 3 οὐχ ὡς] Niese: ὡς ROM: ὡς οὐ P.
 4 ὡς δισμύριοι E Lat.
 5 κ. τ. ἀρχὴν] τῇ ἀρχῇ MSP Lat.

^a 7000 according to 1 Chron. and the LXX in 2 Sam., cf. variant in Josephus; 1700 according to the Heb. of 2 Sam.

thousand^a of his cavalry. He also seized a thousand of his chariots, most of which he destroyed, and ordered that only one hundred be kept for himself.

(2) Now when Adados,^b king of Damascus and Syria,^c heard that David was warring with Adrazaros, whose friend he was, he went to his aid with a powerful force, but came off otherwise than he had expected when he encountered David at the Euphrates river, and, as a result of his defeat in the battle, lost many of his men. For there fell at the hands of the Hebrews twenty thousand^d of Adados's force, and all the rest fled. This king is also mentioned by Nicolas^e in the fourth book of his History, who writes as follows: “A long while after this, one of the natives, Adados by name, attained to great power and became ruler of Damascus and the rest of Syria excepting Phoenicia. He waged war against David, king of Judaea, and, after trial of many battles, the last of which was fought beside the Euphrates, where he was defeated, he gained the reputation of being the most vigorous and courageous of kings.” In addition, he speaks also of his descendants and tells how, after his death, they succeeded one another in his kingdom and his name. This is what he says: “Upon his death, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each receiving from his father both his authority and his name, as did the Ptolemies in

^b The king's name is not given in Scripture, which has “Aram of Damascus,” i.e. the Aramaeans of Damascus, LXX Συρία Δαμασκοῦ (Chron. Σύρος ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ). Syria is the Greek name for the Heb. Aram. As Weill suggests, Josephus probably took the name Adados from Nicolas's account, which follows.

^c Bibl. 22,000.

^d On the historian Nicolas of Damascus, a contemporary of Herod the Great, cf. A. i. 94 note.

David's victory over the king of Damascus.
 2 Sam. viii. 5; 1 Chron. xviii. 5.

103 μαῖοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. μέγιστον δὲ ἀπάντων δυνηθεὶς
οὐ τρίτος ἀναμαχέσασθαι βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ προ-
πάτορος ἥτταν στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰουδαίους
ἐπόρθησε τὴν νῦν Σαμαρεῖτιν καλουμένην γῆν.”
οὐ διήμαρτε δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας· οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν
“Ἄδαδος ὁ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν Ἀχάβου
βασιλεύοντος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, περὶ οὗ κατὰ
χώραν¹ ἔροῦμεν.

104 (3) Δαυίδης δὲ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Συρίαν, πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπῆκοον
ἐποιήσατο, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταστήσας
καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς τελεῖν ὅρίσας ὑπέστρεψε· καὶ
τὰς τε χρυσᾶς φαρέτρας καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας, ἃς οἱ
τοῦ Ἀδάδου σωματοφύλακες ἐφόρουν, ἀνέθηκε τῷ
105 θεῷ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· ἃς ὑστερον ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
βασιλεὺς Σούσακος στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν νίωνὸν
αὐτοῦ Ῥοβόαμον ἔλαβε καὶ πολὺν ἄλλον ἐκ τῶν
Ἱεροσολύμων ἔξεφόρησε πλούτον· ταῦτα μὲν ὅταν
ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῶν τόπον δηλώσομεν.
ὅ δὲ τῶν Ἐβραίων βασιλεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπινέοντος
αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν πολέμους συγκατορθοῦντος καὶ ταῖς
καλλίσταις τῶν Ἀδραζάρου πόλεων ἐπεστράτευσε

¹ + ὑστερον MSP Lat.

* Ant. viii. 363 ff.

^b In 2 Sam. viii. 7 the Heb. has *shiltē*, here meaning “shields” according to Jewish tradition; the LXX has *χλιδῶνας* “bracelets” or “anklets,” and in 1 Chron. *κλοιούς* “collars.” In Ezek. xxvii. 11 the LXX translates *shiltē* by φαρέτρας “quivers,” as does Josephus here.

Egypt. The most powerful of all these kings was the third, who, in his desire to make good his grandfather's defeat, marched against the Jews and sacked the country now called Samaritis.” And in so writing he has not departed from the truth, for this is the Adados who invaded Samaria when Ahab reigned over the Israelites. About this we shall speak in the proper place.^a

(3) David then led his army against Damascus and the rest of Syria, and made all of it subject to him; and, after stationing garrisons in their country and fixing the amount of tribute they must pay, he returned home. The gold quivers^b and the suits of armour^c which the bodyguards of Adados^d wore, he dedicated to God in Jerusalem. These were afterwards taken by the Egyptian king Susakos,^e who marched against David's grandson Roboamos^f and carried off much other wealth from Jerusalem. But these things we shall narrate when we come to their proper place.^g Now the king of the Hebrews, with the encouragement of God who gave him success in war, attacked the fairest of Adrazaros's cities, Battaia^h

^a Not mentioned in Scripture.

^b Bibl. “the servants of Hadadezer.”

^c Bibl. Shishak, LXX Σουσακεῖμ. Josephus here follows the LXX, which anticipates the invasion of Shishak (described later in 1 Kings xiv. 25 ff.), while the Heb. omits it at this point. In the later passage the Heb. mentions only Shishak's taking the gold shields which Solomon had made, while the LXX adds a reference to the spears taken by David from the servants of Hadadezer.

^d Bibl. Rehoboam, cf. § 190 note.

^e A. viii. 253 ff.

^f 2 Sam. Betah, LXX Μετεβάκ, Μασβάκ κτλ.; 1 Chron. Tibhath, LXX Μεταβηχάς, Ματεβέθ κτλ., Luc. Ταβάθ. (The syllable *μα-* or *με-* in the LXX forms has arisen from the Heb. preposition *mi* “from” before the name Tibhath.)

Βατταίᾳ καὶ Μάχωνι, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς κατὰ
106 κράτος διήρπασε. χρυσὸς δ' ἐν αὐταῖς εὑρέθη
πάμπολυς καὶ ἄργυρος ἔτι δὲ καὶ χαλκός, ὃν τοῦ
χρυσοῦ κρείττον ἔλεγον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Σολομὼν τὸ
μέγα σκεῦος θάλασσαν δὲ καλούμενον ἐποίησε καὶ
τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκείνους λουτῆρας, ὅτε τῷ θεῷ
τὸν ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν.

107 (4) Ὡς δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἀμάθης βασιλεὺς τὰ περὶ τὸν
Ἀδράζαρον ἐπύθετο καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ διεφθαρ-
μένην ἡκουσε, δείσας περὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Δανίδην
πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔλθοι¹ φιλίᾳ καὶ πίστει γνοὺς
ἐνδήσασθαι, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀδώραμον υἱὸν
αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἀδράζαρον ἔχθρὸν ὅντ'
αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶν, καὶ συμ-
108 μαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φιλίαν ποιούμενος. ἐπεμψε
δ' αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα σκεύη τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆς
χρύσεα καὶ ἄργυρεα καὶ χάλκεα. Δανίδης δὲ
ποιησάμενος τὴν συμμαχίαν πρὸς τὸν Θαῖνον, τοῦτο
γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀμάθης, καὶ τὰ
δῶρα δεξάμενος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ
τιμῆς τῆς πρεπούσης ἑκατέροις. τὰ δὲ πεμφθέντα
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὃν ἐκ
τῶν πόλεων εἰλήφει καὶ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἔθνῶν,
109 φέρων ἀνατίθησι τῷ θεῷ. οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ πολεμοῦντι

¹ Niese: ἔλθῃ codd.

^a Cf. 1 Chron. Heb. *ūmikkūn* "and from Kun (?)"; 2 Sam. Berothai. In both places the LXX has "from the chosen cities," probably reading *behûrōth* "chosen" (pass. ptc. fem. pl.) instead of *Berôthai*.

^b Scripture does not mention gold or silver at this point (2 Sam. viii. 8), but in vs. 11 speaks of the silver and gold

and Machōn,^a took them by storm and plundered them. There was found in them a great amount of gold and silver^b and that kind of bronze,^c said to be finer than gold, out of which Solomon made the great vessel called "sea," and those very beautiful lavers, when he built the temple to God.^d

(4) When the king of Amathē^e learned of Adrazaros's fate and heard that his army had been destroyed, he became alarmed for himself and decided, before David should come against him, to bind him by a sworn agreement of friendship. He therefore sent his son Adōramos^f to him, expressing his thanks to him for having made war on Adrazaros who was his enemy, and offering to make an alliance of friendship with him. He also sent him presents of gold, silver and bronze vessels of ancient workmanship.^g David thereupon made an alliance with Thainos^h—that was the name of the king of Amathē—and, having accepted the gifts, sent away his son with the honours befitting both sides. The objects sent by Thainos and the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken from the conquered cities and nations, he carried away and dedicated to God. Now it was not "that he had dedicated of all nations that he had subdued."

^a A.V. translates Heb. *neḥōsheth* (LXX χαλκός) by "brass."

^b These details about Solomon's vessels are found in 1 Chron. and in the LXX of 2 Sam., but are omitted in the Heb. of the latter book.

^c Bibl. Hamath, LXX Ἡμάθ, Luc. (Chron.) Αἰμάθ: an important Hittite city on the river Orontes in N. Syria. On the king's name cf. § 108 note.

^d So Luc. in 1 Chron. where the LXX has 'Ιδουράμ and the Heb. Hadoram; 2 Sam. Joram (*Yôrâm*), LXX 'Ιεδδουράν.

^e "Ancient workmanship" is a detail added by Josephus.

^f 2 Sam. Toi (*Tō'i*), LXX Θαίνον, Θάνον, Θάει; 1 Chron. Tou (*Tō'u*), LXX Θῶα, Θόου.

Alliance with the king of Hamath (Amathē).
2 Sam. viii. 9; 1 Chron. xviii. 9.

μόνον καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγουμένῳ τὸν νικᾶν καὶ κατορθοῦν παρεῖχεν ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἀβισαῖον τὸν Ἰωάβον τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου¹ ἀδελφόν, δι’ ἐκείνου τὴν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων νίκην ἔδωκε· μυρίους γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους Ἀβισαῖος διέφθειρε τῇ μάχῃ. καὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἅπασαν φρουρᾶς διαλαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς φόρους ὑπέρ τε τῆς χώρας καὶ 110 τῆς ἔκάστου κεφαλῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν ἔδέχετο. ἦν δὲ καὶ δίκαιος τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὰς κρίσεις πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀφορῶν ἐποιεῖτο. στρατηγὸν δὲ ἀπάσης εἶχε τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν Ἰωάβον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων Ἰωσάφατον υἱὸν Ἀχίλου κατέστησεν· ἀπέδειξε δ’ ἐκ τῆς Φινεέσου οἰκίας τὸν Σάδωκον ἀρχιερέα μετ’ Ἀβιαθάρου, φίλος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ· γραμματέα δὲ Σεισὰν² ἐποίησε· Βαναίᾳ δὲ τῷ Ἰωάδου τὴν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀρχὴν παρα-

¹ ἀντιστρ. ROM hic et infra.

² Elsār RO: Isan Lat.

^a So 1 Chron.; in 2 Sam. the victory over Edom (Idumaea) is attributed to David himself, but here the Heb. has Aram (A.V. "Syrians"), a corruption of Edom. Cf. also the superscription of Ps. ix., where the victory seems to be attributed to Joab.

^b An amplification of 2 Sam. viii. 14 (1 Chron. xviii. 13), "and he put governors (*nešibim*: A.V. "garrisons") in Edom, throughout all Edom he put governors." Rabbinic commentators explain *nešibim* as officers to collect taxes.

^c Bibl. Ahilud, LXX Ἀχειά, Ἀχιλούδ κτλ., Luc. Ἀχειναδβ.

only when he himself fought and led the army that Subjection of Edom (Idumaea). God granted him victory and success, but even when he sent Abisai, the brother of Joab the commander-in-chief, with a force into Idumaea, God gave David, through him, victory over the Idumaeans, of whom Abisai slew eighteen thousand in battle.^a The king then occupied the whole of Idumaea with garrisons and collected tribute both from the country (as a whole) and from the separate individuals therein.^b He was of a just nature and, when he gave judgement, considered only the truth. As general of his entire army he had Joab; as keeper of the records he appointed Josaphat the son of Achilos^c; from the house of Phinees^d he chose Sadok as high priest together with Abiathar, who was his friend^e; he made Seisa^f scribe; and to Banaia,^g son of Jōados,^h he entrusted the command of the bodyguards,ⁱ while

^a That is, a descendant of Aaron's third son Eleazar, father of Phinehas, whereas Abiathar was supposedly a descendant of Aaron's youngest son Ithamar, cf. A. v. 361 note, viii. 12 note.

^b Many Biblical critics recognize that 2 Sam. viii. 17, "And Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were the priests," should be corrected to read, "And Zadok and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub were the priests." Ahimelech, the father of Abiathar, had been killed earlier by Saul (cf. A. vi. 260 = 1 Sam. xxii. 16 ff.), whereas Abiathar continued to be the chief priest (together with Zadok) until he was removed by Solomon (cf. A. viii. 10 ff. = 1 Kings ii. 26 ff.). Josephus is, therefore, correct in omitting his name here.

^c Called Sūsa in § 292; 2 Sam. Seraiah, LXX Ἀσά, Σασά κτλ.; 1 Chron. Shavsha, LXX Ἰησοῦς, Σουσά.

^d So most mss. of the LXX; bibl. Benayah (*Benāyāhû*).

^e So Luc.; bibl. Jehoiada (*Yehôyâdâ*), LXX Ἰωδᾶς.

^f Bibl. "Cherethites and Pelethites," probably Philistine mercenaries.

δίδωσιν· οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι παῖδες αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν τούτου φυλακὴν ἦσαν.

111 (5) Ἐμνήσθη δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἰωνάθην τὸν Σαούλου παῖδα συνθηκῶν καὶ ὄρκων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας τε καὶ σπουδῆς· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἀγαθοῖς οἷς εἶχεν ἔτι καὶ μνημονικώτατος τῶν εὖ ποιησάντων παρὰ τὸν 112 ἄλλον¹ χρόνον ὑπῆρχε. προσέταξεν οὖν ἀναζητεῖν εἴ τις ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ σώζεται, ὥς τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἃς ὥφειλεν Ἰωνάθη τῆς ἑταῖρίας ἀποδώσει· ἀχθέντος οὖν τυν ήλευθερωμένου μὲν ὑπὸ Σαούλου δυναμένου δὲ γινώσκειν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ περιόντας, ἀνέκρινεν εἴ τινα ἔχοι λέγειν τῶν Ἰωνάθη προσηκόντων ζῶντα καὶ κομίσασθαι τὰς τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν χάριτας δυνάμενον, ὅν καὶ αὐτὸς 113 ἔτυχε παρὰ Ἰωνάθου. φήσαντος δ' οὗδὲν αὐτοῦ περιλείπεσθαι Μεμφίβοσθον ὄνομα πεπηρωμένον τὰς βάσεις· τῆς γὰρ τροφοῦ μετὰ τὸ προσαγγελθῆναι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τὸν πάππον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας ἀρπασμένης καὶ φευγούσης, ἀπὸ τῶν ὕμων αὐτὸς² κατενεχθῆναι καὶ βλαβῆναι τὰς βάσεις· μαθὼν ὅπου τε καὶ παρὰ τίνι τρέφεται πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Μάχειρον εἰς Λάβαθα πόλιν, παρὰ τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Ἰωνάθου παῖς ἐτρέφετο, μετα-

¹ δλον RO.² αὐτὸν MSP.

^a “Elder sons,” etc.: so Josephus understands 2 Chron. xviii. 17, “and the sons of David were first next (lit. “to the hand of”) the king,” taking “first” as an attributive adj. with “sons” in the sense of “elder”; cf. LXX *vloὶ Δανεὶδ ol πρῶτοι διάδοχοι τοῦ βασιλέως*. 2 Sam. viii. 18 reads, “and the sons of David were priests” (A.V. “chief rulers”); for “priests” the LXX has “princes of the court,” Targum “nobles.”

his elder sons were in attendance on him and guarded his person.^a

(5) He also remembered his sworn covenant with David's Jonathan, the son of Saul, and Jonathan's friendship and devotion to him, for, beside all the other good qualities he possessed, was also that of being ever mindful of those who had benefited him at any time. Accordingly, he gave orders to inquire whether any of his family survived, to whom he might repay the debt he owed Jonathan for his comradeship. Thereupon there was brought to him one of Saul's freedmen^b who would know whether any of his family remained alive, and David asked him whether he could name any kinsman of Jonathan who was alive and might be the recipient of kindness in return for the benefits which he himself had received from Jonathan. The man replied that a son was left to him, named Memphibosthos,^c who was crippled in his feet, for, after the news came that the child's father and grandfather had fallen in battle, his nurse had snatched him up and fled, and he had slipped from her shoulder, thereby sustaining an injury to his feet. When David learned where and by whom he was being brought up, he sent to the city of Labatha^d to Macheiros^e—this was the person by whom Jonathan's

^b Bibl. “servant.” His name, Siba (bibl. Ziba), is given below, § 115.

^c Bibl. Mephibosheth, LXX Μεμφιβόσθε, Luc. Μεμφειβάλ. His real name was probably Meribbaal (cf. 1 Chron. viii. 34, ix. 40), but was altered^b by Hebrew scribes who disapproved of the Canaanite Baal-name. For a similar alteration cf. § 9 note on Ish-bosheth (Jebosthos).

^d Bibl. Lo-debar, LXX Λαδαβάρ, Λωδαβάρ; site unidentified but probably near Mahanaim in Gilead.

^e Bibl. Machir, LXX Μαχείρ.

114 πέμπεται πρὸς αὐτόν. Ἐλθὼν δὲ οἱ Μεμφίδοσθος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ Δαυΐδης θαρρεῖ τε προντέπετο καὶ τὰ βελτίω προσδοκᾶν δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον καὶ πάσαν τὴν οἰκίαν, ἢν δὲ πάππος αὐτοῦ Σαοῦλος ἐκτίσατο, σύνσιτον τε καὶ διουτράπεζον ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι καὶ μηδεμιάν ημέραν 115 ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ διαιτῆς.¹ τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς προσκυνήσατος ἐπὶ τε τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς, καλέσας τὸν Σίβᾳ τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον ἔλεγε δεδωρηθεὶς τῷ παιδὶ καὶ πάσαν τὴν Σαοῦλον κτῆσιν, αὐτοῖς τε ἐκέλευσεν ἔργαζόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν καὶ προορούμενον, ἀπάντωι τὴν πρόσοδον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα κομίζειν, ἀγειρεῖν τε αὐτοῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ημέραν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν αὐτοῖς τε τὸν Σίβᾳ καὶ τοὺς νιὸντας αὐτοῦ, ησαν δὲ οὗτοι πεντεκαὶ δεκατριών, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀριθμὸν δύτας εἴκοσι 116 τῷ παιδὶ χαρίζεται Μεμφίδόσθῳ. ταῦτα διαταξαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ μὲν Σιβᾶς προσκυνήσας καὶ πάντα ποιησειν εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησεν, οἱ δὲ Ἰωνίδον παῖς ἐρ Ιεροσόλυμοις κατώκει συγεστιώμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πάντῃς ὡς νιὸς αὐτοῦ θεραπείας τηγχάρων ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς, οἱ Μιχανοί² προσηγόρευσε.

117 (vi. 1) Καὶ οἱ μὲν περιλειφθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Σαοῦλον γένονται καὶ Ἰωνίδον τούτων ἔτυχον παρὰ Δαυΐδου τῷ τιμῶν. τελετήσατος δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον³ τοῦ τοῦ Ἀμμανίτων βασιλέως Ναάσου (φίλος δὲ ἦν οὗτος αὐτῷ) καὶ διαδεξαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀιγών τοῦ παιδός, πέμψας Δαυΐδης

¹ ῥαπτέστης MSP Lat.

² Μιχᾶ Hudson, Naber cum Cod. Vat. Lat.

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son was being brought up—and summoned him to his presence. Memphibosthos came before the king and, falling on his face, did obeisance to him, but David bade him take heart and look forward to a better lot. He then gave him his father's house and all the substance which his grandfather Saul had acquired, and gave orders that he should share his own food at his table and not let a day pass without eating with him. In acknowledgement of these words and gifts, the lad did obeisance to him. Then David called Siba^a and told him that he had made the lad a present of his father's house and all of Saul's possessions, and he ordered Siba to work his land and take care of it, to send all the yield to Jerusalem and to bring the lad to his table every day. David also presented Memphibosthos with Siba himself, his sons, of whom there were fifteen, and his servants, twenty in number. When the king had given these instructions, Siba did obeisance to him, saying that he would do all these things, and withdrew. So Jonathan's son dwelt in Jerusalem, sharing the king's hospitality and receiving every attention as though he were his own son. There was also born to him a son, whom he called Michanos.^b

(vi. 1) Such, then, were the honours which those who were left of the family of Saul and Jonathan received from David. Now there died at this time the Ammanite king Naasēs,^c who was a friend of David, and his son Annōn^d succeeded to his throne. The
Ammonites
mistreat
David's
envoys.
² 2 Sam. x. 1;
¹ 1 Chron.
xix. 1

^a Bibl. Ziba (Σίβᾳ), LXX Σειβᾶ.

^b Bibl. Micha, LXX Μιχᾶ.

^c Bibl. Nahash, cf. A. vi. 68 note.

^d So LXX; bibl. Hanun, Luc. Αννόν.

πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεμυθήσατο, πράως τε φέρειν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς παραινῶν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φιλίαν διαμενεῖν,¹ ἡ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἦν, τούτῳ προσδοκᾶν.

118 οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν ἄρχοντες κακοήθως ἀλλ’ οὐ κατὰ τὸν Δαυΐδον τρόπον ταῦτ’ ἐδέξαντο, καὶ παρώτρυναν τὸν βασιλέα λέγοντες κατασκόπους πεπομφέναι τῆς χώρας Δαυΐδην καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως ἐπὶ προφάσει φιλανθρωπίας, φυλάττεοθαί τε συνεβούλευν καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, μὴ καὶ σφαλεῖς ἀπαρηγορήτῳ

119 συμφορᾷ περιπέσῃ. ταῦτ’ οὖν δόξας πιθανώτερα λέγειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡ τάληθὲς εἶχεν, ὁ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀννὼν τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Δαυΐδον πεμφθέντας πρέσβεις χαλεπῶς περιύβρισε· ξυρήσας γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἡμίση τῶν γενείων καὶ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ἵματίων περιτεμών, ἔργοις ἀπέλυσε

120 κομίζοντας οὐ λόγοις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. ἴδων δὲ ταῦθ’ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς ἥγανάκτησε καὶ δῆλος ἦν οὐ περιοψόμενος τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὸν προπηλακισμόν, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσων τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν τῆς παρανομίας τῆς πρὸς² τοὺς

121 πρεσβευτὰς εἰσπραξόμενος τὸν βασιλέα. συνέντες δὲ οἱ τε ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὅτι παρεσπονδήκασι καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τούτων ὄφείλουσι, προπαρασκευάζονται εἰς τὸν πόλεμον· καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς Σύρον τὸν τῶν Μεσοποταμιτῶν βασιλέα χίλια τάλαντα σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενέσθαι τῷ

¹ Niese: διαμένειν ROE: μένειν MSP.

² εἰς MSP.

^a Josephus omits the Scriptural detail "to their buttocks" or (Chron.) "hips," LXX "cloak."

^b According to Scripture David was told of the insult and

David thereupon sent and comforted him, exhorting him to bear his father's death with resignation, and bidding him to look for the continuance of the same friendship that had been with his father. The Ammanite princes, however, received this message in an ugly spirit and not as David had intended it, and incited the king against him by saying that David had sent men to spy on their country and their forces, on the pretext of friendly offices; they advised him to be on his guard and pay no attention to David's words, lest he be tricked and meet with irremediable disaster. To these words of the princes Annōn, the king of the Ammanites, gave more credence than they actually deserved, and grievously misused the envoys sent by David by shaving off a half of their beards and cutting off a half of their garments,^a and then dismissed them to bring back his answer in the form of acts instead of words. At sight of them^b the king of the Israelites was indignant and made it plain War with that he would not overlook this insult and outrage, but its Syrian would make war on the Ammanites and exact satisfaction from their king for their lawless treatment of his envoys. Then the relatives and chiefs (of the Ammanite king), realizing that they had violated the treaty and were liable to punishment for this offence, sent a thousand talents^c to Syros,^d the king of the Mesopotamians, and invited him to become their ally ordered the envoys to remain in Jericho until their beards should have grown.

^c Of silver according to 1 Chron.; the sum is not mentioned in 2 Sam.

^d 2 Sam. Aram Beth-Rehab=the Aramaeans (A.V. "Syrians") of Beth-Rehab, LXX τὴν Συρίαν (Luc. τὸν Σύρον, as in Josephus) Βαιθραάβ κτλ.; 1 Chron. Aram Naharaim=the Aramaeans of Mesopotamia, LXX Συρίας Μεσοποταμίας. Josephus has mistaken an ethnic for a personal name.

μισθῷ παρεκάλεσαν καὶ Σουβάν· ἥσαν δὲ τοὺς βασιλεῦσι τούτοις πεζοῦ δύο μυριάδες. προσεμισθώσαντο δὲ καὶ τὸν³ ἐκ τῆς Μιχᾶς καλούμένης χώρας βασιλέα καὶ τέταρτον "Ιστοβον" ὄνομα, καὶ τούτους ἔχοντας μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας.

122 (2) Οὐ κατεπλάγη δὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν δύναμιν ὁ Δαυίδης, τῷ δὲ θεῷ πεποιθὼς καὶ τῷ⁴ δικαίῳ αὐτοῖς ἀνθ' ὃν ὑβρίσθη πολεμεῖν μέλλειν, Ἰώαβον τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον δοὺς αὐτῷ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ ἀκμαιότατον, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔπειμψεν 123 ἐπ' αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν μητροπόλει τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν Ῥαβαθῷ⁵ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἔξελθόντων καὶ παραταξαμένων οὐχ ὅμοι, διχῇ δέ, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικουρικὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐτάχθη, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν στρατεύμα πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἐβραίων, 124 ἵδων τοῦτο Ἰώαβος ἀντιμηχανᾶται· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρειοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀντιπαρατάσσεται τῷ Σύρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεῦσι, τὸ δ' ἄλλο παραδοὺς Ἀβισαΐῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις ἐκέλευσεν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι, εἰπών, ἂν τοὺς Σύρους ἴδῃ βιαζομένους αὐτὸν καὶ πλέον δυναμένους, μεταγαγόντα τὴν φάλαγγα βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ· τὸ δ'

¹ πεζῶν MSP.

² + τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν SP.

³ καὶ τῷ] Niese: καὶ RO: τῷ M: ἐν τῷ SP.

⁴ Hudson: Ἀραβαθῷ P: Ἀραμαθᾷ rell. Lat.

⁵ 2 Sam. Aram-Zoba = the Aramaeans of Zoba, LXX τὴν Συρίαν Σουβά; 1 Chron. "and from Zoba," LXX παρὰ Σωβάλ. Here Josephus has apparently mistaken a place-name for a personal name. On the location of Zoba cf. § 99 note.

for this payment, and they also invited Sūba.^a These kings had twenty thousand infantry. In addition they engaged the king of the country called Micha,^b and a fourth named Istobos,^c these latter having twelve thousand^d armed men.

(2) Undismayed either by this confederacy or by the Ammanite force, David put his trust in God and in the justice of his cause in going to war to avenge the insult he had suffered, and, giving Joab, his commander-in-chief, the flower of his army, at once sent him against them. Joab pitched his camp close to the Ammanite capital Rabatha.^e Then the enemy issued forth with their men drawn up not in one body but in two, for the auxiliary force was stationed by itself in the plain, and the Ammanite army at the gates, opposite the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he contrived counter-measures; he selected the bravest of his men and drew them up over against Syros and the kings with him; the rest he turned over to his brother Abisai, with orders to draw them up over against the Ammanites, and, if he saw the Syrians pressing him hard and getting the better of him, to bring over his division and assist him; he

^a Bibl. Maacah, LXX Ἀμαλήκ (Chron. Μωχά), Luc. Μααχά; the region N.E. of the lake of Huleh.

^b Bibl. Ish-tob, LXX Εἰστώβ, Ἰστώβ. Ish-tob may have meant "the men of Tob," a region probably in the neighbourhood of these Aramaean states.

^c 13,000 according to 2 Sam. (1000 with the king of Maacah + 12,000 with Ish-tob).

^d Variant Aramatha; Bibl. Rabbah, LXX Ῥαββάθ. The name of the city is not given in Scripture, which says that the Ammonites were drawn up for battle "at the entrance of the gate" (Chron. "entrance of the city"). The city is located c. 25 m. E. of the Jordan on the upper waters of the river Jabbok; in Hellenistic times it was called Philadelphia, and as the modern 'Ammān is the capital of Transjordania.

αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσειν καὶ αὐτός, ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμ-
125 μανιτῶν αὐτὸν καταπονούμενον θεάσηται. προτρε-
ψάμενος οὖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ παρακαλέσας εὐθύνχως
καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας ἀνδράσιν αἰσχύνην φοβουμένοις
πρεπούσης ἀγωνίσασθαι, τὸν μὲν ἀπέλυσε τοῖς
'Αμμανίταις μαχησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Σύροις
126 συνέβαλε. καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντων αὐτῶν
καρτερῶς, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰώαβος,
ἀπαντας δ' ἡγάγκασεν εἰς φυγὴν τραπῆναι. τοῦτο
ἰδόντες οἱ Ἀμμανῖται καὶ δείσαντες τὸν Ἀβισαῖον
καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλὰ
μιμησάμενοι τοὺς συμμάχους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον.
κρατήσας οὖν τῶν πολεμίων Ἰώαβος εἰς Ἱερο-
σόλυμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λαμπρῶς ὑπέστρεψε.
127 (3) Τοῦτο τὸ πταῦσμα τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας οὐκ
ἔπεισεν ἡρεμεῖν οὐδὲ μαθόντας τοὺς κρείττονας
ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες πρὸς Χαλαμὰν τὸν
τῶν πέραν Εὐφράτου Σύρων βασιλέα μισθοῦνται
τοῦτον ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ,¹ ἔχοντα μὲν ἀρχιστράτηγον²
Σέβεκον, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδας ὅκτω καὶ ἵππεων
128 μυρίους. γνοὺς δ' ὁ τῶν Ἐβραίων βασιλεὺς πάλιν
ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας τοσαύτην δύναμιν συ-
ηθροικότας, οὐκέτι διὰ στρατηγῶν αὐτοῖς πολε-
μεῖν ἔκρινεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς σὺν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει
διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν καὶ ὑπαντήσας αὐτοῖς

¹ συμμαχίαν MSP.

² ex Lat. Niese: ἀντιστράτηγον codd.

* Again Josephus has mistaken a place-name for a personal name; in 2 Sam. x. 16 it is Helam, LXX Χαλαμάκ (with doublet Αἰλάμ), Luc. Χαλαμά; in the following verse it appears as

himself would do the same if he saw Abisai being worn down by the Ammanites. Then, after encouraging his brother and exhorting him to fight bravely and with an ardour expected of men who fear disgrace, he sent him off to face the Ammanites in battle, while he himself engaged the Syrians. Although the latter resisted stoutly for a short time, Joab slew many of them and compelled all the rest to turn and flee. At this sight the Ammanites, who were afraid of Abisai and his army, waited no longer, but followed the example of their allies and fled to their city. Having thus overcome the enemy, Joab returned in triumph to the king at Jerusalem.

(3) This defeat did not persuade the Ammanites to remain quiet or to keep the peace in the knowledge that their enemy was superior. Instead they sent to Chalamas,^a the king of the Syrians across the Euphrates, and hired him as an ally with his commander-in-chief Sebekos^b and eighty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry.^c When the king of the Hebrews learned that the Ammanites had again assembled a very large force against him, he decided not to conduct the war through generals any longer, but himself crossed the river Jordan with his entire force and, when he met them, engaged them in a

Helama, LXX Αἰλάμ; the name is missing in 1 Chron. Some scholars think that Helam is the modern Aleppo, but Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 43, holds that this is too far north, and identifies it with Alema of 1 Macc. v. 26, apparently near the head-waters of the river Jarmuk.

^b 2 Sam. Shobach, LXX Σωβάκ, Luc. (with doublet) Σωβὰ
καὶ Σαβεάι; 1 Chron. Shophach, LXX Σωφάρ, Σωφάχ κτλ.
In Scripture he is called the commander of the army (A.V. “captain of the host”) of Hadarezer (Hadadezer), who brought the auxiliary force from Helam.

^c These numbers are invented by Josephus.

συνάψας εἰς μάχην ἐνίκησε· καὶ ἀναιρεῖ μὲν αὐτῶν πεζῶν μὲν εἰς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἵππων δὲ εἰς ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἔτρωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ 129 Χαλαμᾶ Σέβεκον, ὃς ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀπέθανεν. οἱ δὲ Μεσοποταμῖται τοιούτου γενομένου τοῦ τέλους τῆς μάχης αὐτοὺς Δανίδη παρέδοσαν καὶ δῶρα ἔπειμψαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὡρα χειμῶνος ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἕαρος ἔπειμψε τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Ἰώαβον πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις. ὁ δὲ τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἄπασαν ἐπερχόμενος διέφθειρε καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν συγκλείσας Ῥαβαθὰν¹ ἐπολιόρκει.

130 (vii. 1) Συνέπεσε δὲ καὶ Δανίδη πταῖσμα δεινὸν ὅντι φύσει δικαίω καὶ θεοσεβεῖ καὶ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσοντι θεασάμενος γὰρ δεῖλης ὄφίας ἀπὸ τοῦ στέγους² τῶν βασιλείων, ἐν ᾧ περιπατεῖν κατ’ ἐκεῦνο τῆς ὥρας ἦν ἔθος, γυναικα λουομένην ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς οἰκίᾳ ψυχρῷ ὕδατι καλλίστην τὸ εἶδος καὶ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν, ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἦν Βεεθσαβή,³ ἡττάται τοῦ κάλλους τῆς γυναικός· καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας κατασχεῖν⁴ οὐ δυνάμενος μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὴν⁵ συνέρχεται. γενομένης δ’ ἐγκύου τῆς γυναικός καὶ πεμψάσης πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὅπως τῷ ἀμαρτήματι σκέψηται τινα τοῦ λαθεῖν ὄδον, ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὴν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους καθήκειν⁶ νόμους μεμοιχευμένην, μετα-

¹ Hudson: Ἄραβαθὰ (-â R) RMSP Lat.: Ἄραβā O: Ἄραμαθὰν E.

² τέγους SP.

³ Βεεθσάβη SP hic et infra; cf. ad § 348.

⁴ κρατεῖν Naber.

⁵ μεταπεμψάμενην] αὐτῇ RO.

⁶ Niese: καθήκει M: προσήκει rell.

battle in which he was victorious and slew some forty thousand of their infantry and seven thousand of their cavalry,^a while he also wounded Sebekos, Chalamas's commander, who afterwards died of the wound. Upon the conclusion of the battle in this manner, the Mesopotamians surrendered to David and sent him gifts. Then, as it was the winter season, he returned to Jerusalem; but, at the beginning of spring, he sent his commander-in-chief Joab to make war on the Ammanites. Joab, after overrunning all their country and ravaging it, shut them up in their capital Rabatha and laid siege to it.

(vii. 1) Now David, although he was by nature a righteous and godfearing man, and one who strictly observed the laws of his fathers, nevertheless fell into grave error; for late one evening he saw from the roof of his palace, where he was accustomed to walk at that hour, a woman bathing in her house with cold^b water. She was very beautiful to look upon and surpassed all other women; her name was Beethsabē.^c He was captivated by the beauty of the woman and, as he was unable to restrain his desire, he sent for her and lay with her. And when she became pregnant and sent to the king, asking him to contrive some way of concealing her sin—for, according to the laws of the fathers, she was deserving of death as an adulteress^d—he summoned the

^a So 1 Chron.; 2 Sam. “Seven hundred chariots and forty thousand horsemen.”

^b Detail added by Josephus.

^c Variant Beersabē, cf. § 348; bibl. Bath-sheba, LXX Βηρσάβε (cod. A Βηθσάβε), Luc. Βηρσάβει (-αιε).

^d Bath-sheba's request and the comment on the penalty are an amplification of Scripture, which says, “the woman conceived and she sent and told David, and said, I am with child.”

David sins
with
Bath-sheba
(Beethsabe).
2 Sam. xi. 2.

καλεῖται τὸν Ἰωάβου μὲν ὄπλοφόρον ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας ἄνδρα δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐρίαν ὄνομα, καὶ παραγενόμενον περὶ τε τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀνέκρινε. λέγοντος δὲ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῦς κεχωρηκέναι τὰ πράγματα βαστάσας ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου μέρη προσδίδωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ κελεύει πρὸς τὴν γυναικαν ἀπελθόντα ἀναπαύσασθαι σὺν αὐτῇ. ὃ δὲ Οὐρίας τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, παρεκοιμήθη δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄπλοφόροις. 133 ὡς δὲ γνοὺς τοῦθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέκρινεν αὐτὸν ὅτι μὴ πρὸς¹ τὴν οἰκίαν ἔλθοι μηδὲ πρὸς τὴν γυναικαν διὰ τοσούτου χρόνου, πάντων ἀνθρώπων ταύτην ἔχοντων τὴν φύσιν ὅταν ἔλθωσιν ἐξ ἀποδημίας, οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον ἔφη τῶν συστρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ χαμαὶ κοιμωμένων ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων χώρᾳ, μετὰ τῆς 134 γυναικὸς αὐτὸν ἀναπαύεσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν. ταῦτ' εἰπόντα μεῖναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐκέλευσεν² αὐτόθι ὡς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀπολύσων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον. κληθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Οὐρίας καὶ μέχρι μέθης προελθὼν ἐν τῷ πότῳ, δεξιούμενον τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸν ἐπίτηδες ταῖς προπόσεσιν, οὐδὲν ἥττον πάλιν πρὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως θυρῶν ἐκοιμήθη μηδεμίαν λαβὼν 135 τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμίαν. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ δυσανασχετήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε τῷ Ἰωάβῳ κολάσαι προστάττων τὸν Οὐρίαν· ἀμαρτεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐδήλουν· καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς τιμωρίας ἵνα μὴ γένηται φανερὸς αὐτὸς τοῦτο βουληθεὶς ὑπέθετο· 136 κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δυσμαχώτατον αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μέρος

¹ + αὐτὸν εἰς MSP Lat.

² προσέταξεν MSPE.

woman's husband, whose name was Uriah and who was also Joab's armour-bearer,^a from the siege, and, when he appeared, questioned him about the army and the siege. When the man told him that everything had gone as they wished, he took some portions of his supper and gave them to him with the command to go home to his wife and rest with her. Uriah, however, did not do so but slept near the king with the other armour-bearers. And, when the king learned of this, he inquired of him why he had not gone to his house after so long a period of absence, saying that this was the natural thing for men to do when they return from abroad. To this he replied that it was not right for him to enjoy luxurious rest in the company of his wife, while his fellow-soldiers and his commander were sleeping on the ground in their camp in enemy territory. When he had so spoken, the king ordered him to remain there that day, saying that he would send him back to the commander-in-chief on the morrow. So Uriah was invited to supper by the king and continued drinking until he was intoxicated, as the king deliberately pledged his health in cup after cup. Nevertheless he again slept before the king's door and felt no desire for his wife. In great displeasure at this, the king David plans Uriah's death. wrote to Joab, ordering him to punish Uriah, whom he made out to be a guilty man^b; and, in order that he himself should not appear to have willed his punishment, he suggested the manner of it, which was to order Uriah to be stationed opposite the most

^a Unscriptural detail.

^b Scripture says nothing of any accusation made by David in the letter to Joab. Some of the rabbis, however, held that Uriah deserved death for disobeying David's order to go home to his wife.

τῶν πολεμίων τάξαι καὶ καθ' ὁ κινδυνεύσει¹ μαχόμενος² ἀπολειφθεὶς μόνος· τοὺς γὰρ συμπαραστάτας ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς μάχης γινομένης ἐκέλευσε. ταῦτα γράψας καὶ σημηνάμενος τῇ αὐτοῦ σφραγῖδι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔδωκεν Οὐρίᾳ κομίσαι πρὸς Ἰώαβον.

137 δεξάμενος δὲ Ἰώαβος τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαιρεσιν ἀναγνούσ, καθ' ὃν ἦδει τόπον τοὺς πολεμίους χαλεποὺς αὐτῷ³ γενομένους κατὰ τοῦτον ἔστησε τὸν Οὐρίαν δοὺς αὐτῷ τινας τῶν ἀρίστων τῆς στρατιᾶς· αὐτὸς δ' ἀπάση τῇ δυνάμει προσεπιβοηθήσειν ἔφησεν, εἰ δυνηθεῖν ἀνατρέψαντές τι τοῦ τείχους εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

138 ὅντα δ' αὐτὸν γενναῖον στρατιώτην καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντα παρά τε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ, χαίρειν τοῖς μεγάλοις πόνοις ἀλλὰ μὴ προσαγανακτεῖν ἡξίουν. τοῦ δ' Οὐρίᾳ προθύμως ὑποστάντος τὸ ἔργον, τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ παρατασσομένους ἴδιᾳ καταλιπεῖν ὅταν ἔξορμήσαν-

139 τας ἵδωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδήλωσε. προσβαλόντων οὖν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἐβραίων δείσαντες οἱ Ἀμμανῖται, μὴ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, καθ' ὃν Οὐρίαν συνέβαινε τετάχθαι, φθάσαντες ἀναβῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πύλην ἀνοίξαντες αἰφνιδίως καὶ μετὰ ρύμης καὶ δρόμου πολλοῦ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἐπεξῆλθον. ἴδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ σὺν τῷ Οὐρίᾳ πάντες ἀνεχώρησαν ὄπισω, καθὼς Ἰώαβος αὐτοὺς προεῖπεν· αἰσχυνθεὶς δ' Οὐρίας φυγεῖν καὶ τὴν τάξιν καταλιπεῖν ὑπέμεινε τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ τὴν ὄρμὴν αὐτῶν ἐκδεξάμενος ἀναιρεῖ μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγους,

140

formidable part of the enemy, where, if left to fight alone, he would be in greatest danger; he also ordered his comrades in arms to retire when the battle began. When he had written this letter and stamped it with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry to Joab. On receiving the letter and learning from it the king's intention, Joab stationed Uriah at the place where he knew the enemy had been most troublesome to himself, and gave him some of the bravest men in the army. He also said that he would come to his assistance with his whole force if they could throw down part of the wall and enter the city. He therefore asked Uriah, as a good soldier and as one who was esteemed by the king and by all his countrymen for his bravery, to welcome his difficult task rather than object to it. And when Uriah eagerly undertook the work, Joab privately instructed the men who were stationed with him to desert him when they saw the enemy charge. Now when the Hebrews attacked the city, the Ammanites, in their fear that the enemy might surprise them by climbing up at the point where Uriah happened to be posted, put their bravest men in front and, suddenly opening the gates, rushed out upon the enemy with great violence and speed. At sight of them, the men with Uriah all retreated, as Joab had instructed them. But Uriah, who was ashamed to flee and abandon his post, remained to face the foe, and met their charge, slaying not a few; but finally, being surrounded on

¹ Niese: κινδυνεύει ROM: κινδυνεύσει SP.

² post μαχόμενος lacunam statuit Niese.

³ Naber: αὐτῷ codd.

κυκλωθεὶς δὲ καὶ ληφθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ τελευτᾶ¹ ἄμα δ’ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι συγκατέπεσον τῶν ἔταιρων.²

141 (2) Τούτων οὕτως γενομένων ἐπεμψεν ἀγγέλους Ἰώαβος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγειν ἐντειλάμενος αὐτοῖς ὡς σπουδάσει³ μὲν ταχέως ἐλεῦν τὴν πόλιν, προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ τείχει καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας ἀναχωρῆσαι βιασθείη. προστιθέναι δὲ τούτοις ἀν ὄργιζόμενον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς βλέπωσι καὶ τὸν Οὐρία θάνατον. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀκούσαντος παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ταῦτα καὶ δυσφοροῦντος φάσκοντος ἀμαρτεῖν αὐτοὺς τῷ τείχει προσβαλόντας, δέον ὑπονόμοις καὶ μηχανήμασιν ἐλεῦν πειρᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔχοντας παράδειγμα τὸν Γεδεῶνος υἱὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον, ὃς ἐπεὶ τὸν ἐν Θήβαις πύργον ἐλεῦν ἐβούλετο βίᾳ, βληθεὶς ὑπὸ πρεσβύτιδος πέτρῳ κατέπεσε καὶ ἀνδρειότατος ὥν διὰ τὸ δυσχερὲς 143 τῆς ἐπιβολῆς⁴ αἰσχρῶς ἀπέθανεν· οὐδὲ μημονεύοντας ἔδει μὴ προσιέναι τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων· ἄριστον γὰρ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ πραχθέντων καὶ καλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτέρως ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς κινδύνοις μηνήμην ἔχειν, ὡς τὰ μὲν μιμεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ φυλάτ-

¹ τελευτᾶ post μέσῳ tr. Hudson : post ἄλλοι codd.

² συγκατ. . . . ἔταιρων Hudson : συγκαταπεσόντων (καὶ) ἔτέρων codd.

³ Niese : σπουδάσει RO : σπουδάσαι MSP.

⁴ Hudson : ἐπιβούλης codd.

^a The account of Uriah's death is greatly amplified. Cf. 2 Sam. xi. 16, 17 "And it came to pass, when Joab kept watch upon (or "invested") the city, that he assigned Uriah unto the place where he knew that valiant men were. And the men of the city went out and fought with Joab, and there fell some of the people of the servants of David, and Uriah the Hittite died also."

^b According to the Heb. text of Scripture, David does not,

all sides, he was caught and killed, and along with him there fell a few others from among his comrades.^a

(2) After this had taken place Joab sent messengers to the king, instructing them to tell him that he had made every effort to take the city quickly, but that, after an assault on the wall, he had lost many men and had been forced to retire ; they were, he said, to add to this, if they saw that the king was wrathful, the news of Uriah's death. But when the king heard the messengers' report, he was greatly displeased and said that the army had blundered in assaulting the wall,^b whereas they ought to have tried to take the city with mines and engines, especially as they had before them the example of Abimelech, the son of Gideon,^c who, in his attempt to take the town of Thebae^d by force, had been struck down by a rock hurled by an old woman and, in spite of being so very brave, had ignominiously perished because of his unfortunate method of attack.^e And with this in mind they ought not to have approached the enemy's wall, for it was best to have in mind all things that had been tried in war, whether successfully or otherwise, under the same conditions of danger, in order to imitate the one and avoid the other. But when,

on hearing the messenger's report, show displeasure at Joab's conduct of the siege, but it is Joab himself who anticipates David's displeasure and his reference to the incident of Abimelech. The LXX has an additional verse, in which David repeats almost verbatim the criticism anticipated by Joab. Josephus simplifies matters by attributing the speech to David after the messenger's report.

^c Bibl. Jerubbesheth (for original Jerubbaal), LXX Ἰεροβοάμ, Luc. Ἰεροβάλ; this was another name for Gideon, cf. Jd. vi. 32, A. v. 214 note.

^d Bibl. Thebez, LXX Θαμασί (in Jd. Θηβῆς).

^e Cf. A. v. 251 ff.

Joab
informs
David of
Uriah's
death.
²Sam. xi. 18.

144 τεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντι¹ καὶ τὸν Οὐρία θάνατον ἔδήλωσεν ὁ ἄγγελος, παύεται μὲν τῆς ὀργῆς, Ἰωάβῳ δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθόντα λέγειν ἀνθρώπινον εἶναι τὸ συμβεβηκός καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου φύσιν ἔχειν τοιαύτην, ὥστε ποτὲ μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὖ πράττειν συμβαίνειν κατ' αὐτόν, ποτὲ 145 δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις· τοῦ λοιποῦ μέντοι γε προνοεῖν τῆς πολιορκίας, ὅπως μηδὲν ἔτι πταίσωσι κατ' αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ χώμασι καὶ μηχαναῖς ἐκπολιορκήσαντας καὶ παραστησαμένους τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατασκάψαι, ἀπαντας δ' ἀπολέσαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄγγελος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντεταλμένα κομίζων 146 πρὸς Ἰώαβον ἡπείγετο. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Οὐρία γυνὴ Βεεθσαβὴ τὸν θάνατον τάνδρος πυθομένη ἐπὶ συχνὰς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας ἐπένθησεν, πανσαμένην δὲ τῆς λύπης καὶ τῶν ἐπ' Οὐρίᾳ δακρύων ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς ἀγεται γυναῖκα, καὶ πᾶς ἄρρην ἐξ αὐτῆς γίνεται αὐτῷ.

147 (3) Τοῦτον οὐχ ἥδεως ἐπεῖδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχων τὸν Δανίδην, τῷ προφήτῃ Νάθᾳ φανεῖς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐμέμφετο τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Νάθας ἀστεῖος καὶ συνετὸς ὡν ἀνήρ, λογισάμενος ὡς οἱ βασιλεῖς ὅταν εἰς ὀργὴν ἐμπέσωσι ταύτη πλέον ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ νέμουσι, τὰς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενημένας ἀπειλὰς ἡσυχάζειν ἔκρινεν, ἀλλους δὲ λόγους χρηστοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν 148 διεξῆλθε, καὶ δὴ τοιοῦτόν τινα τρόπον περὶ οὗ καὶ τί φρονεῖ ποιῆσαι σαφὲς αὐτῷ παρεκάλει. “δύο γάρ,” φησίν, “ἀνδρες τὴν αὐτὴν κατώκουν πόλιν,

¹ M: ἔχοντα RO: ἔχοντα ξγνω SP.

^a David's instructions to Joab are an amplification of Scripture.

^b Detail added by Josephus.

while he was in this humour, he was further informed by the messenger of Uriah's death, he ceased being angry and ordered him to go back and tell Joab that what had happened was human destiny, and such was the nature of war that now one of the opposing sides happened to be successful therein, and now the other; for the future, however, they should look to the siege and avoid meeting with another reverse in the course of it. They should rather besiege the city with mounds and engines and, after forcing it to surrender, raze it to the ground and destroy all those within it.^a So the messenger hastened to carry back to Joab the commands of the king, while Beethsabē, the wife of Uriah, learning of her husband's death, mourned for him many days. But, as soon as she had ceased grieving and weeping for Uriah, the king took her to wife, and had by her a son.

(3) God, however, did not look upon this marriage with favour, but was angry with David, and, appearing to the prophet Nathan in a dream,^b He found fault with the king. Thereupon Nathan, being a man of tact and understanding, and reflecting that when kings fall into a passion they are more influenced by this than by a sense of justice, decided to keep silence about the threats that had been made by God, and instead addressed him in mild terms, and somewhat in the following manner asked him to give him his opinion of a like case^c: “There were,” he said, “two men living in the same city, one of

^a With the foregoing contrast the brevity of Scripture: “And the Lord sent Nathan unto David, and he came unto him, and said unto him, there were two men,” etc. The last introductory phrase in Josephus's text (“give him his opinion”) may have been suggested by Luc.'s addition to 2 Sam. xii. 1, ἀπάγγειλον δὴ μοι τὴν κρίσιν ταύτην.

ῶν ὁ μὲν πλούσιος ἦν καὶ πολλὰς εἶχεν ἀγέλας
ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ θρεμμάτων καὶ βοῶν, τῷ πένητι
149 δ' ἀμνὰς ὑπῆρχε μία. ταύτην μετὰ τῶν τέκνων
αὐτοῦ¹ ἀνέτρεφε συνδιαιρούμενος² αὐτῇ τὰ σιτία
καὶ φιλοστοργίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὴν χρώμενος, ἥ τις
ἄν χρήσαιτο καὶ πρὸς θυγατέρα. ξένου δ' ἐπ-
ελθόντος τῷ πλουσίῳ τῶν μὲν ἴδιων οὐδὲν ἡξίωσεν
ἐκεῖνος βοσκημάτων καταθύσας εὐωχῆσαι τὸν φίλον,
πέμψας δὲ τὴν ἀμνάδα τοῦ πένητος ἀπέσπασε,
καὶ ταύτην παρασκευάσας εἰστίασε τὸν ξένον.”
150 σφόδρα δ' ἐλύπησεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος τὸν βασιλέα
καὶ πονηρὸν πρὸς τὸν Νάθαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον,
ὅς δὴ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐτόλμησεν, ἀπεφήνατο καὶ
τετραπλὴν ἀποτίσαι τὴν ἀμνάδα δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ
πρὸς τούτῳ θανάτῳ κολασθῆναι. Νάθας δ' ὑπο-
τυχὼν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν ἄξιον ταῦτα
παθεῖν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κεκριμένον τολμήσαντα μέγα
151 καὶ δεινὸν ἔργον. ἀνεκάλυπτε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παρ-
εγύμνου τὴν ὄργην τοῦ θεοῦ ποιήσαντος μὲν αὐτὸν
βασιλέα πάσης³ τῆς Ἑβραίων δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν
ἐν κύκλῳ πάντων ἔθνῶν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων
κύριον, ῥυσαμένου δ' ἔτι πρὸ τούτων ἐκ τῶν
Σαούλου χειρῶν, δόντος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γυναῖκας ὃς
δικαίως καὶ νομίμως ἤγαγετο, καταφρονθέντος δ'
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσεβηθέντος, ὃς ἀλλοτρίαν τε γῆμας
ἔχοι⁴ γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἀποκτείνειν
152 ἐκδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις· δώσειν οὖν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ
τούτων δίκας τῷ θεῷ καὶ βιασθῆσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ
τὰς γυναῖκας ὑφ' ἔνδος τῶν παιδῶν, ἐπιβουλευθῆ-

¹ αὐτὸς MSP.² συνδιαιτώμενος M: συνδατούμενος Naber.³ πάσης om. MSP.⁴ Hudson: ἔχει RMSP: ἔχει O.

whom was wealthy and possessed many herds of beasts of burden, sheep and cattle, while the other had only one ewe lamb. This he brought up with his own children, sharing his food with it and giving it the same affection that one would give one's own daughter. Now once, when the wealthy man was visited by a guest, he did not see fit to slaughter one of his own animals for the feasting of his friend, but he sent men to take away the ewe lamb from the poor man, and prepared it for the delectation of his guest.” This story greatly distressed the king and he declared to Nathan that the man who had had the heart to do this thing was a villain, and that it was just that he repay the lamb fourfold^a and in addition be punished with death. Nathan thereupon rejoined that David himself was the one who deserved this punishment, having been condemned by himself of perpetrating a great and terrible crime. He also revealed to him in the plainest fashion the wrath of God, for though He had made him king of all the Hebrew host and lord of all the many great nations around them, and had, even before that, delivered him from Saul's hands, and had given him wives to take in rightful and lawful marriage, yet He had been disregarded and impiously treated by him when he took another's wife in marriage and caused his death by giving him up to the enemy. For this, he said, he should make amends to God, and his wives should be violated by one of his sons,^b and he too

^a So Heb. and Luc.; LXX “sevenfold.” Cf. Ex. xxii. 1 (Heb. xxi. 37) on the fourfold penalty for the theft of a sheep.^b i.e. Absalom, cf. § 213 (=2 Sam. xvi. 21 f.). At this point, Scripture merely says, “I will take thine wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour.”

σεσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ ἀμάρτημα τοῦτο κρύφα δράσαντα φανερὰν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ δίκην ὑφέξειν· τεθνήξεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδά σοι παρα-
153 χρῆμα τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγενημένον. ταραχθέντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ συγχεθέντος¹ ἰκανῶς καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καὶ λύπης ἀσεβῆσαι λέγοντος, ἦν γὰρ ὅμολογουμένως θεοσεβῆς καὶ μηδὲν ἀμαρτῶν δλως περὶ τὸν βίον ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Οὐρία γυναικα, ὥκτειρεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ διαλλάττεται, φυλάξειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπαγγειλάμενος· μετανοοῦντι γὰρ περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων οὐκέτι χαλεπῶς ἔχειν ἔφασκε. καὶ Νάθας μὲν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ προφητεύσας οἴκαδε ἐπανῆλθε.

154 (4) Τῷ δ' ἐκ τῆς Οὐρία γυναικὸς γενομένῳ παιδὶ Δανίδῃ νόσον ἐνσκήπτει χαλεπὴν τὸ θεῖον, ἐφ' ἣ δυσφορῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τροφὴν μὲν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ καίτοι γε ἀναγκαζόντων τῶν οἰκείων οὐ προσηγέγκατο, μέλαιναν δὲ περιθέμενος ἐσθῆτα πεσὼν ἐπὶ σάκκου κατὰ γῆς ἔκειτο τὸν θεὸν ἕκετεύων ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίας· σφόδρα γὰρ ἔστεργεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα. τῇ δ' ἐβδόμῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν τελευτήσαντος τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἐτόλμων τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο μηνύειν οἱ θεράποντες λογιζόμενοι μὴ γνοὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπόσχηται καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ὡς ἀν ἐπὶ ποθειοῦ² τέκνου τετελευτηκότος, ὅτε καὶ νοσοῦντος οὕτως

¹ συγχεθέντος MSPE: confuso Lat.

² Niese: ποθηοῦ RO: πένθει SP Lat.: πόθῳ (post τέκνου) M.

* In Scripture, Nathan's prophecy of the child's death is made after David's confession of sin.

^b The black garment is not mentioned in Scripture, which

should be plotted against by this same son; and for this sin, which he had committed secretly, he should suffer the penalty in the sight of all. Furthermore the son whom she would bear him would die soon after birth.^a At these words the king was dismayed and greatly troubled, and with tears of grief admitted his impiety—for he was, as all agreed, a god-fearing man and never sinned in his life except in the matter of Uriah's wife—, whereupon God took pity on him and was reconciled to him. And He promised to preserve both his life and his kingdom, for, He said, now that he repented of his deeds, He was no longer displeased with him. Then Nathan, after prophesying these things to the king, returned to his home.

(4) Now upon the child whom Uriah's wife bore to David's grief at death of Bathsheba's child. 2 Sam. xii. 15. David the Deity caused a grave illness to fall, and the king, in his unhappiness over this, did not partake of food for seven days, although his servants tried to force him to do so. Instead he put on a black garment and, throwing himself upon sackcloth, lay on the ground, beseeching God to spare the life of the child,^b whose mother he so deeply loved. But on the seventh day the child died, and the servants dared not inform the king, for they feared that when he learned of it he might even more completely refuse food and other necessary care, in his desolation at the death of his son, seeing that even during the child's illness he had, in his grief, so greatly afflicted

says, “David therefore besought God for the child, and David fasted and went in and lay all night upon the earth,” but Luc. and some LXX codd. add (after “went in”) “and he slept in sackcloth.” On the black garments worn by accused persons on appearing before the judge cf. A. xiv. 172 (Herod before the Synhedrion), B.J. i. 506 (Pheroras before Herod).

156 ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης ἔαυτὸν ἐκάκου. ταραττομένων δὲ αἰσθόμενος τῶν οἰκετῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, ἀ μάλιστα συγκρύψαι τι θέλουσι συμβαίνει, συνεὶς ὅτι τέθνηκεν ὁ παῖς προσφωνήσας ἔνα τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ μαθὼν τάληθὲς ἀνίσταται, καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐσθῆτα λευκὴν εἰς τὴν 157 σκηνὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παραγίνεται, καὶ κελεύσας δεῖπνον αὐτῷ παραθεῖναι πολλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῖς τε συγγενέσι καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐκπληξίν παρεῖχεν, ὅτι μηδὲν τούτων ἐπὶ νοσοῦντι τῷ παιδὶ ποιήσας πάνθ' ὅμοι τετελευτηκότος ἐπραττε. τὴν τε αἰτίαν, δεηθέντες ἐπιτρέψαι πρῶτον αὐτοῖς πυθέ- 158 σθαι, παρεκάλουν εἰπεῖν τῶν γεγενημένων. ὁ δὲ ἀμαθεῖς εἰπὼν αὐτοὺς ἐδίδασκεν ὡς ἔτι μὲν ζῶντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἔχων ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ δεόντως πάντ' ἐποίει, τὸν θεὸν ἡγούμενος τούτοις εὐμενῇ καταστήσειν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ οὐκέτι χρείαν εἶναι λύπης ματαίας. ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ἐπήνεσαν τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως. συνελθὼν δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ Βεεθσαρῇ ἔγκυον αὐτὴν ἐποίησε, καὶ γενόμενον¹ ἄρρεν παιδίον Σολομῶνα² προσηγόρευσεν, οὗτος Νάθα τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος. 159 (5) Ἰώαβος δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας ἰσχυρῶς ἐκάκου τῶν τε ὑδάτων αὐτοὺς ἀποτεμνόμενος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀλλων εὐπορίας, ὡς πάνυ ταλαιπωρεῦν ἐνδείᾳ ποτοῦ καὶ τροφῆς. ἐξ ὀλίγου γὰρ

¹ γεννησαμένη R: γεννησαμένη O: procreavit Lat.
² + τοῦτο RO.

^a Scripture says merely that "he changed his apparel." Weill and Rappaport find here an allusion to customs followed in Josephus's own time. But in the literature cited by

himself. The king, however, perceived that they were disturbed and were acting in such a manner as is usual with those who wish to conceal something, and so he realized that the child had died. Then he called to him one of his servants and, when he learned the truth, he arose, bathed, put on a white^a garment and went to the tent of God; and when he ordered a meal to be prepared for him, he caused great astonishment at his strange conduct among his relatives and servants, because he had done none of these things during the child's illness, and was suddenly doing them now that he was dead. So, having first requested permission to inquire, they asked him to tell them the reason for these acts. Thereupon he called them dullards, and explained that while the child was still alive, he had hoped for its recovery and had therefore done everything proper, with the thought of rendering God gracious to him by such means; but now that it was dead, he no longer had any need of vain grief. At these words they praised the king's wisdom and understanding.^b Then David lay with his wife Beethsabē,^c and she conceived and bore a son, whom he named Solomon, at the bidding of the prophet Nathan.^d

Birth of
Solomon.
^b 2 Sam. xii.

φρέατος ἥρτηντο¹ καὶ τούτου τεταμιευμένου,² ὡς
μὴ τελέως αὐτοὺς ἐπιλιπεῖν τὴν πηγὴν δαψιλέ-
160 στερον χρωμένους. γράφει δὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα
δηλῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν τῆς
πόλεως ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα τὴν νίκην αὐτὸς ἐπιγραφῇ.³
ταῦτα Ἰωάβου γράψαντος ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν
τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς πίστεως ὁ βασιλεὺς παραλαβὼν
τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ῥαβαθᾶς
πόρθησιν, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἐλῶν διαρπάσαι τοὺς
161 στρατιώτας ἐφῆκεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως
τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν λαμβάνει στέφανον ἐλκοντα
χρυσοῦ τάλαντον καὶ πολυτελῆ λίθον ἔχοντα ἐν
μέσῳ σαρδόνυχα· ἐφόρει δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς
διαπαντὸς Δανίδης. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σκῦλα
λαμπρὰ καὶ πολύτιμα εὑρεν ἐν τῇ πόλει· τοὺς δ'
ἄνδρας αἰκισάμενος διέφθειρε. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰς
ἄλλας τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν πόλεις διέθηκεν ἐλῶν αὐτὰς
κατὰ κράτος.

162 (viii. 1) Ἀναστρέψαντος δ' εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῦ
βασιλέως πταῖσμα αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξ αἰτίας
τοιαύτης καταλαμβάνει· θυγάτηρ ἦν⁴ αὐτῷ παρ-

¹ ἥρτοντο Naber.

² τούτου τεταμ., cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: τοῦτο τεταμιευμένον SP: ταμελας RO(M).

³ Niese: ἐπιγράφῃ R: ἐπιγράφει O: ἐπιγραφεῖ MSP.

⁴ γὰρ ἦν RO.

^a The details of the siege are an amplification of 2 Sam. xii. 27, "And Joab sent messengers to David, and said, I have fought against Rabbah, and I have taken the city of waters."

^b So the Heb. *malkām* "their king"; but the LXX reading Μελχὸν τοῦ βασιλέως indicates that the Ammonite god Milcom (*cf.* 1 Kings xi. 5) was originally meant.

^c Scripture speaks only of a "precious stone," LXX λίθον

were dependent on a small well and this had to be carefully controlled in order that the spring might not fail them altogether because of too frequent use.^a Accordingly, he wrote to the king, informing him of this and inviting him to come to the capture of the city in order that he might have the victory ascribed to himself. Upon receiving Joab's letter, the king commended his loyalty and faithfulness; then he took along the force that was with him and came for the sacking of Rabatha, which he took by force and allowed his soldiers to plunder. He himself took the crown of the Ammanite king,^b which weighed a talent of gold and had in its centre a precious stone, a sardonyx^c; and thereafter David always wore it on his own head.^d He also found much other splendid and valuable spoil in the city. As for the inhabitants, he tortured them and put them to death.^e And the other Ammanite cities, which he took by force, he treated in the same way.

(viii. 1) But when the king returned to Jerusalem, ^{The story of} a great misfortune overtook his household, arising ^{Amnon and} from the following cause. ^{Tamar} He had a daughter who ^{(Thamara).} ^{2 Sam. xiii. 1}

^{τιμίον.} It may be noted that in A. iii. 165 Josephus uses σαρδόνυξ to translate Heb. *eben šōhām* "onyx" (?), LXX σμάραγδος "emerald" (?) of Ex. xxviii. 9, while in A. iii. 168 he uses the same word to translate Heb. *śōdem* "sardius" (A.V. "carnelian"), LXX σάρδιον of Ex. xxviii. 17. Evidently Josephus, like the LXX translators, was not sure of the meaning of some Heb. names of precious stones; the same uncertainty marks our renderings to-day.

^d It is not clear from Scripture whether David thereafter wore the crown or only the jewel in it.

^e The Heb. text of 2 Sam. xii. 31 is obscure and probably corrupt, leaving it uncertain whether the Ammonites were tortured or merely put to forced labour. It is probable that Josephus omits the Scriptural details because of the difficulty of the text.

θένος μὲν ἔτι τὸ δὲ κάλλος εὐπρεπής, ὡς ἀπάσας
ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς εὐμορφοτάτας γυναικας, Θαμάρα
δοῦμα, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς Ἀψαλώμω μητρὸς κεκοιω-
163 νηκυῖα. ταύτης ὁ πρεσβύτατος¹ τῶν Δανίδουν
παιδῶν Ἀμνῶν ἐρασθείς, ὡς οὔτε διὰ τὴν παρ-
θενίαν αὐτῆς οὔτε διὰ τὴν φυλακὴν τυχεῖν τῆς
ἐπιθυμίας ἐδύνατο, χαλεπῶς διέκειτο, καὶ τό τε
σῶμα τῆς ὀδύνης αὐτὸν κατεσθιούσης κατισχναί-
164 νετο καὶ τὴν χρόαν μετέβαλλε. δῆλος δὲ γίνεται
ταῦτα πάσχων Ἰωνάθη τινὶ συγγενεῖ καὶ φίλῳ.
συνετὸς δ' ἦν οὗτος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ τὴν
διάνοιαν ὀξύς. ὅρῶν οὖν καθ' ἑκάστην πρωίαν
τὸν Ἀμνῶνα μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα τῷ σώματι
προσελθὼν ἥρωτα φράσαι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ, εἰκά-
ζειν μέντοι γε αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς οὕτως
165 ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμίας. τοῦ δὲ Ἀμνῶνος ὄμολογή-
σαντος τὸ πάθος, ὅτι τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐρᾶ τυγχανούσης
όμοπατρίας, ὅδὸν αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὴν εἰς τὸ περι-
γενέσθαι τῷν εὐκταίων ὑπέθετο· νόσον γὰρ ὑπο-
κρίνασθαι παρήνεσεν, ἐλθόντα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν
πατέρα πέμψαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῷ διακονησομένην
ἐκέλευσε παρακαλέσαι· ράω² γὰρ ἔσεσθαι καὶ
ταχέως ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῆς νόσου τούτου γενο-
166 μένου. πεσὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀμνῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην νοσεῖν
προσεποιεῖτο κατὰ τὰς Ἰωνάθου ὑποθήκας. παρ-
γενομένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ σκεπτομένου
πῶς ἔχοι, τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐδεῖτο πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτόν·
ὅ δ' εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι. ἥκουσῃ δὲ προσ-

¹ E Glycas: πρεσβύτερος codd.

² Ernesti: ράων, ράον codd.

* Bibl. Tamar, LXX Θημάρ, Cod. A and Luc. Θαμάρ.

* An added detail, suggested, I suspect, by the Targum's

was still a virgin and of such striking beauty that she surpassed all the fairest women; her name was Thamara^a and she had the same mother as Absalom. Now the eldest of David's sons, Amnon, fell in love with her but, since he could not obtain his desire because of her virginity and because she was closely guarded,^b he became very ill and, as the pain consumed his body, he wasted away and lost his colour. His unhappy state then became apparent to a certain Jonathes,^c a relative and friend and a man who was exceedingly clever and sharp-witted. So when he saw Amnon every morning in a bodily state that was not natural, he went up to him and asked him to tell him the reason, but, he said, he himself guessed that he was in this state as a result of love-sickness.^d And Amnon confessed his passion, saying that he was in love with his sister on the father's side, whereupon the other suggested to him an ingenious way of obtaining his wishes. He advised him to feign illness and, when his father came to him, to request him to send his sister to wait on him. If he did this, he said, he would get better and would soon be rid of his illness. Accordingly, Amnon took to his bed and, following Jonathes' suggestion, pretended to be ill. Then, when his father came and inquired how he felt, he begged him to send his sister to him; thereupon the king immediately ordered her to be brought rendering of 2 Sam. xiii. 2, where the Heb. has "it was difficult in the eyes of Amnon (A.V. "and it seemed hard to Amnon") to do anything to her"; for "it was difficult" Targum has *hawā mekassā* "it was concealed," but Josephus apparently took the ptc. *mekassā* as feminine and as referring to Tamar.

^a Bibl. Jonadab, LXX Ἰωνάθας, Luc. Ἰωνάθαν. Scripture adds that he was a son of Shimeah, David's brother, cf. § 178.

^b Detail added by Josephus.

έταξεν ἄρτους αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τηγανιστοὺς αὐτουργῷ
 167 γενομένῃ· προσοίσεσθαι γὰρ ἥδιον ἐκ τῶν ἔκεινης
 χειρῶν. ἡ δὲ ἐμβλέποντος τάδελφοῦ φυράσασα τὸ
 ἀλευρον καὶ πλάσασα κολλυρίδας καὶ τηγανίσασα
 προσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἔγεύσατο,
 προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις παρατήσασθαι πάντας
 πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου· βούλεσθαι γὰρ ἀναπαύσασθαι,
 168 θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπηλλαγμένος. ὡς δὲ τὸ
 κελευσθὲν ἐγένετο, τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡξίωσεν εἰς τὸν
 ἐνδοτέρω οἶκον τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ παρενεγκεῖν.
 ποιησάσης δὲ τοῦτο τῆς κόρης λαβόμενος αὐτῆς
 συνελθεῖν αὐτῷ πείθειν ἐπειράτο. ἀνακραγοῦσα δὲ
 ἡ παῖς “ἀλλὰ μὴ σύ γε τοῦτο βιάσῃ με μηδὲ
 ἀσεβήσῃς,” εἶπεν, “ἀδελφέ, τοὺς νόμους παραβὰς
 καὶ δεινῇ περιβαλὼν σαυτὸν αἰσχύνῃ· παῦσαι δὲ
 οὗτος ἀδίκου καὶ μιαρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, ἐξ ἣς ὁνείδη
 169 καὶ κακοδοξίαν ὁ οἶκος ἡμῶν κερδανεῖ.” συν-
 εβούλευε τε περὶ τούτου διαλεχθῆναι τῷ πατρί·
 συγχωρήσειν γὰρ ἔκεινον. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγε βουλο-
 μένη τὴν ὄρμὴν αὐτοῦ τῆς ὄρεξεως πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
 διαφυγεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐ πείθεται, τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι καιό-
 μενος καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πάθους κέντροις μυωπιζόμενος
 170 βιάζεται τὴν ἀδελφήν. μῆσος δὲ εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν
 διακόρησιν¹ εἰσέρχεται τὸν Ἀμιῶνα καὶ προσ-

¹ κορεῖαν (-ιαν) ROE: διακορίαν S: διακορῆσας Zonaras.

^a Heb. *štē lebibōth* “two heart-shaped (or “round”) cakes,” Targum *tartēn halitāthā* “two dumplings” (dough stirred and boiled in water, sometimes fried after boiling), LXX *δύο κολλύρας* (*v.l.* -*ἴδας*) “two rolls.” The LXX word is used by Josephus in § 167.

^b According to Scripture (Heb., Targum and LXX) they were boiled.

^c Marriage with a half-sister on the father's side was thus

and, when she arrived, instructed her to make some fried^a cakes for Amnon with her own hands, for, David said, he would eat more readily from her hands. And so, while her brother looked on, she kneaded the flour and formed it into rolls which she fried^b and brought to him. He, however, did not immediately taste them, but ordered his servants to send away all who stood at the door of his chamber, as he wished to rest and be free from noise and disturbance. When they had done as he ordered, he asked his sister to serve the meal to him in his inner chamber, and the maid did so, whereupon he took hold of her and attempted to persuade her to lie with him. But the girl cried out and said, “Oh no, do not force me to this nor be so impious, my brother, as to transgress the law and bring upon yourself dreadful shame. Give up this unrighteous and unholy desire, from which our house will reap only disgrace and ill fame.” She further counselled him to speak of the matter with his father, for he would consent to their marriage.^c Thus she spoke in order to escape for the moment from the violence of his lust. He, however, did not listen to her, but, burning with desire and goaded by the spur of passion, violated his sister. But no sooner had Amnon ravished^d her than he was filled with loathing of her,

evidently permitted in David's time, although prohibited in the law ascribed to Moses, Lev. xviii. 6 ff. (which scholars generally regard as actually much later than Moses). The rabbis, attempting to reconcile this early practice with the Mosaic law, explained that Tamar's mother had given birth to her before being converted to Judaism, and that therefore Tamar was not strictly a blood-relative of Amnon according to Jewish law.

^a T. Reinach, hesitating to accept the reading διακόρησιν, suggests μετὰ κέρων “after surfeit.”

Tamar waits
on Amnon
and is
violated.
^{2 Sam. xiii. 8.}

λοιδορησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστᾶσαν ἀπιέναι.¹ τῆς δὲ χείρω τὴν ὕβριν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκαλούσης, εἰ βιασάμενος αὐτὸς μηδ' ἄχρι νυκτὸς ἐπιτρέπει μεῖναι παραχρῆμα δ' ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κελεύει ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ φωτὶ, ἵνα καὶ μάρτυσι τῆς αἰσχύνης περιπέσου, προσέταξεν αὐτὴν ἐκβαλεῖν τῷ οἴκετῃ.

171 ἡ δὲ περιαλγὴς ἐπὶ τῇ ὕβρει καὶ τῇ βίᾳ γενομένη περιρρήξασα τὸν χιτωνίσκον, ἐφόρουν γὰρ αἱ τῶν ἀρχαίων παρθένοι χειριδωτὸὺς ἄχρι τῶν σφυρῶν πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλέπεσθαι χιτῶνας, καὶ σποδὸν καταχεαμένη τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπῆγε διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης 172 βιώσα καὶ ὀδυρομένη τὴν βίαν. περιτυχὼν δ' αὐτῇ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀψάλωμος ἀνέκρινε τίνος αὐτῇ δεινοῦ συμβάντος οὕτως ἔχει· κατειπούσης δ' αὐτῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ὕβριν, ἥσυχάζειν καὶ μετρίως φέρειν παρηγόρει καὶ μὴ νομίζειν ὕβρίσθαι φθαρεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀδελφοῦ. πεισθεῖσα οὖν παύεται τῆς βοῆς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς πολλοὺς τὴν βίαν ἐκφέρειν, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον χηρεύουσα παρὰ Ἀψαλώμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ διεκαρτέρησε.

173 (2) Γνοὺς δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ πατὴρ Δαυΐδης τοῦς μὲν πεπραγμένους ἤχθετο, φιλῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀμνῶνα σφόδρα, πρεσβύτατος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ νιός, μὴ λυπεῖν αὐτὸν ἡναγκάζετο. ὁ δὲ Ἀψάλωμος ἐμίσει² χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν καὶ λανθάνων καιρὸν εἰς ἄμυναν αὐτοῦ 174 τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἐπιτίθειν παρεφύλαττεν. ἔτος δ' ἦδη τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ πταίσμασι

¹ Zonaras: ἀπεῖναι codd. E.
² + γε MSP: + γὰρ Naber: + τε Ernesti.

^a Josephus, in translating Heb. *ketōneth passim* "tunic with sleeves" (?) (A.V. "garment of many colours"), com-
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and, heaping abuse upon her head, he ordered her to rise and be gone. And when she denounced it as a still worse outrage that, after himself violating her, he did not allow her to remain until night but ordered her to depart immediately in broad daylight that she might encounter witnesses of her shame, he told his servant to throw her out. Then, in her distress at the outrage and the violence done her, she rent her tunic—in ancient times virgins wore long-sleeved tunics reaching to the ankle,^a in order not to be exposed—and poured ashes on her head and went away through the midst ^b of the city, crying aloud and bewailing the violence she had suffered. Her brother Absalom meeting her inquired what misfortune had befallen her that she acted in this way. And when she told him of the outrage, he exhorted her to be quiet and to take it calmly and not consider herself outraged in having been ravished by her brother. So she obeyed him and ceased crying and publishing the violation abroad, and remained desolate ^c in the house of her brother Absalom.

(2) Now when her father David learned of this, he was grieved by what had happened, but, as he loved Amnon greatly,—for he was his eldest son—he was compelled not to make him suffer.^d Absalom, however, hated him fiercely, and in secret waited for a favourable opportunity to take vengeance for his crime. When the second year had already passed since his

bines the LXX *καρπωτός* "long-sleeved" and Luc. *ἀστραγαλωτός* "reaching to the ankle."

^b Detail added by Josephus.

^c So the LXX, lit. "widowed"; Heb. *šômēmâh* "desolate" (A.V.).

^d Josephus's explanation of David's concern for Amnon is taken from the LXX addition to 2 Sam. xiii. 21.

διεληλύθει δεύτερον, καὶ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἴδιων
κουρὰν ἔξιέναι θρεμμάτων εἰς Βελσεφών, πόλις δ'
ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς Ἐφραΐμου κληρουχίας, παρακαλεῖ
τὸν πατέρα σὺν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς
175 αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑστίασιν. παραιτησαμένου δ' ὡς μὴ
βαρὺς αὐτῷ γένοιτο, τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι
παρεκάλεσε. πέμψαντος δὲ τοῖς ἴδιοις ἐκέλευσεν,
ὅπηνίκ' ἀν¹ ἴδωσι τὸν Ἀμνῶνα μέθῃ παρειμένον
καὶ κάρῳ, νεύσαντος αὐτοῦ φονεύσωσι μηδένα
φοβηθέντες.

176 (3) Ὡς δ' ἐποίησαν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἔκπληξις
καὶ ταραχὴ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λαμβάνει, καὶ δείσαντες
περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐμπηδήσαντες τοῖς ἵπποις ἐφέροντο
πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. φθάσας δέ τις αὐτοὺς ἀπαντας
ὑπὸ Ἀψαλώμου πεφονεῦσθαι τῷ πατρὶ προσῆγ-
177 γειλεν. ὁ δ' ὡς ἐπὶ παισὶν ὁμοῦ τοσούτοις ἀπο-
λωλόσι καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ, τῆς λύπης κάπι
τῷ κτεῖναι² δοκοῦντι γινομένης πικρότερον, συναρ-
παγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους οὔτε τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνέκρινεν
οὔτ' ἄλλο τι μαθεῖν, οἷον εἴκὼς τηλικούτουν προσηγ-
γελμένου κακοῦ καὶ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀπιστίαν ἔχοντος,
περιέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ καταρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ
ρύφας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκειτο πενθῶν τοὺς νιὸν
ἀπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανεῖν δεδηλωμένους καὶ τὸν
178 ἀνηρηκότα. ὁ δὲ Σαμᾶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ παῖς

¹ Niese: ὅπηνίκα codd. E: δπως ἥνικα Holwerda: δπως
ἥνικ' ἀν Hudson.

² + δυναμένης, -οις codd.

^a Bibl. " Baal-hazor, which is beside (lit. " with ") Ephraim," LXX ἐν Βαιλασῷ τῇ ἐχθμενᾳ Ἐφραΐμ, Luc. Βασελλασῷ παρὰ Γοφραΐμ. The Γοφραΐμ of Luc. is apparently Ophrah, a city in the territory of Benjamin, not of Ephraim, cf. Joshua xviii. 23; if this is so, it confirms the theory that Baal-hazor

sister's misfortune, and as he was about to depart for Belsephōn ^a—this is a city in the territory of Ephraim ^a—to shear his sheep, he invited his father, along with his brothers, to come to his home for a feast. But David declined on the ground that he would be a burden to him, whereupon he urged him to send his brothers. Then Absalom sent a message to his men, giving orders that when they saw Amnon overcome by drink and in a daze, they should, at a signal from himself, murder him without fear of anyone.

(3) And when they carried out these commands, Amnon's brothers escape death at Absalom' hands. 2 Sam. xiii. 29.
dismay and confusion seized his other brothers, and in fear for their lives they leaped on their horses ^b and rode away to their father. But someone reached there before them and reported to the king that they had all been murdered by Absalom. At the loss of so many sons at once and especially at the hands of a brother—his grief being more bitter when he thought who the supposed murderer was ^c—he was overcome by his trouble and did not inquire the reason nor take time to learn anything else,—as might have been expected in view of the greatness of the reported tragedy and its unbelievable atrociousness ^d—but rent his garments and threw himself on the ground to lie there mourning for all his sons, both those whose deaths had been announced and him who had slain them. Then Jonathes, a son of his brother Sama,^e

is the modern Tell 'Asur, about 5 miles N.E. of Beitin (bibl. Bethel).

^b Bibl. " mules."

^c The text appears to be corrupt, but no plausible emendation suggests itself.

^d These reflections are, of course, unscriptural.

^e So the LXX; bibl. Shimeah. Cf. § 164 note.

Ιωνάθης ἀνεῖναι τι τῆς λύπης παρεκάλει καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μὴ πιστεύειν ὡς τεθνᾶσιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰτίαν εὑρίσκειν ὑπολαμβάνειν, περὶ δ' Ἀμνῶνος ἐξετάζειν ἔφη δεῖν· εἰκὸς γὰρ διὰ τὴν Θαμάρας ὑβριν ἀποτολμῆσαι τὸν Ἀφάλωμον τὴν ἀναίρεσιν 179 τὴν ἐκείνου. μεταξὺ δὲ κτύπος ἵππων καὶ θόρυβος προσιόντων τινῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπέστρεψεν· ἥσαν δ' οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες οἱ διαδράντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστιάσεως. ὑπαντῷ δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ πατὴρ θρηνοῦσι λυπούμενος καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ὄρῶν οὓς ἀκηκόει 180 μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἀπολωλότας. ἦν δὲ παρὰ πάντων δάκρυα καὶ στόνος, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἀδελφῷ τετελευτηκότι, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὡς ἐπὶ παιδὶ κατεσφαγμένῳ. φεύγει δ' Ἀφάλωμος εἰς Γεσσούραν¹ πρὸς τὸν πάππον τὸν πρὸς μητρὸς δυναστεύοντα τῆς ἐκεῖ χώρας, καὶ τρισὶν ὅλοις ἔτεσι παρ' αὐτῷ καταμένει.

181 (4) Τοῦ δὲ Δαυΐδου προαίρεσιν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τὸν νίον Ἀφάλωμον πέμπειν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ κατελευσόμενον, ἀλλ' ὅπως εἴη σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῆς ὄργης ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λελωφήκει, πρὸς τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτὸν Ἰώαβος ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος παρώρμησε· γύναιον γάρ τι τὴν ἥλικίαν ἥδη προβεβηκὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν ἐν σχήματι πενθίμῳ, ὡς² παῖδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγροικίας αὐτῇ διενεχθέντων καὶ πρὸς φιλονεικίαν τραπέντων, οὐδενὸς τοῦ καταπαῦσαι δυναμένου παραφανέντος ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ θατέρου 182 τὸν ἔτερον πληγέντα ἀποθανεῖν· ἥξιον τε τῶν συγγενῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνηρηκότα ὠρμηκότων καὶ ζητούν-

¹ Γεσούρα M: Γεθσούρα SP: Gessyr Lat.

² ὡς om. M: ἡ ex Lat. Dindorf: post ὡς lacunam statuit Niese.

urged him to moderate his grief somewhat and not believe that his other sons were dead, as he found no reason for supposing such a thing; but, as for Amnon, he ought to make inquiries, for it was likely that, because of the outrage to Thamara, Absalom had been reckless enough to slay him. Meanwhile the clatter of horses and the noise of approaching men caused them to look around^a; and there were the king's sons who had escaped from the feast. When their father greeted them, they were in tears, and he himself was grief-stricken because it was more than he had hoped for when he beheld those of whose death he had heard but a little while before. So there were tears and laments on both sides, on theirs for their dead brother, and on the king's for his slaughtered son. But Absalom fled to Gessūra^b to his maternal grandfather,^c who ruled over that country, and remained with him three whole years.

(4) Now David had the intention of sending for Joab's stratagem to reconcile his return, but in order that he might be with him, David to Absalom. for in the course of time his anger had abated; to 2 Sam. xiii. 39. this decision his commander-in-chief Joab strongly urged him on by causing a certain woman, well 2 Sam. advanced in years, to come to him in mourner's garb xiv. 1. with a story that her sons, having a dispute in the field, had come to an open quarrel and, as no one appeared who could have stopped it, one of them was struck by the other and killed; she had asked her relatives who had set out to hunt the slayer and slay

^a Unscriptural details.

^b Bibl. Geshur, LXX Γεδσούρ (v.l. Γεσσείρ); an Aramaic kingdom lying east of the Sea of Galilee.

^c His name, Talmai (*cf.* § 21 note), is given, at this point, in Scripture.

των αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, χαρίσασθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ μὴ τὰς ἐπιλοίπους¹ τῆς γηροκομίας αὐτὴν ἐλπίδας προσαφαιρεθῆναι· τοῦτο δ' αὐτῇ κωλύσαντα τὸν βουλομένους ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν νιὸν αὐτῆς παρέξειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐφέξειν ἔκείνους ἀλλὰ τινὶ 184 τῆς σπουδῆς ἡ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ φόβῳ. τοῦ δὲ συγκατανεύσαντος² οἷς τὸ γύναιον ἱκέτευσεν, ὑπολαβὸν πάλιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα “χάρις μέν,” εἶπεν, “ἡδη σου τῇ χρηστότητι κατοικτείραντός μου τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπαιδίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα βέβαια τὰ παρὰ τῆς σῆς μοι ἥ³ φιλανθρωπίας, τῷ σαντοῦ παιδὶ πρώτον καταλλάγῃ καὶ τὴν πρὸς 185 αὐτὸν ὄργὴν ἄφεις· πῶς γὰρ ἀν πεισθείην ἐμοὶ σε ταύτην ἀληθῶς⁴ δεδωκέναι τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ σοῦ μέχρι νῦν ἐφ' ὅμοίοις ἀπεχθανομένου τῷ παιδί;” τελέως δ' ἀνόητον⁵ εἶναι προσθεῖναι τῷ παρὰ 186 γνώμην ἀποθανόντι νιῷ⁶ ἄλλον ἔκουσίως. συνίησι δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπόβλητον οὖσαν τὴν σκῆψιν ἐξ Ἰωάβου καὶ τῆς τούτου σπουδῆς· καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῆς πρεσβύτιδος πυθόμενος οὕτως ἔχον τάληθὲς ἔμαθε, προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰώαβον ἐπιτυχεῖν τε τοῦ προκειμένου κατὰ νοῦν ἔφασκε καὶ τὸν Ἀφάλωμον ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι χαλεπῶς ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἡδη τὴν ὄργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν 187 ἀφεικέναι. ὁ δὲ προσκυνήσας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀσπασάμενος ἐξώρμησεν εἰς τὴν Γεσσούραν παραντίκα καὶ τὸν Ἀφάλωμον παραλαβὼν ἤκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

¹ ἔτι λοιπὰ (-δν E) ROE.

² συγκατανεύσαντος MSE: adnuente Lat.

³ M: εἴη rell. E.

⁴ ἀληθῶς om. RO.

⁵ δ' ἀνόητον] δ' ἀν ἀνόητον SP: δ' ἀν M: ἀνόητον δ' E.

⁶ ἀποθαν. νιῷ] ἀποθανόντος τοῦ νιοῦ MSP: ἀποθανόντι καὶ E.

him in turn, to spare her son's life for her sake and not further deprive her of her last remaining hope of support in her old age. This, she said, the king would secure to her by preventing those who wished to kill her son from so doing, for nothing would restrain them from their purpose except their fear of him. And when he acceded to the woman's petition, she again addressed him with these words, “I do indeed thank you for your kindness in taking pity on my old age and on my near-childlessness, but, in order that I may have full assurance of your humane treatment of me, be first reconciled to your own son and let your anger toward him cease. For how should I be persuaded that you have truly granted me this kindness if you yourself still feel hate toward your son for a like reason? It would be utterly unreasonable if, after one son has perished against your will, you were willingly to cause the death of another.”^a Then the king perceived that this pretended case was an invention of Joab and due to his zeal for Absalom's cause. And when, by questioning the old woman, he learned that it was so in truth, he summoned Joab to tell him that he had gained his end, and he bade him bring Absalom, for he was no longer hostile to him but had already got over his anger and displeasure. Thereupon Joab did obeisance to the king, receiving his words with joy, and at once set out for Gessūra, from which place he brought Absalom back with him to Jerusalem.

^a The woman's second speech is considerably amplified by Josephus.

188 (5) Προέπεμψε δ' ἔμπροσθεν δ' βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὡς ἥκουσε παραγενόμενον καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκέλευσε χωρεῦν· οὕπω γὰρ οὗτως ἔχειν ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἵδειν κατελθόντα· καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς κελεύσαντος ἐξέκλινε τὴν ὅψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διετέλει τῆς παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων θεραπείας τυγχάνων.
 189 οὐκ ἐπεβέβλαπτο δ' εἰς τὸ κάλλος ὑπό τε τῆς λύπης καὶ τοῦ μὴ τυγχάνειν τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιμελείας νίῳ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἔτι γὰρ ἔξειχε καὶ διέπρεπε πάντων¹ τῷ τε εἴδει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολλῇ τρυφῇ διαιτωμένους ὑπερέβαλλε. τοσοῦτον μέντοι γε ἦν τὸ βάθος τῆς κόμης, ὡς μόλις αὐτὴν ἡμέραις ἀποκείρειν ὀκτώ, σταθμὸν ἐλκουσαν σύκλους διακοσίους· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ 190 πέντε μναῖ. διέτριψε μέντοι γε ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔτη δύο, τριῶν μὲν ἀρρένων πατήρ γενόμενος μιᾶς δὲ θυγατρὸς τὴν μορφὴν ἀρίστης, ἦν ὁ Σολομῶνος νιὸς Ῥοβάμος ὕστερον λαμβάνει, καὶ 191 γίνεται παιδίον ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἀβίας ὄνομα. πέμψας

¹ Niese: πᾶν ROM: πάντας SP: om. E.

^a Bibl. "it was at every year's end that he polled it," Heb. *miqqəš yāmîm leyāmîm*, lit. "from the end (or "period") of days to days," LXX ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας. The Targum and Jewish tradition recognize that the expression *miqqəš yāmîm leyāmîm* generally means "from year to year," but some rabbis took it here, as did Josephus, to mean "from week to week," explaining that Absalom was permitted, though a Nazirite, to clip it slightly every week because his hair was particularly heavy (Ginzberg v. 105).

^b Bibl. "two hundred (Luc. "one hundred") shekels after the king's weight." Reinach's note that the shekel was one fiftieth of a mina and that Josephus should therefore have

(5) When the king heard of his son's arrival, he Absalom's return; his sent to him beforehand, ordering him to retire to his great own house, for he was not yet in a mood to see him immediately upon his return. So Absalom, in accordance with this command of his father, avoided his presence and continued at the same time to be waited on by his servants. Now he had not suffered any loss of beauty through sorrow or the lack of care proper to a king's son, but was still remarkable and distinguished among all for his looks and bodily stature, and surpassed even those who lived in great luxury. Furthermore, so great was the thickness of his hair that he could scarcely cut it within a week,^a its weight being two hundred shekels, which equal five minae.^b He dwelt, however, in Jerusalem two years and became the father of three sons and of one very beautiful daughter, whom Solomon's son Roboam^c married later and by whom he had a son named Abias.^d Then Absalom himself sent to

written "four minae" instead of "five minae" overlooks the fact that in Josephus's time there was a mina of forty shekels as well as one of fifty (cf. S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, ii. 406). But it must be admitted that Josephus is as inconsistent in metrology as in chronology, cf. A. xiv. 106 note.

^c Bibl. Rehoboam, LXX Ῥοβάμ. The Heb. at this point mentions Absalom's daughter Tamar (whom Josephus calls Thamara in § 244), but not her subsequent marriage to Rehoboam; this detail is found in the LXX addition to this verse, 2 Sam. xiv. 27. Rehoboam's wife is called Maacah (1 Kings xv. 2; 2 Chron. xi. 20) or Micaiah, the daughter of Uriel (2 Chron. xiii. 2); Luc. removes the difficulty by reading Maacah for Tamar in 2 Sam., but that Josephus here evades it, as Weill supposes, is doubtful in view of § 244. Moreover, instead of evading the difficulty, Josephus resolves it, in A. viii. 249, by making Rehoboam's wife Maacah, a daughter of Absalom's daughter Tamar.

^d Bibl. Abijah, LXX (2 Sam.) Ἀβιαθάρ (v.l. Ἀβία).

δ' αὐτὸς Ἀφάλωμος πρὸς Ἰώαβον ἐδεῖτ' αὐτοῦ τελέως καταπραῦναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ δεηθῆναι ὅπως αὐτῷ συγχωρήσῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντι θεάσασθαι τε καὶ προσειπεῖν. καταμελήσαντος δὲ Ἰωάβου, τῶν ἴδιων τωὰς ἀποστείλας τὴν ὁμοροῦσαν αὐτῷ χώραν ἐπυρπόλησεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν μαθὼν ἤκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀφάλωμον ἐγκαλῶν τε αὐτῷ 192 καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυνθανόμενος. ὁ δὲ “στρατήγημα τοῦτον,” εἶπεν, “εὑρον ἀγαγεῖν σε πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυνάμενον ἀμελοῦντα τῶν ἐντολῶν, ἃς ἵνα μοι τὸν πατέρα διαλλάξῃς ἐποιούμην. καὶ δὴ δέομαι σου παρόντος ἡμερῶσαι μοι τὸν γεγεννηκότα· ὡς ἔγωγε δεινοτέραν τῆς φυγῆς κρίνω τὴν κάθοδον ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς 193 ἐν ὄργῃ μένοντος.” πεισθεὶς δ' ὁ Ἰώαβος καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην αὐτοῦ κατοικτείρας ἐμεσίτευσε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ διαλεχθεὶς περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς οὗτως αὐτὸν ἥδεις διατίθησιν, ὡς εὐθέως καλέσαι πρὸς αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ ρύψαντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος καὶ συγγνώμην αἴτουμένου τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀνίστησι 194 τε καὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἀμνηστίαν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

(ix. 1) Ὁ δὲ Ἀφάλωμος τοιούτων αὐτῷ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς¹ ἀποβάντων πολλοὺς μὲν ἕπους ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάνυ χρόνῳ πολλὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐκέκτητο, 195 καὶ ὀπλοφόροι περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν πεντήκοντα· καθ' ἑκάστην δ' ἡμέραν ὅρθριος πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια παρεγίνετο καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἥκουσι καὶ ἐλαττουμένοις πρὸς ἥδονὴν ὅμιλῶν, ὡς παρὰ τὸ μὴ συμβούλους ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ τάχ' αὐτῶν² καὶ ἀδίκως ἐπταικότων τῶν περὶ τὴν κρίσιν,

¹ + καὶ βασιλέως SP: βασιλέως (om. πατρὸς) M. ² αὐτῷ ROM.

^a The first part of Absalom's request is a detail added by Josephus.

Absalom persuades Joab to intercede for him with David. 2 Sam. xiv. 29.

Joab, asking him to appease his father ^a and request that he allow him to come to see him and speak with him. But as Joab paid no attention to this,^b he sent some of his men to set fire to a field adjacent to him.^c When Joab heard what had been done, he came to Absalom to complain of it to him and to learn the reason for it, whereupon the other said, “I hit upon this scheme as something which might bring you to me, since you have disregarded the injunctions which I laid upon you to reconcile my father to me. Now indeed, that you are before me, I request you to soften my parent toward me, for I hold my return to be a greater misfortune than exile while my father still persists in his anger.” Joab was persuaded to do so and, having pity on his need, interceded for him with the king, to whom he spoke about his son and disposed him so favourably toward him that he straightway summoned him into his presence. Then Absalom threw himself upon the ground and asked pardon for his sins, whereupon David raised him up ^d and promised forgetfulness of what had happened.

(ix. 1) After this experience with his father, Absalom in a very short time acquired a great number of horses and chariots, and had fifty armed men ^e about him. And every day, early in the morning, 2 Sam. xv. 1. he went to the palace and spoke ingratiatingly to those who had come for judgement and had lost their suit, suggesting that they had lost the case because his father had not had good counsellors or because

^b Absalom sends twice to Joab in Scripture.

^c i.e. Joab. Scripture says that the field belonged to Joab and was adjacent to Absalom.

^d Bibl. “and the king kissed Absalom.”

^e Bibl. “fifty men to run before him.”

εὗνοιαν αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων κατεσκεύαζε λέγων ὡς
αὐτὸς ἀν εἰ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ἔξουσίαν πολλὴν
196 αὐτοῖς ἐβράβευσεν εὔνομίαν. τούτοις δημαγωγῶν
τὸ πλῆθος ὡς βεβαίαν ἔχειν¹ ἥδη τὴν παρὰ τῶν
ὄχλων εὕνοιαν ἐνόμιζε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτῷ² καταλλαγὴν τεσσάρων ἑτῶν ἥδη διεληλυθότων,
ἔδειτο προσελθὼν εἰς Χεβρῶνα συγχωρῆσαι πορευ-
θέντι θυσίαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ φεύγοντα γὰρ
αὐτὸν εὗξασθαι. τοῦ δὲ Δαυΐδου τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐφ-
έντος³ πορεύεται, καὶ πολὺς ἐπισυνέρρευσεν ὄχλος
ἐπὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ διαπέμψαντος.

197 (2) Παρῆν δὲ καὶ ὁ Δαυΐδον σύμβουλος ὁ Γελ-
μωναῖος Ἀχιτόφελος καὶ διακόσιοί τινες ἔξι αὐτῶν
Ἱεροσολύμων οὐκ εἰδότες μὲν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ὡς
δ' ἐπὶ θυσίαν μετεσταλμένοι· καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ⁴
πάντων ἀποδείκνυται, τοῦτο γενέσθαι στρατηγήσας.

198 ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλῃ ταῦτα Δαυΐδη καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας
αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡκούσθη, δείσας ἀμα
καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ τῆς τόλμης αὐτὸν θαυμάσας,
ὅτι μηδὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις συγγνώμης
ἔμνημόνευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων πολὺ χείροις καὶ
παρανομωτέροις ἐπεβάλετο βασιλείᾳ πρῶτον μὲν
ὑπὸ θεοῦ οὐ δεδομένῃ, δεύτερον δὲ ἐπ' ἀφαιρέσει
τοῦ γεγενηκότος, ἔγνω φεύγειν εἰς τὰ πέραν τοῦ
199 Ἰορδάνου. καὶ συγκαλέσας τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἐπι-
τηδειοτάτους καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπονοίας

¹ ἔχειν om. RO.

² Niese: αὐτοῦ codd.
³ Niese: ἀφέντος codd. E fort. recte.

⁴ So Luc.; Heb. and LXX "forty" ("and it came to pass at the end of forty years," etc.). The rabbis, who realized the difficulty of reading "forty years," which apparently means from the time of David and Absalom's reconciliation, reckoned it from the time when Saul was chosen king.

of an injustice; and he won the goodwill of all by saying that if he himself had had this power he would have dispensed full and equal justice to them. By these means he curried favour with the multitude, and, when he thought that the loyalty of the populace was secured to him,—four^a years having now passed since his father's reconciliation with him—he went to him and asked for permission to go to Hebron and offer sacrifice to God seeing that he had so vowed when in exile. And, when David granted his request, he departed, and a great multitude streamed to him, for he had sent out messages to many.

(2) There were with him also David's counsellor Achitophel the Gelmonite^b and two hundred men from Jerusalem itself, who knew nothing of the business in hand, but thought themselves summoned to a sacrifice; and he was chosen by them all as king, as he had contrived should be done. When these things were reported to David and he heard of these unexpected acts of his son, he was both alarmed and surprised at his impiety and audacity, for Absalom was not even mindful of having been pardoned for his sins, but was guilty of much greater acts of lawlessness in having designs upon the kingship, which, in the first place, had not been given him by God and, in the second place, involved the removal of his parent.^c He therefore decided to flee to the country across the Jordan. And he called together his closest friends and, having taken counsel with them concerning his son's madness, committed

David learns
of Absalom's
plot and
flees from
Jerusalem.
2 Sam.
xv. 12.

^b So Luc.; bibl. Gilonite (Heb. *Gilōnī*, i.e. from Giloh), LXX cod. Β θεκωνεῖ, cod. A Γιλωναῖς, al. Γολαμωναῖον. The site of Giloh is uncertain; it is identified by some with *Khirbet Jälā*, 6 miles N. of Hebron.

^c David's reflections are an amplification of Scripture.

κοινολογησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ πάντων ἐπιτρέψας κριτῆ τῷ θεῷ, καταλιπὼν τὰ βασίλεια φυλάσσειν δέκα παλλακίσιν ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, τὸν τε ἄλλου πλήθους προθύμως¹ αὐτῷ συνεξορμήσαντος καὶ τῶν ἔξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν, οἵ 200 καὶ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῷ² φυγῆς ἐκοινώνουν, ὅτ' ἔτη Σαοῦλος. τὸν δὲ Ἀβιαθαρον καὶ Σάδωκον τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς συναπαίρειν αὐτῷ³ διεγνωκότας καὶ Ληονίτας ἄπαντας μετὰ τῆς κιβωτοῦ μένειν ἐπεισεν, ὡς⁴ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μὴ μετακομίζομένης 201 αὐτῆς ρύσομένου. ἐνετείλατο δ' ἔκαστα τῶν γινομένων λάθρα διαγγέλλειν αὐτῷ· πιστοὺς δ' ἔσχε πρὸς πάντα διακόνους παῖδας Ἀχίμαν μὲν Σαδώκον⁵ Ιωνάθην δὲ Ἀβιαθάρον. "Εθις δ' ὁ Γιτταῖος⁶ συνεξώρμησεν αὐτῷ βιασάμενος τὴν Δαυίδον βούλησιν (μένειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνέπειθε) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο 202 μᾶλλον εὗνοις αὐτῷ κατεφάνη. ἀναβαίνοντος δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἐλαιῶνος ὄρους γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ πάντων σὺν αὐτῷ δακρυόντων, ἀγγέλλεται καὶ δ' Ἀχιτόφελος συνὼν τῷ Ἀψαλώμῳ καὶ τὰ τούτου φρονῶν. ἐπέτεινε δ' αὐτῷ τὸ λυπηρὸν τοῦτ' ἀκουοθέν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπεκαλεῖτο δεόμενος ἀπαλλοτριώσαι τὴν Ἀψαλώμου διάνοιαν πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιτόφελον. ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ τάναντία συμβουλεύων πείσειεν αὐτόν, ἀνὴρ ὃν φρενήρης καὶ συν- 203 ιδεῖν τὸ λυσιτελές ὀξύτατος. γενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους ἀπεσκόπει τὴν πόλιν καὶ μετὰ

¹ προθύμως om. RO. ² αὐτῷ om. RO.

³ ed. pr.: δπως codd.

⁴ Ο: Γιτθαῖος rell.: Iettheus Lat.

^a v.l. Achimanos; bibl. Ahimaaz (Heb. *Aḥīmā'as*), LXX 'Αχειμαῖος, Luc. 'Αχειμᾶς.

^b Called Ethaios in § 233; bibl. Ittai, LXX Σεθθεὶ, Luc.

the entire matter into the hands of God as judge. Then, having left the palace in the keeping of his ten concubines, he departed from Jerusalem with a large number who were eager to accompany him, and also the six hundred armed men who had taken part in his former flight in the lifetime of Saul. But Abiathar and Sadok, the high priests, who had intended to depart with him, and all the Levites he persuaded to remain behind with the ark, for God, he said, would deliver him even if it were not brought along. He also instructed them to report to him secretly everything that happened. In all these matters he had as his faithful aids Achimas,^a the son of Sadok, and Jonathan, the son of Abiathar. Ethis^b the Gittite also set out with him, having overcome the objections of David who had tried to persuade him to stay, and in this way he showed his loyalty even more clearly. Now as David was ascending the Mount of Olives with bare feet and with all his company in tears, news was brought to him that Achitophel was with Absalom and now belonged to his party. And when David heard this, his grief was intensified and he called upon God, beseeching Him to alienate Absalom's feeling from Achitophel, for he feared that his hostile counsels might prove persuasive to him, as those of a man of ready wit and quick to see an advantage.^c And when he reached the crest^d of the mountain, he gazed

'Ηθεὶ. In Scripture Ittai is mentioned before the high priests' sons.

^e The preceding sentence is an amplification of David's prayer in 2 Sam. xv. 31, "O Lord, I pray thee, make foolish the counsel of Ahitophel."

^d So the Heb., which has *rōš* "head"; LXX transliterates this as a proper name 'Ρωΐς.

The high priests
remain in
Jerusalem.
^{2 Sam.}
^{xv. 24.}

πολλῶν δακρύων ὡς ἀν βασιλείας ἐκπεσὼν ηὔχετο τῷ θεῷ· συνήντησε δ' αὐτῷ φίλος ἀνὴρ καὶ βέβαιος 204 Χουσὶς ὄνομα. τοῦτον ὄρῶν τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρηγμένον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σπόδοῦ πλήρη καὶ θρηνοῦντα τὴν μεταβολὴν παρηγόρει καὶ παύσασθαι τῆς λύπης παρεκάλει καὶ τέλος ἵκετευσεν ἀπελθόντα πρὸς Ἀφάλωμον ὡς τὰ ἔκεινου φρονοῦντα τά τε ἀπόρρητα τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ κατανοεῖν καὶ ταῖς Ἀχιτοφέλου συμβουλίαις ἀντιπράττειν· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὥφελήσειν αὐτῷ συνερχόμενον, ὃσον παρ' ἔκεινῳ γενόμενον. καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς τῷ Δανίδῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸν ἦκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· ἀφικνεῖται δ' εἰς αὐτὰ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ Ἀφάλωμος.

205 (3) Ὁλίγον δὲ τῷ Δανίδῃ προελθόντι¹ Σιβᾶς ὁ τοῦ Μεμφιβόσθου δοῦλος συνήντησεν, ὃν προνοησόμενον ἀπεστάλκει τῶν κτήσεων ἀσ δεδώρητο τῷ Ἰωνάθου τοῦ Σαούλου παιδὸς υἱῷ, μετὰ ζεύγους ὄνων καταπεφορτισμένων τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, ἐξ ὧν ἐκέλευσε λαμβάνειν ὧν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ 206 δέοιτο. πυνθανομένου δὲ ποῦ καταλέλοιπε τὸν Μεμφιβόσθον, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔλεγε προσδοκῶντα χειροτονηθῆσθαι βασιλέα διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ταραχὴν εἰς μνήμην ὧν εὐεργέτησεν αὐτοὺς Σαούλος. ἀγανακτήσας δ' ἐπὶ τούτω πάνθ' ὃσα τῷ Μεμφιβόσθῳ παρεχώρησε Σιβᾶ χαρίζεται· πολὺ γὰρ δικαιότερον αὐτὸν ἔκεινου ταῦτ' ἔχειν ἐπεγνωκέναι· καὶ ὁ μὲν Σιβᾶς περιχαρής ἦν.

¹ ed. pr. Lat.: προελθόντι codd.

* Bibl. Hushai the Arcite, lxx Χουσεὶ ὁ Ἀρχὶ; some lxx mss., followed by the ancient versions, mistakenly took Ἀρχὶ

upon the city and with many tears, as if already fallen from royal power, prayed to God. Then there met him a man who was a firm friend of his, named Chūsis,^a and when David saw him with his garments torn and his head covered with ashes,^b weeping over the change of fortune, he comforted him and exhorted him to cease grieving, and finally implored him to go back to Absalom under pretence of being on his side, in order to discover his secret plans and oppose the counsels of Achitophel. He would not, said David, be of as great help to him by coming along as he might be by staying with Absalom. And so, at David's persuasion, he left him and came to Jerusalem, where, not long after, Absalom also arrived.

(3) Now David had gone on a little further when he was met by Siba, the servant of Memphibosthos, whom David had sent to take charge of the property which he had presented to the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul^c; Siba had with him a couple of asses laden with provisions, from which he bade David take whatever he himself and his men might need. And, when he was asked where he had left Memphibosthos, he said, "In Jerusalem," where he was waiting to be chosen king in the midst of the prevailing confusion, in recognition of the benefits which Saul had conferred on the people. In his indignation at this, David made a present to Siba of all that he had granted to Memphibosthos, for, he said, he recognized that he had a far juster claim to possess them than had the other. And so Siba was greatly pleased.

as an adjective compound with the following noun ἑταῖρος, reading ἀρχιέταιρος "chief friend"; cf. § 216 note.

* Bibl. "earth."

Cf. §§ 114 f.

Hushai
(Chusis)
returns to
Jerusalem
as David's
agent.
² Sam.
xv. 32.

207 (4) Δαυίδη δὲ γενομένω κατὰ Χώρανον¹ τόπου οὗτως καλούμενον ἐπέρχεται τοῦ Σαούλου συγγενῆς Σαμούΐς² μὲν ὄνομα υἱὸς δὲ Γηρᾶ, καὶ λίθοις τε ἔβαλλεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκακηγόρει. περιστάντων δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ σκεπόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον δὲ Σαμούΐς βλασφημῶν διετέλει, μιαιφόνον καὶ πολλῶν ἀρχη-
208 γὸν κακῶν ἀποκαλῶν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐναγῆ καὶ ἐπάρατον ἔξιέναι, καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ὥμολόγει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἀφελομένῳ καὶ διὰ παιδὸς ἰδίου τὴν ὑπὲρ ὅν ήμαρτεν εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ³ δεσπότην δίκην αὐτὸν εἰσπραξαμένῳ. πάντων δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἡρεθισμένων ὑπ’ ὄργῆς καὶ μάλιστα
'Αβισαίου διαχρήσασθαι βουλομένου τὸν Σαμούΐν
209 Δαυίδης αὐτὸν τῆς ὄργῆς ἐπέσχε, “μὴ τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἔτέραν προσεξεργασώμεθα,” φησί,
“καινοτέραν ἀφορμήν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ προσλυσ-
σῶντός μοι τούτου κυνὸς αἰδώς τις ἦ φροντὶς ὑπέρχεται,⁴ τῷ θεῷ δὲ εἴκω, δι’ ὃν οὗτος ἐφ’ ήμᾶς ἀπενοήθη. Θαυμαστὸν δ’ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τούτου με ταῦτα πάσχειν, ὅπου γε καὶ παιδὸς ἀσεβοῦς πεπείραμαι. ἀλλ’ ἔσται τις ἵσως⁵ οἶκτος ήμῶν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ κρατήσομεν τῶν ἔχθρῶν τούτου θελή-
210 σαντος.” ἥνυεν οὖν τὴν ὁδὸν οὐ φροντίζων τοῦ Σαμούΐ παρὰ τὸ ἔτερον μέρος τοῦ ὄρους διατρέχον-
τος καὶ πολλὰ κακηγοροῦντος· παραγενόμενος δ’

¹ Χώραμον M: Βαουρὶ P: Χώραν δν RO: Choran Lat. (cf. infra ad § 225).

² Σεμεῖ, -εεὶ (M)SPE: Sumas Lat. (sed infra, § 208, Σουμᾶν MSP).

³ Niese: αὐτοῦ codd.: ἐαυτοῦ Hudson cum cod. Vat.

⁴ ἐπέρχεται RO.

⁵ ἵσως om. RO.

^a Bibl. Bahurim, lxx Βουρεῖμ, Luc. Χορράμ. The variant in Josephus is probably due to scribal correction from the

(4) When David came to Chōranos,^a as the place was called, there came out a relative of Saul, named Samūis,^b the son of Gera, who threw stones at him and abused him. And although the king's friends stood around him and protected him, Samūis only continued the more to curse him and denounce him as one stained with blood and as the author of many crimes. He also bade him leave the country as one under a ban and accursed; and he gave thanks to God for having deprived David of his kingdom and for having exacted punishment of him, through his own son, for the crimes which he had committed against his master.^c Though they were all provoked to anger at him, especially Abishai, who wished to make an end of him, David restrained his anger, saying, "Let us not add to our present ills by causing new ones to arise, for certainly no feeling of shame or concern touches me on account of this cur's^d raving against me; but I submit to God, by whom this fellow has been moved to frenzy against us. Nor is there anything strange in my being so treated by him, when I have experienced the impiety of a son. Nevertheless, God's compassion will rest on us, and we shall overcome our enemies by His will." And so he continued on his way, taking no notice of Samūis, who ran along with him on the other side of the mountain, abusing him freely. And, when

LXX. In § 225 the name is written Bocchores. The village lay on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, but the exact site has not been identified.

^b Bibl. Shimei, LXX Σεμεῖ. The name appears as Sūmūis in § 388.

^c i.e. Saul.

^d According to Scripture, it is Abishai who calls Shimei "a dead dog."

ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς ἴδιους ἐνταῦθα κεκοπωμένους.

211 (5) Ἀψαλώμου δὲ καὶ Ἀχιτοφέλου τοῦ συμβούλου παραγενομένων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα σὺν ἄπαντι τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ὁ Δαυΐδον φίλος ἥκε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν συνηύχετο τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς αἰῶνα καὶ τὸν πάντα παραμεῖναι χρόνον. φήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτόν, τί δήποτε φίλος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγενημένος καὶ πρὸς ἄπαντα πιστὸς εἶναι δόξας οὐ σὺν αὐτῷ νῦν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν ἐκεῖνον μεταβαίη πρὸς αὐτόν,
212 δεξιῶς ἀποκρίνεται καὶ σωφρόνως· εἶπε γὰρ ἔπεσθαι δεῖν¹ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ παντὶ πλήθει. “τούτων οὖν μετὰ σοῦ, ὃ δέσποτα, γεγενημένων εἰκότως ἔπομαι κάγω· τὴν γὰρ βασιλείαν ἔλαβες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. τὴν αὐτὴν μέντοι γε πίστιν καὶ εὗνοιαν ἐνδείξομαι πιστευόμενος εἶναι φίλος, ἦν οἰσθά με τῷ πατρί σου παρεσχημένον. ἀγανακτεῖν δ' οὐδὲν προσῆκε τοῖς παροῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλην οἰκίαν ἡ βασιλεία μεταβέβηκε, μεμένηκε δ' ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς,
213 νίοῦ παραλαβόντος.” ταῦτα λέγων ἔπειθεν· ὑποπτον γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶχε. καὶ καλέσας τὸν Ἀχιτόφελον συνεβουλεύετο αὐτῷ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν· ὁ δὲ παρήνεσε ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν παλλακαῖς συνελθεῖν· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ εἴσεσθαι τὸν λαὸν ἔλεγε πιστεύσαντα, ὡς ἀδιάλλακτά σοι τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν ἔστι, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς συστρατεύσεσθαι² προθυμίας ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα· μέχρι δεῦρο γὰρ φανερὰν ἔχθραν ἀναλαμβάνειν δεδιέναι προσδοκῶντας ὑμᾶς ὄμονοήσειν.

¹ + αὐτὸν codd.

² ed. pr.: -ασθαι codd.

he reached the Jordan, he allowed his weary men to rest there.

(5) As soon as Absalom and Achitophel, his adviser, arrived at Jerusalem with all the people, David's friend ^a came to them and did obeisance to him, praying for him that his kingship should continue always and for all time. And when Absalom asked him just why he, who was one of his father's best friends and supposed to be altogether faithful to him, was not now with him, but had deserted him and had gone over to himself, he made a skilful and prudent reply, saying that one ought to follow God and the entire people. "Now, my lord, since they are with you, it is fitting that I too should follow, for you have received the kingdom from God. Furthermore, I shall show the same faithfulness and loyalty to you, if I am accounted a friend, as you know I gave to your father. There is no good reason," he added, "to be dissatisfied with the present state of things, for the kingship has not passed to another house, but remains in the same one, since the king's son has succeeded to it." These words of his won over Absalom, who had before suspected him, and he called Achitophel to deliberate with him about what should be done. The latter advised him to lie with his father's concubines, for, he said, by this act the people would know with certainty that Absalom could not be reconciled to him, and they would join with great eagerness in the fight against his father; up to that time they had been afraid to proceed to open hostility because of their expectation that the two would reach an understanding.^b Taking this

^a i.e. Hushai.

^b The last sentence is an amplification of Scripture.

Absalom
consults
Hushai and
Ahitophel.
^{2 Sam.}
xvi. 15.

214 πεισθεὶς δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ κελεύει σκηνὴν αὐτῷ¹ πῆξαι τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου καὶ² τοῦ πλήθους ὄρῶντος παρελθὼν συνέρχεται ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς παλλακαῖς. ταῦτα δ' ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν Νάθα προφητείαν, ἣν τῷ Δαυίδῃ σημαίνων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐσομένην ἐπίθεσιν προεφήτευσε.

215 (6) Ποιήσας δ' Ἀψάλωμος τὰ παραινεθέντα αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιτοφέλου δεύτερον αὐτὸν ἡξίου συμβουλεύειν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. μυρίους δ' αὐτὸν ἐπιλέκτους αἰτήσαντος ἔκεινου καὶ τὸν τε πατέρα κτενεῦν³ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ ζωοὺς⁴ ἀνάξειν ὑποσχομένου καὶ βεβαίαν τότε τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσεσθαι φήσαντος, Δαυίδου 216 μηκέτι ζῶντος, ἀρεσθεὶς τῇ γυνώμῃ μετακαλεῖται καὶ τὸν Χουσὶν τὸν Δαυίδου ἀρχίφιλον⁵. οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔκεινος ἐκάλει· καὶ τὴν Ἀχιτοφέλου γυνώμην αὐτῷ δηλώσας, τί καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐπυνθάνετο. συνιδὼν ὅτι γενομένων ὥν Ἀχιτόφελος συνεβούλευσε κινδυνεύσει Δαυίδης συλληφθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐναντίαν ἐπειράτῳ γυνώμην εἰσφέρειν. 217 “οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖς” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἀνδρείαν, ὅτι καὶ πολλοὺς πολέμους πεπολέμηκε καὶ πάντοτε κρατῶν τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἀπῆλλακται. νῦν δὲ εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου μένειν· στρατηγῆσαι γὰρ ἴκανώτατος καὶ προϊδεῖν ἀπάτην ἐπερχομένων

¹ Niese: αὐτῷ codd. E.

² καὶ ante τοῦ πλήθους ex Lat. Niese: post ὄρῶντος hab. codd.

³ Niese: κτενεῖν codd. ⁴ σώους RMSP Lat.

⁵ φίλον SP: amicum antiquum Lat.

^a Cf. § 152. Scripture does not allude at this point to the prophecy of Nathan.

^b So Luc.; Heb. and LXX “twelve thousand.”

advice, Absalom ordered his servants to pitch a tent for him on the roof of the palace, and, in the sight of the people, went in and lay with his father's concubines. And this came about in accordance with the prophecy which Nathan had made when he revealed to David that his son would one day rise up against him.^a

(6) After Absalom had acted on the advice given him by Achitophel, he requested him to give him further counsel, this time concerning the war against his father. Thereupon he asked him for ten thousand^b picked men, and promised to kill his father and bring back his men alive^c; then, he said, with David no longer alive, his throne would be secure. Absalom was pleased with this proposal, but also summoned Chūsis, David's chief friend^d—so David called him—and, after informing him of Achitophel's proposal, inquired what he too thought of it. But Chūsis, perceiving that, if Achitophel's advice were acted on, David would be in danger of being captured and put to death,^e attempted to introduce a counter-proposal. “You are not ignorant, O King,” he said, “of the bravery of your father and the men with him, or that he has fought many wars and in every case has come off victorious against the enemy. Just now it is likely that he is remaining within the camp, for he is a very able general and can foresee the ruse of an

^a Variant “safe”; cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 3 “all the people shall be in peace.”

^b The variant φίλον “friend” in mss. SP is probably due to the copyists taking ἀρχι in ἀρχίφιλον “chief friend” as a proper name, as does the LXX, translating Heb. “Hushai the Arcite,” cf. § 203 note. A parallel to Josephus's term is afforded by the LXX of 1 Chron. xxvii. 33, where Hushai is called πρῶτος φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως “first friend of the king.”

^c This reflection of Hushai is an amplification of Scripture.

Hushai
persuades
Absalom
to reject
Ahitophel's
advice.
² Sam.
xvii. 1.

218 πολεμίων· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἀπολιπῶν τοὺς
ἰδίους ἡ εἰς τινα τῶν αὐλώνων ἔαυτὸν ἀποκρύψει ἡ
πρὸς πέτρᾳ τινὶ λοχήσει· συμβαλόντων δὲ τῶν
ἡμετέρων οἱ μὲν ἐκείνου πρὸς μικρὸν ὑποχωρή-
σουσιν αὐθις δὲ θαρσήσαντε¹ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως
αὐτοῖς ἐγγὺς ὅντος ἀντιστήσονται, καὶ μεταξὺ
τούτων μαχομένων ὁ πατὴρ ἐπιφανεὶς ἔξαίφνης
τοῖς μὲν εὐψυχίαν πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους παρα-
219 σκευάσει τοὺς δὲ σοὺς καταπλήξεται. παράθου δὴ
τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν συμβουλίαν τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ
ταῦτ' ἐπιγνοὺς ἄριστα τὴν μὲν Ἀχιτοφέλου γνώμην
παραίτησαι, πέμψας δ' εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῶν
Ἐβραίων παράγγειλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα
σου στρατείαν καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸς τὴν δύναμιν
τοῦ πολέμου γίνουσαν στρατηγὸς καὶ μὴ πιστεύσῃς
220 τοῦτον ἐτέρῳ. νικήσειν γὰρ προσδόκα ράδιως
αὐτὸν, ἂν ἐν φανερῷ καταλάβῃς ὅντα μετ' ὀλίγων,
αὐτὸς πολλὰς ἔχων μυριάδας βουλομένων τὴν περὶ
σὲ σπουδὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι καὶ προθυμίαν. ἂν δ' ὁ
πατὴρ αὐτὸν εἰς πολιορκίαν περικλείσῃ, μηχανή-
μασι καὶ ὀρύγμασιν ὑπονόμοις καθαιρήσομεν ἐκεί-
221 νην τὴν πόλιν.” ταῦτ' εἰπὼν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον
Ἀχιτοφέλου· τῆς, γὰρ ἐκείνου γνώμης ἡ τούτου
προεκρίθη παρ' Ἀψαλώμου. θεὸς μέντοι γε ἦν
ὁ τούτου τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν τοῦ Χουσὶ συμβουλίαν
συστήσας ἀμείνω εἶναι δοκεῖν.

222 (7) Σπεύσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερέας Σάδωκον
καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον καὶ τὴν τε Ἀχιτοφέλου γνώμην

¹ αὐθις δὲ θαρσ. conj. Niese: αὐτοὶ δὲ θαρσ. O: θαρσήσαντες
δ' MSP Lat. (vid.).

* Unscriptural detail, and apparently a misunderstanding
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attacking enemy; but toward evening ^a he will leave his men and will hide himself in some hollow, or will wait in ambush behind some rock. And when our force attacks, his men will give way for a little, but then they will take heart at the thought that the king is beside them, and will make a stand against us; in the meantime, while the fight is going on, your father will suddenly appear and will inspire them to face danger valiantly, but into your men he will strike terror. Therefore weigh well my counsel also in your mind and, recognizing that it is the best, reject the proposal of Achitophel. And send throughout the entire land of the Hebrews, summoning them to the campaign against your father; then lead out your force and take personal command of the war, and do not entrust it to another. For you may look to defeat him easily if you take him in the open with few men about him, while you yourself have many tens of thousands ready to show their zeal and ardour on your behalf. But if your father shuts himself up to stand a siege, we shall destroy that city by means of engines and mines.^b” This speech of Chūsis met with more favour than Achitophel's, for his proposal was preferred by Absalom to the other's. It was God, however, who contrived that Chūsis's counsel should seem better to his way of thinking.

(7) Then Chūsis hastened to the high priests Sadok ^{Absalom's} and Abiathar, and, having told them all about ^{plans are reported} of 2 Sam. xvii. 12 “and we will camp (A.V. “light”) upon him as the dew falleth on the ground.”

^b The “engines and mines” are an anachronism, not uncommon in Josephus's amplified descriptions of biblical battles. The whole of Hushai's speech, moreover, is an amplification of 2 Sam. xvii. 8-13.

έξειπὼν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὅτι δέδοκται τὰ
νῦν^a αὐτοῦ παραινεθέντα πράττειν, ἐκέλευσε μηνύειν
πέμψαντας Δανίδη καὶ φανερὰ ποιεῖν τὰ συμβεβου-
λευμένα καὶ προσπαρακελεύσασθαι ταχέως διαβῆναι
τὸν Ἰόρδανον, μὴ μεταγγοὺς ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διώκειν
ὅρμήσῃ καὶ πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται φθάσας
223 καταλάβῃ. οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἔξεπίτηδες τοὺς νιὸν
ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κεκρυμμένους εἰχον, ὥπως δια-
κομίσωσι πρὸς τὸν Δανίδην τὰ πραττόμενα·
πέμψαντες οὖν πιστὴν θεραπαινίδα πρὸς αὐτοὺς
φέρουσαν τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀφαλώμου
προσέταξαν μετὰ σπουδῆς ταῦτα Δανίδῃ σημαίνειν.
224 οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ μέλλησιν ὑπερέθεντο,
λαβόντες δὲ τὰς τῶν πατέρων ἐντολὰς εὐσεβεῖς
ἀμα καὶ πιστοὶ γίνονται διάκονοι· καὶ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας
τὸ τάχος καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα κρίναντες ἄριστα εἶναι
225 ἡπείγοντο συμβαλεῖν Δανίδη. γενομένους δ' αὐτοὺς
ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως δύο θεῶνται τινες ἵππεῖς
καὶ διαβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἀφάλωμον· ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς
ἔπειμψε τοὺς συλληφθομένους. νοήσαντες δὲ τοῦτο
οἱ τῶν ἀρχιερέων παῖδες ἐκτραπέντες τῆς ὁδοῦ
παραχρῆμα εἰς κώμην τινὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐκ
ἀπωθεν αὐτοὺς ἔδωκαν, Βοκχόρης^b ἦν ὄνομα τῇ
κώμῃ,^c καὶ γυναικὸς ἔδεήθησάν τινος κρύψαι καὶ
226 παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. ἡ δὲ καθιμήσασα
τοὺς νεανίσκους εἰς φρέαρ καὶ πλάκας ἀνωθεν

¹ O: Βοκχούρης rell.: Bachor Lat.

² πόλει Ο.

^a At En-rogel, according to Scripture; it was a spring in the valley of Kidron S.E. of the city.

^b οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς is a Thucydidean phrase recurring in A. xvii.-xix.

^c The distance is not given in Scripture.

^d Bibl. "a lad."

^e Bibl. Bahurim, cf. § 207 note.

^f Their appeal for refuge is an unscriptural detail.

Achitophel's proposal and his own, and also that it to David.
had been decided to act upon his advice, he bade ^{2 Sam.}
^{xvii. 15.} them send information of this to David and make plain to him what counsel had been given, and exhort him further to cross the Jordan as quickly as possible lest his son change his mind, set out in pursuit of him, and take him by surprise before he could reach a place of safety. Now the high priests had purposely kept their sons in hiding outside the city ^a in order that they might bring David word of what occurred. So they sent a faithful maid-servant to bring them news of Absalom's plans, and instructed them to make haste and report these to David. And they, without any delay ^b or hesitation, set off with their fathers' instructions, like obedient and loyal helpers. And, deciding that speed and dispatch were the best form of service, they made all haste to meet David. Now, when they were two stades ^c from the city, they were seen by some horsemen,^d who informed against them to Absalom; and he immediately sent men to arrest them. But the high priests' sons, becoming aware of this, at once turned aside from the road and betook themselves to a certain village not far from Jerusalem—the name of the village was Boechoros ^e—and begged one of the women to hide them and afford them safety.^f So she let the youths down into a well and spread layers of wool ^g over it,

^a Bibl. "and the woman took and spread the covering over the well's mouth and strewed groats thereon"; "groats" is the A.V.'s rendering of Heb. *riphôth*, a word of uncertain meaning, Targum *digilân* "dates" (?) (perhaps a variant of *deqiqân* "grits"), Lxx (transliterating) ἀραφώθ, Luc. *παλάθας* "fruit-cakes." The Jewish commentators explain *riphôth* as "crushed wheat." It is just possible that the Lxx ἀραφώθ was vaguely connected by Josephus with ἔριφοι "kids," which he supposed equivalent to ἔριων "wool."

The high
priests' sons
elude pur-
suit by
Absalom's
men.
2 Sam.
xvii. 18.

έριων ἐπιβαλοῦσα, ὡς ἦκον οἱ διώκοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνέκριναν εἰς θεάσαιτο, ᾧδεν μὲν¹ οὐκ ἤρνήσατο· πιόντας γὰρ παρ' αὐτῇ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν· εἰς μέντοι γε συντόνως διώξουσι καταλήψεσθαι προύλεγεν. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ διώξαντες οὐ 227 κατέλαβον, ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τούπισω. θεασαμένη δ' αὐτοὺς ἀναζεύξαντας ἥ γυνὴ καὶ μηδένα φόβον τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔτι συλλήψεως εἶναι, ἀνιμήσασα τὴν προκειμένην ὁδὸν ἀνύειν παρεκελεύσατο· καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ τάχει χρησάμενοι περὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἦκον πρὸς Δαυΐδην καὶ πάντ' ἀκριβῶς ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ² τὰ παρ', Ἀφαλώμου βεβουλευμένα. ὁ δὲ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰόρδανον τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξεν ἥδη νυκτὸς οὖσης καὶ μηδὲν ὀκνεῖν δι' αὐτήν.

228 (8) Ἀχιτόφελος δὲ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ παρευδοκιμηθείσης ἐπιβὰς τοῦ κτήνους ἐξώρμησεν εἰς Γελμῶνα³ τὴν πατρίδα· καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς οἰκείους ἅπαντας ἣ συνεβούλευσεν Ἀφαλώμῳ ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς διεξῆλθε, καὶ ὡς οὐ πεισθεὶς φανερός ἐστιν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπολούμενος· Δαυΐδην δὲ κρατήσειν⁴ ἐλεγεν καὶ ἐπανήξειν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. 229 ἄμεινον οὖν ἔφησεν εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐλευθέρως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως ἥ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν

¹ μὲν ομ. ΟΜΕ.

² αὐτῷ ομ. Ο.

³ Hudson: Γελμῶν Ο: Γελμωγάλην Μ: Γελμῶν γαλλιν SP: Galin Lat.

⁴ + μέλλειν MSP: κρατήσαντ' (ομ. καὶ post ἐλεγεν cum Ο) Niese.

^a Amplification. The woman's answer in the Heb. of 2 Sam. xvii. 20 is not wholly intelligible: A.V. "they be gone over the brook of water." The word *mikal* here trans-
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and, when those in pursuit of them came and inquired about them, asking whether she had caught sight of them, she did not deny having seen them; they had, she said, drunk at her house and then had gone away. If, however, they pursued them hotly, they would, she predicted, overtake them.^a But, though they did pursue for a considerable distance, they did not overtake them, and so they turned back. And, when the woman saw them ride away, and that there was no longer any fear of the youths being captured by them, she drew them up out of the well and urged them to continue on their appointed way.^b So, after travelling with great haste and speed, they came to David and informed him in detail^c of all Absalom's plans; and he thereupon commanded his men to cross the Jordan, although it was already night, and permitted no delay on that account.

(8) Now Achitophel, when his proposal failed of acceptance, mounted his beast and set off for Gelmōn,^d his native city. And, having called together all his people, he recounted to them the advice he had given Absalom, saying that, as Absalom had not followed it, he was clearly destined to perish before very long,

Ahitophel's
humiliation
and suicide.
^d 2 Sam.
xvii. 23.

for David would conquer him and be restored to his throne. Therefore, he said, it was better for him to remove himself from the world in a free and noble

lated "brook" is obscure and probably corrupt, as the different versions indicate: Targum "they have already crossed the Jordan," LXX παρῆλθαν μικρὸν τοῦ ὕδατος "they passed a little distance from the water" (?), Luc. διεληλύθασιν σπεύδοντες "they have gone by in haste."

^b Unscriptural detail. Bibl. "they came up out of the well and went."

^c Or "accurately."

^d The Biblical name, which is not mentioned at this point in Scripture, is Giloh, cf. § 197 note.

εἰς κόλασιν Δαυίδη, καθ' οὗ πάντα συνέπραττεν Ἀψαλώμῳ. ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τῆς οἰκίας ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτόν. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀχιτόφελον τοιούτου θανάτου δικαστὴν αὐτῷ γενόμενον καθελόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγχόνης ἐκήδευσαν οἱ 230 προσήκοντες. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, εἰς Παρεμβολὰς καλλίστην καὶ ὁχυρωτάτην πόλιν παραγίνεται· δέχονται δ' αὐτὸν ἀσμενέστατα πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς χώρας κατά τε αἰδῶ τῆς τότε φυγῆς καὶ κατὰ τιμὴν τῆς προτέρας εὐπραγίας. ἥσαν δὲ οὗτοι Βερζέλαιος ὁ Γαλαδίτης καὶ Σειφάρ ὁ τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος δυνάστης καὶ Μάχειρος ὁ τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας 231 πρῶτος. οὗτοι πᾶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκτένειαν¹ παρέσχον, ὡς μήτε κλίνας ἐπιλιπεῖν ἐστρωμένας μήτε ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυμάτων ἀφθονίαν χορηγήσαι καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀνάπαισιν ἥδη² κεκοπωμένοις καὶ τροφὴν χρησίμων εὐπορίαν διαρκῆ παρασχεῖν.

232 (x. 1) Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἥσαν· Ἀψάλωμος δ' ἀθροίσας μεγάλην στρατιὰν τῶν Ἐβραίων³ ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν οὐ πόρρω κατέζευξε τῶν Παρεμβολῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλαδίτῳ χώρᾳ, καταστήσας στρατηγὸν πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀμασᾶν⁴ εἰς τὴν Ἰωάβου τάξιν τοῦ

¹ εὐθηνίαν SP: copiam Lat.

² ἅμα MSP.

³ + ἥγεν SPE.

⁴ Ἀβασᾶν O: Ἀβεσσᾶν ME: Ἀμεσσᾶν SP: Amessam Lat.

^a Achitophel's speech is an amplification of the brief Scriptural phrase "and he put his household in order."

^b Unscriptural detail.

^c Bibl. Mahanaim, cf. § 9 note.

spirit than surrender himself to David to be punished for having in all ways helped Absalom against him.^a After this speech he went into the innermost part^b of the house and hanged himself. Such was the death to which Achitophel, as his own judge, sentenced himself, and his relatives cut him down from the rope and gave him burial. But David, having, as we said before, crossed the Jordan, came to The Camps,^c a very fine and well-fortified city. There he was most cordially received by the leading men of the region, both out of regard for his feelings as an exile and in honour of his former greatness. These were Berzelaios^d the Galadite,^e Seiphar,^f the ruler of Ammanitis, and Macheiros,^g the chief man^h of the country of Galaditis. They supplied him and his men liberally with everything needed, so that beds with covering were not lacking, nor bread and wine; moreover, they provided an abundance of slaughtered animals and furnished a plentiful supply of all things necessary for the refreshment and nourishment of exhausted men.

(x. 1) Such, then, was their position. As for Absalom, having collected a great army of Hebrewsⁱ and David^j he led them against his father, and crossing the river^k Jordan, halted not far from The Camps in the^l country of Galaditis. He had appointed as commander of his entire force, in Joab's place, Amasa,

^a Called Beerzelos in §§ 272 ff.; bibl. Barzillai, LXX Βερζελεί.

^b Bibl. Gileadite, LXX Γαλααδείτης.

^c Bibl. Shobi ben Nahash, LXX Οὐεσβεὶ (Luc. Σειφεὶ) νιὸς Ναᾶς.

^d Bibl. Machir ben Ammiel, LXX Μαχεὶρ νιὸς Ἀμειῆλ.

^e This unscriptural detail about Machir is perhaps derived from 2 Sam. ix. 4, cf. § 113, where Machir is represented as the protector of Jonathan's son.

David is welcomed at
The Mahanaim
(The Camps).
2 Sam. xvii.
24, 27.

συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ· πατρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν Ἱεθράον
μητρὸς δὲ Ἀβιγαίλας, αὕτη δὲ καὶ Σαρούια ἦ
233 Ἰωάβου μήτηρ ἀδελφαὶ ἦσαν Δαυίδου. ὡς δὲ
ἔξαριθμῆσας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Δαυίδης περὶ τετρα-
κισχιλίους εὑρεν ὄντας, οὐκ ἔγνω μένειν πότε
ἐπ’ αὐτὸν Ἀψάλωμος ἔλθη, προσθεὶς δὲ τοῖς οὖσι
χιλιάρχους καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους καὶ διελῶν εἰς τρία
μέρη τὴν στρατιὰν¹ τὸ μὲν τῷ στρατηγῷ παρέδωκεν
Ἰωάβῳ, τὸ δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀβισαΐῳ, τὴν
δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἐθαίῳ² συνήθει μὲν
ὄντι καὶ φίλῳ ἐκ δὲ τῆς Γιττᾶν πόλεως ὑπάρχοντι.
234 βουλόμενον δὲ συνεκστρατεύειν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἴασαν
οἱ φίλοι γνώμῃ κατασχόντες σοφωτάτῃ· νικηθέντες
μὲν γὰρ σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν
ἔφασκον, ἂν δὲ ἥττηθέντες ἐνὶ μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως
τῷ λοιπῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν φύγωσιν ἀμείνονα παρα-
σκευάσειν³ αὐτὸν ἵσχυν· ὑπονοήσειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους εἰκός ἔστιν ἄλλο μετ’ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα
235 εἶναι. πεισθεὶς⁴ δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ ταύτῃ μένειν μὲν
αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς Παρεμβολαῖς ἔκρινεν, ἐκπέμπων δὲ
τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον
παρεκάλει προθυμίαν ἐναποδείξασθαι καὶ πίστιν
καὶ μηδίμην, εἴ τινος τῶν μετρίως ἔχοντων παρ’
αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον· φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀψα-
λώμου κρατήσαντας ἡντιβόλει, μὴ κακὸν αὐτὸν

¹ τὴν στρατιὰν om. RO.

² Dindorf: Ἐσθαίῳ RO: Ἐσθαίῳ rell.: Estheo Lat.

³ Hudson: παρασκευάζειν codd. E.

⁴ E: ἡσθεὶς codd. Lat.

* Bibl. Ithra (Heb. *Yithrā*), LXX. Ἰοθρό.

• No number is given in Scripture. Josephus apparently

a relative of the latter, for his father was Jethraos^a and his mother was Abigaia, and she and Sarūia, the mother of Joab, were both sisters of David. Now ^b Sam. xviii. 1. when David numbered his men and found that they were some four thousand,^b he decided not to wait for Absalom to attack him, but appointed captains of thousands and captains of hundreds to the men he had with him, and divided the army into three parts; one division he entrusted to Joab, another to the latter's brother Abisai, while the third part he turned over to Ethaios,^c who was his comrade and friend although he came from the city of Gitta. He himself wished to go out with them to battle, but his friends would not allow it and kept him back by a very wise decision; for they said that if they were defeated with him present, they would lose every fair hope, but if, on the other hand, one part of their force were beaten and they fell back upon David with the remainder, he would bring them renewed strength, and the enemy would probably suspect that there was still another army with him.^d So David took this advice^e and decided to remain at The Camps himself while he sent out his friends and generals to war, exhorting them to show themselves eager and faithful and mindful of whatever fair treatment they might have received from him.^f He also implored them to spare his son Absalom, if they were victorious,

assumes that each of the three generals had more than a thousand men.

^c Called Ethis in § 201; bibl. Ittai.

^d This argument is an amplification or an interpretation of the obscure text in 2 Sam. xviii. 3, which seems to mean simply that even if David's men were routed, the enemy would consider it less important than David's capture.

^e Variant “was pleased with this advice.”

^f This exhortation is an addition to Scripture.

έργασηται τι τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ μὲν νίκηρ
αὐτοῖς ἐπευξάμενος ἐκπέμπει τὴν στρατιάν.

236 (2) Ἰωάβου δὲ παρατάξαντος τὴν δύναμιν ἀντι-
κρὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ ἔξόπισθεν
περιβεβλημένῳ δρυμὸν ἀντεξάγει τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ
Ἀψάλωμος. καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἔργα μεγάλα^a
χειρῶν τε καὶ τόλμης παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐπεδείκνυτο,
τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν Δαυΐδην
παρακινδυνεύοντων καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χρωμένων,
τῶν δ', ἵνα μὴ ταύτην Ἀψάλωμος ἀφαιρεθῇ καὶ
δῶ τῷ πατρὶ δίκας κολασθεῖς ἀνθ' ὅν ἐτόλμησεν,
237 οὐδὲν ὄκνουντων οὔτε ποιεῦν οὔτε πάσχειν, ἔτι δὲ
τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἵνα μὴ κρατηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν σὺν
Ἰωάβῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοῖς ὅντων
δλίγων, αἰσχύνην γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτ' εἶναι μεγίστην,
τῶν δὲ Δαυΐδου στρατιωτῶν ἵνα τοσούτων μυριάδων
κρατήσωσι φιλοτιμουμένων, ἔρις ἐγένετο καρτερά,
καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Δαυΐδου ῥώμῃ τε προύχοντες καὶ
238 τῇ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιστήμῃ. φεύγοντας δὲ διὰ
δρυμῶν καὶ φαράγγων ἐπόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἐλάμ-
βανον πολλοὺς δὲ ἀνήρουν, ὡς φεύγοντας πεσεῖν
πλείονας ἢ μαχομένους· ἐπεσον γὰρ ὡς δισμύριοι
ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δαυΐδου πάντες
ῶρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀψάλωμον· φανερὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς
ὑπὸ τε τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐγένετο.
239 δείσας δὲ μὴ καταλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι,

^a David's threat to harm himself and the prayer for victory are also unscriptural details.

^b This account of the battle, which as usual is greatly amplified, has Thucydidean echoes in πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χρωμένων "making every effort" and προύχοντες . . . ἐπιστήμῃ "because of their greater . . . knowledge of war."

threatening to do himself some injury if Absalom met his death. And so, with a prayer for their victory, he sent his army out.^a

(2) Then Joab drew up his force opposite the enemy in a great plain bordered by a wood in the rear, and Absalom led out his troops against him. In the ensuing engagement great deeds of strength and daring were performed on both sides, the one scorning danger and making every effort that David might recover his kingdom, while the other did not shrink from doing or suffering anything to prevent Absalom from being deprived of it and being punished by his father for his rash attempt; moreover, the larger force did its best not to be conquered by Joab's men and generals, who were few in number, for that would have brought upon them the greatest disgrace, while, on the other hand, David's soldiers were ambitious to conquer so many tens of thousands, and for these reasons the battle was a fierce one. Finally David's men were victorious because of their greater vigour and knowledge of war. And they pursued the fleeing enemy through woods and ravines, capturing some, but slaying so many that more fell in flight than on the field of battle; for there fell on that day some twenty thousand.^b Then all of David's men went after Absalom, who was plainly visible to them because of his beauty and great stature,^c and he, in fear of being captured by his enemies, mounted his

Absalom
in flight, is
entangled
by his hair
2 Sam.
xviii. 9.

^a A detail apparently derived from the Luc. reading in 2 Sam. xviii. 9 ἦν μέγας Ἀβεσσαλὼμ ἐνώπιον τῶν παῖδων Δαυΐδ "and Absalom was great in the sight of David's servants," where most LXX MSS. have συνήντησεν Ἀβεσσαλὼμ κτλ. which agrees with the Heb. "and Absalom met the servants of David."

ἐπιβὰς τῆς ἡμιόνου τῆς βασιλικῆς ἔφευγε· φερό-
μενος δὲ μετὰ ρύμης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ σάλον καὶ τῆς
κινήσεως κοῦφος ὥν, ἐμπλακείσης αὐτῷ τῆς κόμης
τραχεῖ δένδρῳ μεγάλοις ἐπὶ πολὺ κλάδοις ἐκτετα-
μένῳ παραδόξως ἀνακρεμνᾶται. καὶ τὸ μὲν κτῆνος
ὑπ' ὀξύτητος ὡς ἐπικείμενον τὸν δεσπότην ἔτ
φέρον ἔχώρει προσωτέρῳ, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν κλάδων
240 αἰώρούμενος ἐκρατεῖτο.¹ τοῦτο τις ἴδων τῷ
Δαυίδου στρατιωτῶν ἐδήλωσεν Ἰωάβῳ, καὶ πεντή-
κοντα σίκλους ἄν αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
φήσαντος, εἰ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Ἀψάλωμον,
“οὐδὲ εἰ χιλίους,” εἶπεν, “ἔμελές μοι παρέξειν,
τοῦτ' ἄν διέθηκά μου τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου παῖδα, καὶ
ταῦτ' ἐκείνου πάντων ἡμῶν ἀκούοντων φείσασθαι²
241 τοῦ νεανίσκου δεηθέντος.” ὁ δὲ κελεύσας αὐτῷ
δεῖξαι ποῦ κρεμάμενον ἴδοι τὸν Ἀψάλωμον τοξεύσας
κατὰ τῆς καρδίας ἀπέκτεινεν· οἱ δὲ τὰ τοῦ
Ἰωάβου κομίζοντες ὅπλα περιστάντες ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ
242 δένδρον κατασπῶσι τὸν νεκρόν· καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰς
χάσμα βαθὺ καὶ ἀχανὲς ρύψαντες ἐπιβάλλουσιν
αὐτῷ λίθους, ὥστε ἀναπληρωθῆναι καὶ τὸ σχῆμα
τάφου καὶ μέγεθος λαβεῖν, σημήνας δὲ ἀνακλητικὸν
ὁ Ἰωάβος ἐπέσχε³ τοῦ διώκειν τοὺς οἰκείους στρα-
τιώτας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν, φειδόμενος
τῶν ὅμοφύλων.

243 (3) Ἔστησε δὲ Ἀψάλωμος ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τῇ

¹ + τοῖς πολεμοῖς codd.: secl. Niese.

² cod. Vat. apud Hudson: + τε RO: + σε MSP.

³ Cocceji: ἀπέσχετο codd.: revocavit Lat.

^a Variant “was seized by the enemy.”

^b So some LXX mss. and Luc.; Heb. and most LXX mss.

royal mule and fled. As he rode along at full speed, he was lifted up by the unsteady motion, and his hair became entangled in a rugged tree with great branches extending far out, and in this strange fashion he remained suspended. But his swiftly moving beast went on further as though still carrying his master on his back, while Absalom swung from the branches, which held him up.^a This was seen by one of David's soldiers, who informed Joab of it, and, when the commander said he would have given him fifty ^b shekels if he had struck Absalom and killed him, he replied, “Not if you had been ready to give me a thousand, would I have treated my master's son in that way, especially as we all heard him plead that the youth's life be spared.” Joab there-
upon ordered him to show him where he had seen Absalom hanging, and shot an arrow ^c into his heart
^{2 Sam. xviii. 14.} and killed him. Then Joab's armour-bearers surrounded the tree and pulled down the corpse,^d and, casting it into a deep yawning pit, they threw stones into this until it filled up and took on the form and size of a tomb.^e Meanwhile Joab sounded the retreat and kept his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy force, and so spared his countrymen.

(3) Now Absalom had set up in the Valley of Kings

have “ten (shekels) of silver,” while all texts add “and a girdle.”

^c Bibl. “took three darts and thrust them”; the Heb. *שְׁבָתִים* “darts” is translated by *βέλη* in the LXX, and by *ἀκίδας* in Luc., either of which may mean “arrows” as well.

^d According to Scripture Joab's ten armour-bearers completed his work by striking Absalom until he was dead.

^e An interpretation of bibl. “and placed (A.V. “laid up”) a very great heap of stones upon him,” probably suggested by the fact that the Heb. *yasṣibū* “placed” also has the technical meaning of “erect” a monument, grave-stele, etc.

βασιλικῇ στήλῃ λίθου μαρμαρινού δύο σταδίους ἀπέχουσαν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἦν προσηγόρευσεν ἴδιαν χεῖρα, λέγων ὡς καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ διαφθαρέντων ἐν τῇ στήλῃ μενεῖ τὸ ὄνομα· τέκνα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τρία μὲν ἄρρενα, θυγάτηρ δὲ μία Θαμάρα¹ 244 τοῦνομα, ὡς προειρήκαμεν. συνοικησάσης δ' αὐτῆς τῷ Σολομῶνος νιῷ² Ῥοβοάμω γίνεται παῖς ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀβίας. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ὑστέροις οἰκειότερον τῇ ιστορίᾳ δηλώσομεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀφαλώμου τελευτὴν ὁ μὲν λαὸς εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα διεσπάρη.

245 (4) Ἀχίμας δὲ ὁ Σαδώκου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως νιὸς Ἰωάβῳ προσελθὼν ἔδειτο αὐτοῦ τὴν νίκην ἐπιτρέψαι πορευθέντι Δανίδῃ μηνύσαι, καὶ ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας ἔτυχε καὶ προνοίας εὐαγγελίσασθαι. καὶ τὸν μέν, οὐ προσήκειν εἰπὼν αὐτῷ καλῶν ἄγγελον ἀεὶ γεγενημένον νῦν ἀπιέναι³ δηλώσοντα θάνατον τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, μένειν ἡξίου, καλέσας δὲ τὸν Χουσὶν ἐκείνῳ προσέταξε τὸ ἔργον, ἵν' ὅπερ αὐτὸς εἶδε τοῦτο μηνύσειε τῷ βασιλεῖ. 247 τοῦ δὲ Ἀχίμα πάλιν δεηθέντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἄγγελίαν ἐφεῖναι, περὶ μόνης γὰρ αὐτὴν ποιήσεσθαι⁴ τῆς

¹ Ο: Θωμάρα rell.: Thamar Lat.

² Σολομῶνος νιῷ R Lat.: Δανίδου Σολομῶνος νιῷ Ο: Δανίδου νιῶν MSP.

³ Cocceji: ἀπεῖναι codd.

⁴ Hudson: ποιήσασθαι codd.

^a Unscriptural detail.

^b The distance is not given in Scripture.

^c So the LXX; Heb. *yad*, lit. "hand" (A.V. "place," agreeing with the Targum), here has the meaning of "monument" or "stele."

^d § 190 (cf. note *ad loc.*). Josephus, in attributing to 490

a marble^a column, two stades distant from Jerusalem,^b which he named Absalom's Hand,^c saying that if his children should perish, his name would remain in connexion with the column. He had, in fact, three sons and one daughter, named Thamara, as we have said before.^d And from her marriage to Solomon's son Roboamos, there was born a son, Abias, who succeeded to his throne. But of this we shall speak later, in a more suitable part of our history.^e And so, after the death of Absalom, the people dispersed to their homes.

(4) Then Achimas, the son of the high priest Sadok, Ahimazz (Achimas) brings David news of Joab's victory. 2 Sam. xviii. 19. went to Joab and asked him for permission to go and announce the victory to David and bring him the good news that he had obtained help and guidance from God. Joab replied that it was not fitting that he who had always been a messenger of good tidings should now go and inform the king of his son's death, and so asked him to stay, while he called Chūsis^f and charged him with the task of reporting to the king what he had himself seen. But when Achimas again requested him to entrust the message to him, saying that he would mention only the victory and Absalom the fear that his children might die before him, disposes of the difficulty caused by the contradiction between 2 Sam. xiv. 27, referred to in § 190, and the present verse, 2 Sam. xviii. 18, which reads, "for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance." A rabbinic tradition has it that Absalom's sons died before him as a punishment for having set fire to Joab's field; another tradition states that Absalom left sons "but they were so insignificant that Scripture speaks of them as though he died childless" (Ginzberg, *op. cit.* vi. 268).

^e A. viii. 249 f.

^f Josephus, like the LXX, confuses *kūši* "Cushite" (or "Ethiopian," i.e. a negro slave) with *Hūšai*, the name of David's counsellor.

νίκης ήσυχάσειν δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀφαλώμον τελευτῆς, ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην ἄφιξιν. καὶ τὴν ἐπιτομωτέραν ἐκβαλὼν¹ τῶν ὄδῶν, καὶ γὰρ μόνος αὐτὴν ἔγινωσκε, τὸν Χουσὶν φθάνει. καθεζομένῳ δὲ Δαυίδῃ μεταξὺ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ περιμένοντι πότ’ αὐτῷ τις ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπαγγείλῃ² τὰ κατ’ αὐτήν, τῶν σκοπῶν τις ἴδων τὸν Ἀχίμαν τρέχοντα καὶ μήπω τίς ἐστι γνωρίσαι δυνάμενος εἰπε³ βλέπειν τινὰ παραγινόμενον πρὸς αὐτόν. τοῦ δ’ ἄγγελον εἶναι φήσαντος ἀγαθῶν,⁴ μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐπεσθαί τινα καὶ ἔτερον ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ. κάκεινον δὲ ἄγγελον εἰπόντος, ἴδων τὸν Ἀχίμαν ὁ σκοπὸς ἥδη ἔγγὺς γεγενημένον τὸν Σαδώκου παῖδα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως προστρέχειν ἐσῆμαινεν. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἀγαθῶν ἄγγελον τοῦτον ἔφησεν εἶναι καὶ τι τῶν εὐκταίων αὐτῷ φέρειν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης.

250 (5) Καὶ μεταξὺ ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ βασιλέως φανεὶς ὁ Ἀχίμας προσκυνεῖ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πυθομένῳ περὶ τῆς μάχης νίκην εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ κράτος. ἐρομένου δ’ εἴ τι καὶ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔχοι λέγειν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφασκεν εὐθὺς ὄρμῆσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς τροπῆς τῶν πολεμίων γενομένης, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ μεγάλης φωνῆς⁵ διωκόντων τὸν Ἀφάλωμον καὶ πλεῖον τούτου μηδὲν δεδυνῆσθαι⁶ μαθεῖν διὰ τὸ πεμφθέντα ὑπὸ Ἰωάβου δηλῶσαι τὴν νίκην ἐπεί-

¹ ἐκλαβὼν SP: tenens Lat.
² ἄγγελει Ο: ἀπαγγελει M: ἄγγελει Niese.
³ + πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην codd.: secl. Niese.
⁴ Niese: ἀγαθὸν codd. Lat.
⁵ βοῆς MSPE: voces Lat.
⁶ μὴ δύνασθαι SP: μὴ M.

would keep silence about the death of Absalom, Joab granted him permission to make the journey to David. And so, by striking off into a shorter road, which he alone knew,^a he arrived before Chūsis. Now as David sat between the gates, waiting until someone should come from the scene of battle and report how it had gone, one of the look-outs saw Achimas running along, and, though he could not yet recognize who it was, told David that he saw someone coming toward him. The latter replied that it was a messenger of good tidings, and when, a moment later, the man informed him that still another was following, David said that he too was a messenger. Then the lookout recognized Achimas, who was now very close, and announced that the man running toward them was the son of the high priest Sadok. At that, David was overjoyed and said that he was a messenger of good tidings and was bringing from the field of battle news of something such as they had prayed for.

(5) While the king was saying this, Achimas ^{announces} appeared and did obeisance to the king, and, in answer to his inquiry about the battle, announced ^{to David} the death of Absalom. ^{2 Sam. xviii. 28.} But when David asked whether he could also tell him something about his son, he said that he had hastened to him immediately upon the rout of the enemy, and, though he had heard a great shouting of those who were pursuing Absalom, he had been unable to learn anything more than this because he had been sent off in haste by Joab to report the victory. Then,

^a Details added by Josephus. According to Scripture Ahimaaz ran by way of “the (Jordan) valley” (A.V. “the plain”).

^b On the hendiadys cf. § 73 note.

251 γεσθαι. παραγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Χονσὶ καὶ προσκυνήσαντος καὶ τὴν νίκην σημήναντος, περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνέκρινεν. ὁ δὲ “ ἔχθροῖς,” εἶπε, “ τοῖς σοῖς οἷα συμβέβηκεν Ἀφαλώμῳ γένοιτο.”

252 οὗτος ὁ λόγος οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαρὰν εἴασεν οὕτ’ αὐτῷ μεῖναι μεγίστην οὖσαν οὕτε τοῖς στρατιῶταις· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ ὑψηλότατον τῆς πόλεως ἀπεκλαίετο¹ τὸν νιὸν τυπτόμενος τὰ στέρνα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σπαραττόμενος καὶ παντοῖς αὐτὸν αἰκιζόμενος καὶ “ τέκνον,” ἐκβοῶν, “ εἴθε μοι τὸν θάνατον ἐπελθεῖν ἐγένετο καὶ ἄμα σοι τελευτῆσαι ”· φύσει γὰρ ὡν φιλόστοργος, πρὸς 253 ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον συμπαθῶς εἶχεν. ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ καὶ Ἰώαβος ἀκούσαντες ὅτι πενθεῖ τὸν νιὸν οὐτῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἥσχύνθησαν μετὰ τοῦ τῶν νενικηκότων σχῆματος εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, κατηφεῖς δὲ καὶ δεδακρυμένοι πάντες ὡς ἀφ’ ἥττης παρῆλθον.

254 κατακαλυψαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στένοντος τὸν νιὸν εἴσεισι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰώαβος καὶ παρηγορῶν “ ὡς δέσποτα,” φησί, “ λανθάνεις διαβάλλων σαυτὸν οὓς ποιεῖς, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαπῶντάς σε καὶ περὶ σοῦ κιδυνεύοντας καὶ σαυτὸν καὶ τὴν σὴν γενεὰν δοκεῖς μισεῖν, στέργειν δὲ τοὺς ἔχθροτάτους καὶ 255 ποθεῖν οὐκέτ’ ὄντας, οἵ δίκη τεθνήκασιν εἰ γὰρ Ἀφάλωμος ἐκράτησε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν βεβαίως κατέσχεν, οὐδενὸς ἀντίμων ὑπελείφθη λείψανον, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀντὶ ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀρξάμενοι

¹ ἀνεκλαίετο M : ἀνεκαλεῖτο SPE.

^a Bibl. “ to the chamber over the gate.” It is possible, as Reinach suggests, that πόλεως “ city ” in Josephus’s text is a scribal error for πύλης “ gate.”

^b Details added by Josephus, amplifying the biblical phrase “ the king weeps and mourns.”

when Chūsis arrived and, with an obeisance, announced the victory, David questioned him about his son. “ May your enemies,” he replied, “ suffer the same fate as Absalom.” These words took away from both him and his soldiers all their joy over the victory, great as that was. As for David, he went up to the highest part of the city^a and bewailed his son, beating his breast, tearing his hair and doing himself every kind of injury,^b and crying out “ O my son, would that death had come to me and that I had died with you ! ”^c for he was by nature affectionate, and was especially attached to Absalom. And, when the army and Joab heard how deeply the king mourned for his son, they were ashamed to enter the city with the appearance of victors, and, instead, they all came in, as if from a defeat, with bowed heads and tearful faces. Then, while the king with veiled head was moaning for his son, Joab went into him and consoled him, saying, “ My lord, you are unwittingly slandering yourself by this conduct,^d for you seem to hate those who love you and are risking their lives both for you yourself and for your family, while you hold dear those who are most hostile to you, and long for them when they are no longer alive, although they have justly died. For, if Absalom had conquered and had firmly secured the kingdom, not one of us would have been left to survive, but all of us, beginning with you and your children, would

^a Bibl. “ would God I had died in thy place ” (A.V. “ for thee ”); the Targum adds, “ and that thou wert alive this day.”

^b “ Consoled him,” etc. Joab’s language is less respectful in Scripture, “ Thou hast shamed this day the faces of all thy servants.”

David’s lament for Absalom.
2 Sam. xviii. 33.
(Heb. xix. 1.)

Joab compels David to cease mourning.
2 Sam. xix. 5 (6).

τέκνων ἀπωλόλειμεν οἰκτρῶς, οὐ κλαιόντων ἡμᾶς τῶν πολεμίων ἀλλὰ καὶ χαιρόντων καὶ τοὺς ἐλεοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς κολαζόντων. σὺ δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔχθρῷ, ὅτι σὸς 256 νίὸς ὃν ἀσεβῆς οὕτως ἐγένετο. παυσάμενος οὖν τῆς ἀδίκου λύπης προελθὼν ὄφθητι τοῖς σαντοῦ στρατιώταις καὶ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθυμίας εὐχαρίστησον. ὡς ἐγὼ τήμερον, ἂν ἐπιμένης τοῖς ἄρτι πραττομένοις, ἀναπείσας ἀποστῆναι σου τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐτέρῳ παραδοῦναι, τότε σοι πικρότερον καὶ ἀληθὲς 257 ποιήσω τὸ πένθος.” ταῦτ’ εἶπὼν Ἰώαβος ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης καὶ ἤγαγεν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων λογισμὸν τὸν βασιλέα· μετασχηματίσας γὰρ ἑαυτὸν Δαυίδης καὶ ποιήσας ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὴν τοῦ πλήθους θέαν πρὸς ταῦς πύλαις ἐκάθισεν, ὡς ἀπαντα τὸν λαὸν ἀκούσαντα συνδραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ κατασπάσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον ἔσχε τὸν τρόπον.

258 (xi. 1) Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν ‘Ἐβραιῶν τῶν μετ’ Ἀφαλώμου γενόμενοι παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἔκαστοι διεπέμποντο κατὰ πόλεις ὑπομιμήσκοντες αὐτοὺς ὃν εὐεργέτησεν αὐτοὺς¹ Δαυίδης καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἥν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων 259 ῥυσάμενος αὐτοὺς πολέμων παρέσχε, μεμφόμενοι δὲ ὅτι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἐκβαλόντες ἀλλῷ ταύτην ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ νῦν τεθνηκότος τοῦ κατασταθέντος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνος οὐ παρακαλοῦσι Δαυίδην παύσασθαι μὲν τῆς ὄργῆς, εὔνοϊκῶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων καθὼς ἥδη καὶ πρότερον

¹ αὐτοὺς om. ROE.

have perished miserably, and the enemy, instead of weeping for us, would have rejoiced and punished any who pitied our misfortunes. And yet you are not ashamed to behave in this way about a man who is the more hateful for having been so impious, though your own son. Cease, therefore, from your unjustified grief and go out and show yourself to your soldiers and thank them for the victory and for their ardour in the fight. For, if you persist in doing as you have just been doing, I will this very day persuade the people to revolt from you and give the kingdom over to another, and then I shall make your sorrow more bitter and real.”^a By these words Joab diverted the king from his grief, and brought him to taking thought about the matter. So David, changing his appearance,^b made himself presentable to the people,^c and sat by the gates, until all the people heard of it and ran to greet him. And this was how these matters were.

(xi. 1) Now when those Hebrews on Absalom's side who had escaped from the battlefield returned to their several homes, they sent round to their cities, reminding them how David had benefited them and had procured their freedom by delivering them in many great wars; and they blamed themselves for having driven him from the throne and given it over to another, and because now, when the leader appointed by them was dead, they had not appealed to David to abate his anger, show himself friendly toward them, and resume his throne to take up the

^a Joab's speech is considerably amplified.

^b Or “his dress.”

^c Unscriptural detail.

ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβόντα.
 260 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν συνεχέστερον ἀπηγγέλλετο Δαυΐδῃ·
 κάκεῦνος οὐδὲν ἥττον ἔπειμψε πρὸς Σάδωκον καὶ
 Ἀβιάθαρον τοὺς ἀρχιερέας, ἵνα τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς
 Ἰούδα φυλῆς διαλεχθῶσιν, ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἐστιν¹
 αὐτοῖς ἄλλας φυλὰς πρὸ ἐκείνης Δαυΐδην χειροτονῆ-
 σαι βασιλέα, “καὶ ταῦθ’ ὑμῶν συγγενῶν ὅντων καὶ
 261 κοινὸν αἷμα πρὸς αὐτὸν κεκληρωμένων.” τὰ δὲ
 αὐτὰ καὶ Ἀμασῷ τῷ στρατηγῷ προσέταξεν αὐτοὺς
 λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἀδελφῆς υἱὸς ὁν αὐτοῦ μὴ πείθει
 τὸ πλῆθος Δαυΐδῃ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποδοῦναι·
 προσδοκᾶν δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῦ μὴ διαλλαγὴν μόνον,
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἥδη γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπαντος τοῦ
 λαοῦ στρατηγίαν, ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀφάλωμος παρέσχε.
 262 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖς ἀ μὲν τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ἄρχουσι
 διελέχθησαν ἀ δὲ τὸν Ἀμασᾶν ἔπεισαν, τὰ παρὰ
 τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντες, ἔγχειρεν ταῦς
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φροντίσι. καὶ πείθει γε τὴν φυλὴν
 παραχρῆμα πέμψαι πρὸς Δαυΐδην πρέσβεις παρα-
 καλοῦντας εἰς τὴν ἴδιαν αὐτὸν ἐπανελθεῖν βασιλείαν.
 τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πάντες ἐποίουν οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται
 προτρεψαμένου τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ.

263 (2) Τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων ἀφικομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς
 Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεγένετο. πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἔφθασεν ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν
 ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὁ Γέρα παῖς Σαμούνις²
 μετὰ χιλίων ἄνδρων, οὓς ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς

¹ ἐστιν om. R.O.² Σουμούν R: Σεμεῖα MS(P): Σεμεῖεις E: Semei Lat.

“They had not appealed,” etc. is an amplification of
 2 Sam. xix. 10 (Heb. 11) “Now therefore why speak ye not
 a word of bringing the king back?”

direction of affairs just as before.^a Such were the reports that were continually brought to David, but he none the less sent a message to the high priests Sadok and Abiathar that they should tell the chiefs of the tribe of Judah what a disgrace it was for them that the other tribes had chosen David king before they did, “especially,” they were to add, “as you are his kin and have common blood with him.” And he instructed them to speak to Amasa, the commander, in the same vein and ask why, although he was a son of David’s sister,^b he had not persuaded the people to restore the kingdom to David; and they were to say that he might expect not only a reconciliation with him,—which had already taken place—but also the chief command of the entire people, like that which Absalom had given him. So the high priests gave the one message to the chiefs of the tribe (of Judah), and the other message of the king they gave to Amasa, whom they persuaded to undertake measures on his behalf. He, in turn, persuaded the tribe immediately to send envoys to David, inviting him to return to his own kingdom.^c And all the Israelites, at the suggestion of Amasa, did the same thing.

(2) After the envoys came to him, David went on to Jerusalem. And first of all the tribes to meet the king at the river Jordan was Judah; also Samūis, the son of Gera, with a thousand men whom he had brought from the tribe of Benjamin, and Siba, the

The tribes
assemble at
the Jordan
to welcome
David.
² Sam. xix.
^{15 (16).}

^b In Scripture David does not mention the exact relation, but merely says “art thou not of my bone (Targum “my kinsman”) and flesh?”

^c The reconciliation with Amasa and the latter’s action in persuading the Israelites to send envoys are unscriptural details.

ἐπήγετο, καὶ Σιβᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀπελεύθερος Σαούλου καὶ
οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὅντες
264 μετὰ οἰκετῶν εἴκοσιν. οὗτοι σὺν τῇ Ἰούδᾳ φυλῇ
τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρωσαν, ἵνα ῥᾶστα διαβῆ μετὰ
τῶν ἴδιων ὁ βασιλεύς. ὡς δὲ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον
ἡσπάσατο μὲν αὐτὸν ἡ Ἰούδᾳ φυλή, προσπεσὼν δ'
ἀναβάντι ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν Σαμούνις καὶ κατασχὼν
αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας ἐδεῖτο συγγνῶναι περὶ τῶν εἰς
αὐτὸν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι πικρὸν αὐτῷ
μηδὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡγήσασθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐν
ἔξουσίᾳ γενόμενον, λογίσασθαι δ' ὅτι καὶ μετα-
νοήσας ἐφ' οἷς ἐσφάλη πρῶτος ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐ-
265 τὸν ἔσπενσε.¹ ταῦτα δ' ἀντιβολοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ
οἰκτιζομένου Ἀβισαΐος ὁ Ἰωάβου ἀδελφός, "διὰ
τοῦτο οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐ τεθνήξῃ βλασφημήσας τὸν
ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατασταθέντα βασιλεύειν;" Δαυίδης
δ' ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν, "οὐ παύσεσθ'," εἶπεν,
"ὦ Σαρονίας παῖδες; μὴ κινήσητε πάλιν ἡμῖν
266 καινὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς πρώταις ταραχὰς καὶ στάσεις· οὐ
γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν ὅτι σήμερον ἄρχομαι
τῆς βασιλείας. διὸ πᾶσιν ἀφιέναι τὰς κολάσεις τοῖς
ἄσεβήσασιν ὅμνυμι καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀμαρτόντων
ἐπεξελθεῖν. σύ τε," εἶπεν, "ὦ Σαμούνι, θάρρει καὶ
δείσης μηδὲν ὡς τεθνηξόμενος." ὁ δὲ προσκυνήσας
αὐτὸν προῆγεν.

267 (3) Ἀπίγνησε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Σαούλου νίωνὸς
Μεμφίβοσθος ρύπαράν τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα περικείμενος
καὶ τὴν κόμην βαθεῖαν καὶ κατημελημένην ἔχων·
μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Δαυίδου φυγὴν οὕτ' ἀπεκείρατο
λυπούμενος οὕτ' ἐκάθηρε τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατακρίνας

¹ ἐσπούδασε MSP.

freedman of Saul, and his sons, who were fifteen in number, together with twenty servants. These latter with the tribe of Judah made a bridge ^a over the river, in order that the king and his men might cross the more easily. And, when he came to the Jordan, David forgives Shimei. ^b Sam. xix. ^{18 (19).}

he was welcomed by the tribe of Judah ; then, as he mounted the bridge,^b Samūis fell down before him and clasped his feet, asking pardon for the wrongs he had done him, and that he should not be harsh with him nor let his first thought, on coming into power, be one of vengeance ; he should, Samūis said, take into account that he had repented of his errors and had hastened to be the first to come to him. While he thus made supplication and begged for mercy, Abisai, the brother of Joab, said to him, " Shall you, then, not die for having cursed the one appointed by God to reign ? " But David turned to him and said, " Will you not be quiet, sons of Saruia ? Do not stir up for us new disorders and dissensions to follow the first. You must not fail to realize that with to-day I begin my reign. I have, therefore, sworn to forgo punishment for acts of rebellion, and not to prosecute any offender. And you, Samūis," he said, " take courage and have no fear that you will be put to death." The other then did obeisance to him and went on before him.

(3) And there also met him Saul's grandson Mephibosthos, wearing a soiled garment and with his hair long and unkempt, for, after David's flight, he had not, because of his grief, either cut his hair or washed his garment, but had condemned himself to conduct toward David. ² Sam. xix. ^{24 (25).}

^a Heb. 'āberāh (for 'aberâ ?) hā-'abārāh seems to mean "they ferried across," as the Targum translates ; LXX διέβη ἡ διάβασις, lit. "the crossing went over," is more obscure than the Heb.

^b Bibl. "as he was crossing the Jordan."

αύτοῦ συμφορὰν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως μεταβολῆ· διεβέβλητο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Σιβᾶ 268 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀδίκως. ἀσπασαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνήσαντος ἥρξατο πυνθάνεσθαι τί δήποτ' οὐ συνεξῆλθεν αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνὸς ἦν τῆς φυγῆς; ὁ δ' ἀδίκημα τοῦτ' ἔλεγεν εἶναι Σιβᾶ· κελευσθεὶς γὰρ παρασκευάσαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον οὐκ ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδου τινὸς οὗτως παρήκουσεν. 269 “εἰ μέντοι γε τὰς βάσεις εἶχον ἐρωμένας, οὐκ ἂν ἀπελείφθην σου, χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν ταύταις δυνάμενος. οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἡδίκησέ μου τὴν πρὸς σέ, δέσποτα, εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιέβαλε καὶ κατεψεύσατο κακουργῶν. ἀλλ' οὐδα γὰρ δτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἡ σὴ διάνοια προσίεται δικαία τε 270 οὖσα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἦν ἴσχυειν τε βούλεται¹ καὶ τὸ θεῖον, ἀγαπῶσα· μείζονα γὰρ κινδυνεύσας παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου τούμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἡμῶν γενεᾶς ὄφειλούσης εἰς ἐκεῖνα ἀπολωλέναι, σὺ γε² μέτριος καὶ χρηστὸς ἐγένου, τότε μάλιστα πάντων ἐκείνων λήθην ποιησάμενος, δτ' ἔξουσίαν τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιμωρίας εἶχεν ἡ μνήμη. φίλον δὲ σὸν ἔκρινας ἐμὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης εἶχες ὀσημέραι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ μάλιστα 271 τιμωμένου.” ταῦτ' εἰπόντος οὕτε τὸν Μεμφίβοσθον ἔγνω κολάζειν οὕθ' ὡς καταψευσαμένου τοῦ Σιβᾶ καταδικάζειν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ μὴ μετὰ Σιβᾶ πρὸς αὐτὸν³ ἐλθεῖν ἐκείνῳ πάντα χαρίσασθαι φήσας

¹ ήν . . . βούλεται] ἐνισχύειν βούλομένη RO.

² σὺ γε] Niese: σύ τε RO: σὺ MSP.

³ πρὸς αὐτὸν post Σιβᾶ 1^o RO.

* Variant “for it is just and wishes the truth to prevail and loves the Deity.”

this unhappy state on the king's fall from power. He had, moreover, been unjustly accused before David by his steward Siba. And so, when he greeted David and did obeisance to him, the latter inquired just why he had not gone out with him and shared his exile, whereupon he replied that this was Siba's fault, for, although he had been ordered to prepare for the departure, he had paid no attention, but had disregarded him quite as if he had been a mere slave. “If, indeed,” he added, “I had sound feet and had been able to use them in flight, I should not have been far behind you. But this is not the only way, my lord, in which he has wrongfully hindered my obedience to you, for he has also slandered me and has maliciously lied about me. I know very well, however, that none of these calumnies finds admittance into your mind, for it is just and loves the truth, which the Deity also wishes to prevail^a; and, though you were exposed to great hardships at the hands of my grandfather, on which account our whole family was deserving of extinction, you were, none the less, forbearing and kind in making yourself forget all these things at the very time when you might have remembered them and also had the power to take vengeance.^b But you considered me your friend and had me daily at your table, and in no way was I less well treated than the most honoured of your relatives.” After this speech of his, David decided neither to punish Memphibosthos nor to condemn Siba for having made false charges, but he told Memphibosthos that, because he had not come to him with Siba, he had presented all his substance to the latter; however,

^a Text obscure, lit. “when your memory had power to take vengeance upon them.”

αὐτῷ συγγινώσκειν ὑπέσχετο, τὰ ἡμίση τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῷ κελεύσας ἀποδοθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Μεμφίβοσθος “πάντ’ ἔχέτω μέν,” εἶπε, “Σιβᾶς, ἐμοὶ δ’ ἀπόχρη τὸ σὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν.”

272 (4) Βεέρζελον δὲ τὸν Γαλαδίτην ἄνδρα μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ πολλὰ παρεσχημένον ἐν ταῖς Παρεμβολαῖς αὐτῷ Δαυΐδην τε¹ προπέμψαντα μέχρι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου παρεκάλει συνελθεῖν ἕως τῶν Ἱεροσόλυμων· γηροκομήσειν γάρ αὐτὸν ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ καὶ ὡς πατρὸς ἐπιμεληθήσεσθαι καὶ προνοήσειν ἐπηγ-
273 γέλλετο. ὁ δὲ πόθῳ τῶν οἴκων παρητεῖτο τὴν μετ’ αὐτοῦ διατριβήν· καὶ τὸ γῆρας λέγων τοιοῦτον² αὐτῷ τυγχάνειν, ὥστε μὴ³ ἀπολαύειν τῶν ἡδέων εἰς ὄγδοήκοντα ἔτη προβεβηκότος, ἀλλ’ ὥστε καταλύσεως ἥδη καὶ ταφῆς προνοεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἡξίου βουλόμενον αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι τὰ κατ’ ἐπι-
274 θυμίαν αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι· οὕτε γάρ τροφῆς οὔτε ποτοῦ συνιέναι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἥδη πρὸς αὐλῶν ἥχους καὶ μέλη τῶν ἀλλων ὄργανων, ὅσα παρὰ βασιλεῦσι τέρπει τοὺς συνδιαιτωμένους. οὕτως δὲ λιπαρῶς δεομένου, “σὲ μέν,” εἶπεν, “ἀπολύω, τὸν δ’ οὐδὲν Ἀχίμανον ἄφεις μοι· πάντων γάρ αὐτῷ μεταδώσω
275 τῶν ἀγαθῶν.” καὶ Βεέρζελος μὲν καταλιπὼν τὸν οὐδὲν καὶ προσκυνήσας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντων ἐπευξάμενος αὐτῷ τέλος ὥν ἔχει κατὰ ψυχὴν

¹ Δαυΐδην τε] Δαυΐδη RO: Δαυΐδης ex E Niese.

² οὐ τοιοῦτον MSP.

³ μὴ om. MSP.

^a David's reply to Mephibosheth is an amplification of 2 Sam. xix. 29 “and the king said, why speakest thou any 504

he promised to forgive him and ordered that half the property be restored to him.^a Thereupon Mephibosthos exclaimed, “Let Siba have it all! As for me, it is enough that you have recovered your kingdom.”

(4) Now Beerzelos^b the Galadite, a great and noble man, who had furnished David many supplies at The Camps, and had escorted him as far as the Jordan, was invited by him to come with him to Jerusalem; for, he said, he would cherish him in his old age with every honour, and he promised to take care of him and provide for him as for a father. But Beerzelos, who longed to be home, declined to stay with him, saying that his age was such that he could not enjoy pleasures,—he was now eighty years old—but must think of his end and burial, and he asked David, if he wished to gratify his desires, to release him for this purpose. He had, he said, no taste for food and drink because of his age, and his ears were deaf to the sound of flutes and the music of other instruments^c which delight those who live with kings.^d To this earnest entreaty David replied, “I do release you, but leave me your son Achimanos,^e for I shall give him of all good things.” So Beerzelos left his son behind and, after doing obeisance to the king and praying for the fulfilment of his heart's desire, remore of thy matters? I have said, thou and Ziba divide the land.”

^b Called Berzelaios in § 230, cf. note.

^c Cf. Targum “harps and songs of praise”; Heb. and LXX “singing men and women.”

^d Josephus, contrary to his usual procedure, abridges Barzillai's speech.

^e Cf. Luc. Ἀχιμάν (v.l. Ἀχειμάν κτλ.); bibl. Chimham, LXX Χαμάν. In Scripture it is Barzillai who proposes that his son remain with David.

Barzillai
(Beerzelos)
declines to
live with
David.
2 Sam. xix.
31 (32).

οἴκαδ' ὑπέστρεψε. παραγίνεται δ' εἰς Γάλγαλα Δαυίδης τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἥδη τὸ ἥμισυ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ἰουδὰ φυλήν.

276 (5) Ἀφικνοῦνται δ' εἰς Γάλγαλα πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πάσης φυλῆς¹ πρῶτοι μετὰ πολλοῦ πλήθους² καὶ τὴν Ἰουδὰ φυλὴν κατεμέμφοντο λάθρᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν, ὡς δεῦ ὅμοῦ πάντας μιᾷ γνώμῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπάντησιν. οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες τῆς Ἰουδὰ φυλῆς μὴ δυσχεραίνειν αὐτοὺς ἤξιον προληφθέντας· καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς ὄντες αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον προνοούμενοι καὶ στέργοντες φθάσαι, οὐ μέντοι γε διὰ τὸ προελθεῖν δῶρα λαβεῖν αὐτούς, ἵν' ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ δυσφορεῖν ὕστεροι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντες.

277 ταῦτα τῶν τῆς Ἰουδὰ φυλῆς ἡγεμόνων εἰπόντων οἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχοντες οὐχ ἥσυχασαν, ἀλλ' “ἡμεῖς μέν,” ἔφασαν, “ὦ ἀδελφοί, θαυμάζομεν ὑμᾶς αὐτῶν ἀποκαλοῦντας μόνων συγγενῆ τὸν βασιλέα· ὁ γὰρ τὴν ἀπάντων ἔξουσίαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν πάντων ἡμῶν εἶναι συγγενῆς κρύνεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν λαὸς ἅπας³ ἔνδεκα μοίρας ἔχει, μίαν δ' ὑμεῖς, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐσμέν, καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατε δίκαια κρύφα καὶ⁴ λεληθότως ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.”

278 (6) Τοιαῦτα τῶν ἡγεμόνων πρὸς ἄλλήλους διαλεχθέντων ἀνήρ τις πονηρὸς καὶ στάσει χαίρων, ὄνομα Σαβαῖος νίὸς δὲ Βοχορίου⁵ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, στὰς ἐν μέσῳ πρὸς τὸ πλήθος μέγα βοήσας εἶπεν· “οὗτ' ἔχει τις ἡμῶν⁶ παρὰ Δαυίδου μοίρας

¹ πάσης φυλῆς] τῆς χώρας MSPE: provinciae Lat.

² πολλοῦ πλήθους] πολλῆς πληθύνος MSPE.

³ ἅπας om. RO.

⁴ κρύφα καὶ om. RO.

⁵ Beddadi Lat.

⁶ E Lat.: ὑμῶν codd.

turned to his home. And David came to Galgala, having with him now half of all the people, and the tribe of Judah.

(5) Then there came to him at Galgala the leading men of every tribe^a with a great multitude, and they reproached the tribe of Judah for having come to him secretly, saying that they should all have met him together at one time. But the chiefs of the tribe of Judah begged them not to be annoyed at having been anticipated, for, they said, they were David's relatives and, being for that reason more thoughtful for him and fonder of him, they had come there first; but they had not indeed, by coming first, received any gifts of which the others, who came to him later, could have reason to complain. The chiefs of the other tribes were not silenced by these words of the leaders of the tribe of Judah, but said, “We are amazed, brothers, that you call the king a relative only of yourselves, for he who receives from God authority over all must be considered a relative of us all. And for this reason the entire people has eleven^b parts (in him), while you have but one, and we are older^c; and so you have not done right in coming to the king in secrecy and by stealth.”

(6) While the leaders were thus arguing with each other, there stood up among them a certain man of evil character and a lover of dissension, named Sabaios,^d the son of Bochorios,^e of the tribe of Benjamin, who addressed the multitude in a loud voice, saying, “None of us^f has any portion of David or any

^a Variant “of the country.”

^b Or “have a prior claim.”

^c Bibl. Sheba, LXX Σαβεέ.

^d Bibl. Bichri, LXX Βοχορεῖ, Luc. Βεδδαδί (cf. Latin trans. of Josephus).

^b Bibl. “ten.”

^f Variant “you.”

Rivalry between Israel and Judah for David's favour.
2 Sam. xix. 41 (42).

279 οὗτε κλῆρον παρὰ τῷ Ἰεσσαίου παιδί.” καὶ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους σαλπίσας κέρατι σημαίνει πόλεμον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πάντες ἡκολούθησαν ἐκείνῳ Δανίδην καταλιπόντες· μόνη δὲ αὐτῷ παρέμεινεν ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βασίλειον. καὶ τὰς μὲν παλλακάς, αἷς ὁ νιὸς αὐτοῦ συνῆλθεν Ἀφάλωμος, εἰς ἄλλην μετήγαγεν οἰκίαν, πάντα προστάξας αὐταῖς χορηγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκέτι 280 ἐπλησίαζεν αὐταῖς. ἀποδείκνυσι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀμασᾶν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῷ ἐφ’ ἥς Ἰώαβος ἦν δίδωσιν ἐκέλευσέ τε στρατιὰν ὅσην δύναται συναγαγόντ¹ ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς μεθ’ ἡμέρας τρεῖς ὡς¹ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα παραδοὺς αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκπέμψῃ πολεμήσοντα τὸν νιὸν τοῦ Βοχορίου. ἔξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄθροισιν τῆς στρατιᾶς βραδύνοντος, ὡς οὐκ ἐπανήει τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώαβον ἐλεγεν οὐκ εἶναι σύμφορον ἀνοχὴν τῷ Σαβαίῳ διδόναι, μὴ γενόμενος ἐν πλείονι παρασκευῇ, μειζόνων κακῶν καὶ πραγμάτων αἴτιος, ἡ Ἀφάλωμος αὐτοῖς κατέστη, γένηται. “ μὴ περίμενε τοίνυν μηδένα,² ἀλλὰ τὴν οὖσαν παραλαβὼν δύναμιν καὶ τοὺς ἔξακοσίους μετὰ Ἀβισαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου δίωκε τὸν πολέμιον. καὶ ὅπου ποτ’ ἂν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃς ὅντα πειράθητι συμβαλεῖν· σπουδασόν δὲ αὐτὸν φθάσαι, μὴ πόλεις ὀχυρὰς καταλαβόμενος ἀγῶνας ἡμῖν καὶ πολλοὺς ἰδρῶτας παρασκευάσῃ.”

283 (7) Ἰώαβος δὲ οὐκέτι μέλλει ἔκρινεν, ἀλλὰ τόν

¹ πρὸς ROE.² Ετι μηδέν MSP.

^a It is not clear from Scripture, 2 Sam. xx. 4, whether David appointed Amasa commander in Joab's place, or simply

lot with the son of Jesse.” And with these words he blew his horn and declared war on the king, and they all deserted David to follow him; only the tribe of Judah stood by him, and brought him back to his palace in Jerusalem. And the concubines, with whom his son Absalom had lain, he transferred to another dwelling, instructing their attendants to provide them with all things necessary, but he himself never again came near them. Then he appointed Amasa commander, giving him the office which Joab had held,^a and ordered him to collect as large an army as possible from the tribe of Judah and to come to him after three days, in order that he might give the entire force over to him and send him out to make war on the son of Bochorios. So Amasa went out, but he was slow in assembling an army, and, as he did not return on the third day, the king said to Joab ^b that it was not a good thing to grant Sabaios a breathing-space, lest he prepare a greater force and cause them more harm and trouble than Absalom had done. “ Do not, therefore, wait for anyone, but take the force now here and the six hundred men^c and, with your brother Abishai, pursue the enemy. And wherever you may come upon them, try to engage them. And now hasten to prevent them from seizing fortified cities and so causing us great exertion and sweat.”

(7) So Joab decided not to wait any longer and,

as a commander of equal rank. Josephus adopts the latter view in § 284.

^b To Abishai, in Scripture, although it is there implied (vs. 7) that Joab is with Abishai.

^c Bibl. “ thy lord's servants,” that is, the bodyguard of Cherethites, Pelethites and “ mighty men ” mentioned in the next verse, 2 Sam. xx. 7.

τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔξακοσίους παραλαβὼν καὶ
ὅσῃ λοιπῇ δύναμις ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔπεσθαι
κελεύσας ἔξωρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σαβαῖον. ἥδη δὲ ἐν
Γαβαῶν (κώμη δὲ ἐστὶν αὕτη σταδίους ἀπέχονσα
τεσσαράκοντα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων) γεγενημένος πολ-
λὴν Ἀμασᾶ δύναμιν ἀγαγόντος,¹ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ
διεζωσμένος μάχαιραν καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδυμένος ὁ
284 Ἰώαβος· προσιόντος δὲ ἀσπάσασθαι τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ
φιλοτεχνεῖ² τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτομάτως ἐκ τῆς θήκης
ἐκπεσεῖν,³ βαστάσας δὲ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῇ
ἔτερᾳ τὸν Ἀμασᾶν ἐγγὺς γενόμενον ὡς καταφιλή-
σων τοῦ γενείου λαβόμενος, οὐ προϊδόμενον⁴ εἰς τὴν
γαστέρα πλήξας ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀσεβὴς ἔργον διαπραξά-
μενος καὶ παντελῶς ἀνόσιον, ἀγαθὸν νεανίαν καὶ
συγγενῆ καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντα ζηλοτυπήσας τῆς
στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν
285 ἴστοιμίας. διὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν
Ἀβεννῆρον ἐφόνευσεν. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνο μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ
παρανόμημα πρόφασις εὐπρεπῆς συγγνωστὸν ἐδόκει
ποιεῖν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀσάηλος ἐκδεικῆσθαι νομιζό-
μενος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀμασᾶ φόνου οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἔσχε
286 παρακάλυμμα. ἀποκτείνας δὲ τὸν συστράτηγον
ἐδίωκε τὸν Σαβαῖον καταλιπὼν ἕνα πρὸς τῷ νεκρῷ,
βοῶν ἐντειλάμενος πρὸς τὴν στρατιὰν ὅτι τέθνηκεν
Ἀμασᾶς δικαίως καὶ μετ' αἰτίας κολαζούσης· “εἰ
δὲ φρονεῖτε τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπεσθε τῷ στρατηγῷ
αὐτοῦ Ἰώάβῳ καὶ Ἀβισαΐῳ τῷ τούτου ἀδελφῷ.”
287 κειμένου δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ παντὸς
τοῦ πλήθους ἐπ' αὐτῷ συρρέοντος καὶ οἶνον ὅχλος

¹ post ἀγαγόντος lacunam statuit Niese.

² φιλοτέχνως MSP: om. E.

³ ἐποιησεν ἐκπεσεῖν MSPE et fort. Zonaras.

⁴ Bekker: προειδόμενον codd.

taking with him his brother and the six hundred men Joab and ordering the rest of the force in Jerusalem to pursue Sheba, and follows slays Amasa on the way.
^{2 Sam. xx. 7.}

And he set out to attack Sabaios. But when he reached Gabaon,—this is a village forty stades distant from Jerusalem^a—he found Amasa there at the head of a large force, and Joab went to meet him with his sword girded on and wearing a breastplate. Then, as Amasa approached to greet him, he artfully contrived to have his sword fall, as if by itself, out of its sheath.^b And he picked it up from the ground, and with his other hand seized Amasa, who was now near him, by the beard as if to kiss him, and with an unforeseen thrust in the belly killed him. This impious and most unholy deed he committed against a brave youth, who was, moreover, his relative, and had done him no wrong, because he envied him his office of commander and his being honoured by the king with a rank equal to his own. It was for this same reason that he had murdered Abenner also, except that the former crime seemed to have a decent pretext to make it pardonable, that is, when considered as an act of vengeance for his brother Asael; but for the murder of Amasa he had no such excuse. And, when he had killed his fellow-commander, he started in pursuit of Sabaios, leaving behind one man with the corpse, whom he instructed to call out to the army that Amasa had been justly put to death and punished deservedly, and to say, “If you are for the king, follow his commander Joab and his brother Abisai.” So the dead body lay in the road, and all the people swarmed around it and, as is the way of crowds,^c pressed for-

^a On the distance of the bibl. Gibeon from Jerusalem, not given in Scripture, cf. § 11 note.

^b Bibl. “and as he went forth, it fell out.”

^c A Thucydidean phrase.

φιλεῖ ἔθαύμαζον ἡλέουν¹ προϊστάμενοι². βαστάσας δ' ἐκεῖθεν ὁ φύλαξ καὶ κομίσας εἴς τι χωρίον ἀπωτάτῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ τίθησιν αὐτόθι καὶ καλύπτει ἴματίῳ. τούτου γενομένου πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤκολού-
288 θησε τῷ Ἰωάβῳ. διώξαντι δ' αὐτῷ διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώρας τὸν Σαβαῖον δηλοῖ τις ἐν ὄχυρᾳ πόλει τυγχάνειν Ἀβελωχέᾳ³ λεγομένῃ. παραγενόμενος δ' ἐκεῖ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ περικαθίσας τὴν πόλιν καὶ χαράκωμα περὶ αὐτὴν πηξάμενος ὑπορύσσειν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ τείχη καὶ καταβάλλειν αὐτά· μὴ δεξαμένων γὰρ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διετέθη.
289 (8) Γύναιον δέ τι σῶφρον καὶ συνετὸν ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἥδη τὴν πατρίδα κειμένην θεασάμενον ἀναβὰν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος προσκαλεῖται διὰ τῶν ὅπλιτῶν τὸν Ἰώαβον. προσελθόντος δ' ἥρξατο λέγειν ὡς ὁ θεὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποδείξειν, ἵνα τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Ἐβραίων ἔξαιρωσι καὶ παρέχωσιν αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην ἀπ' αὐτῶν⁴. "σὺ δὲ σπουδάζεις μητρόπολιν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καταβαλεῖν καὶ 290 πορθῆσαι μηδὲν ἔξαμαρτοῦσαν." ὁ δὲ Ἰλεων μὲν

¹ πλέον MSP: post ἔθαύμαζον lacunam statuit Niese.

² προϊστάμενοι SP: ιστάμενοι M.

³ Ἀβελωχέᾳ MSP Lat.: Ἀβελμακᾶ E.

⁴ ἀπ' αὐτῶν] ἀπάντων MSP.

^a Text doubtful; the variant seems to mean "standing beside it, they wondered (or "stared") at it a great while."

^b Bibl. Abel Beth-maachah, LXX Ἀβὲλ Βαιθμαχά. It has been tentatively identified with the modern *Abl* in the upper Jordan valley, about 10 miles N. of Lake Huleh.

^c With Josephus's χαράκωμα cf. Luc. χάρακα; LXX has πρόσχωμα.

^d Bibl. "all the people with Joab were devising (so LXX

ward to wonder at it and pity it,^a until the guard lifted it up and carried it away from there to a place far from the road, where he laid it down and covered it with a cloak. After this was done, all the people followed Joab. And, after he had pursued Sabaios through the entire Israelite country, someone informed him that he was in a fortified city called Abelōchea.^b So he went there, and invested the city with his army, and set up a palisade^c around it; then he ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls and overthrow them,^d for, as those within the city refused to admit him, he felt very bitter toward them.

(8) But a certain wise and intelligent old woman, An old woman saves the besieged city. 2 Sam. xx. 16. seeing that her native place was now in its last extremity, went up on the wall and summoned Joab through his soldiers. And, when he came near, she began by saying that God had chosen kings and commanders to drive out the enemies of the Hebrews and to secure them peace from these.^e "But you," she said, "are bent on destroying and sacking a mother-city of the Israelites, which has done no wrong."

and Targum translate Heb. *mashhithim*) to throw the wall down."^f Josephus evidently takes *mashhithim* (a ptc. masc. pl.) as a denominative verb from the root *shahath* "pit," hence his rendering "undermine," a meaning proposed in modern times by Ewald. The usual meaning of the verbal root is "destroy" (A.V. here has "battered").

^e The corrupt and therefore obscure Heb. of 2 Sam. xx. 18, 19a reads lit., "And she spoke, saying, 'In former times they would ask of Abel and so they concluded. I—the peaceful (?) and faithful of Israel, etc.'"^g Josephus's interpretation seems to be based in part on the Targum, which renders, "And she spoke, saying, 'Let me mention what is written in the Book of the Law, that one should first ask of a city; thus you should have asked Abel whether it wished to make peace. We are making peace with Israel in good faith, etc.'"

Joab
besieges
Sheba in
Abel Beth-
Maacah
(Abelochea)
² Sam.
xx. 14.

εῦχεται τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ διαμένειν, αὐτὸς δ' οὗτος
ἔχειν εἶπεν, ὡς μηδένα τοῦ λαοῦ φονεῦσαι οὐχ ὅτι
πόλιν ἔξελεῖν βούλεσθαι τηλικαύτην· λαβὼν μέν-
τοι παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν ἀντάραντα τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς
τιμωρίαν Σαβαῖον νίὸν δὲ Βοχορίου, παύσεσθαι¹
291 τῆς πολιορκίας καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξειν. ὡς δ'
ἡκουσεν ἡ γυνὴ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάβου μικρὸν ἐπ-
ισχεῖν δεηθεῖσα, τὴν γὰρ κεφαλὴν εὐθέως αὐτῷ
ῥιφθεσθαι τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου, καταβαίνει πρὸς τοὺς
πολίτας καὶ "βούλεσθ'", εἶποῦσα, "κακοὶ κακῶς
ἀπολέσθαι μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ὑπὲρ ἀν-
θρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ μηδὲ τίς ἔστι γνωριζομένου
καὶ τοῦτον ἔχειν ἄντὶ Δανίδου τοῦ τοσαῦτ' εὐεργε-
τήσαντος ὑμᾶς² βασιλέα, καὶ πρὸς δύναμιν τοσαῦτην
292 καὶ τηλικαύτην ἄνταρειν μίαν πόλιν;" πείθει τὴν
κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντας τοῦ Σαβαίου ρῦψαι ταύτην
εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάβου στράτευμα. τούτου γενομένου
σημήνας ἀνακλητικὸν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγὸς
ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς
'Ιεροσόλυμα παντὸς ἀποδείκνυται πάλιν τοῦ λαοῦ
293 στρατηγός. καθίστησι δὲ καὶ Βαναίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν ἔξακοσίων,
'Αδώραμον δ' ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων καὶ Ἰωσά-
φατον νίὸν 'Αχιλού ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, Σουσὰν
δὲ γραμματέα, Σάδωκον δὲ καὶ 'Αβιάθαρον ἀπ-
έφηνεν ἵερεῖς.
294 (xii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς χώρας λιμῷ φθειρο-
μένης ἱκέτευε³ Δανίδης τὸν θεὸν ἐλεῆσαι τὸν λαὸν

¹ Dindorf: παύσεσθαι codd. E.

² ὑμᾶς OP.

³ ικέτευσε MSP Lat.

^a "To be gracious to him" is derived from LXX ἥλεώς μοι (sc. ὁ θεός), a free translation of Heb. *ḥālīlāh li* "far be it from me."

Thereupon he prayed that God might continue to be gracious to him,^a and said that for his part he had no wish to slay any of its people, much less destroy so great a city; furthermore, if he could get them to deliver up for punishment Sabaios, the son of Bochorios, who had rebelled against the king, he would give up the siege and withdraw his army. When the woman heard Joab's words, she asked him to wait a little while, and his enemy's head would very soon be thrown to him; then she went down to the inhabitants of the city and cried, "Do you wish to perish most miserably with your children and wives for the sake of a worthless fellow whom no one even knows, or have him for a king in place of David, who has been your^b benefactor in so many ways, and set yourselves up, as a single city, against so great and so mighty a power?"^c And so she persuaded them to cut off Sabaios's head and throw it to Joab's army. When this was done, the king's commander sounded the retreat and raised the siege. Then he came to Jerusalem and was again appointed commander of all the people. The king also put Banaias over the bodyguard and the six hundred, and gave Adoramos^d charge of the tribute, and Josaphat, the son of Achilos,^e the records, and designated Sūsa^f as scribe, and Sadok and Abiathar as priests.

(xii. 1) After these events, the country was God sends a famine to ravaged by a famine, and David supplicated God to avenge the

^a Variant "our."

^b The woman's speech is unscriptural.

^c Bibl. Adoram, LXX Ἀδωρειράμ.

^d Bibl. Ahilud, cf. § 110 note. All these officers, with the exception of Adoram, are mentioned in the former passage.

^e So most mss. of the LXX here (*v.l.* Ἰησοῦς); bibl. Sheva (Heb. *Sheyā*). He is called Seisa in § 110 (bibl. Seraiah).

καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἵασιν φανερὰν ποιῆσαι τῆς νόσου. τῶν δὲ προφητῶν εἰπόντων βούλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐκδικίας τυχεῖν τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας, οὓς Σαούλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποκτείνας ἡσέβησεν ἔξαπατήσας καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους αὐτοῖς, οὓς ὁ στρατηγὸς 295 Ἰησοῦς ὥμοσε καὶ ἡ γερουσία, μὴ φυλάξει. ἐὰν τοίνυν δίκην ἦν αὐτοὶ θέλουσιν οἱ Γαβαωνίται λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηρημένων ταύτην αὐτοῖς παράσχῃ, διαλλαγήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἀπαλλάξειν 296 τῶν κακῶν ἐπηγγέλλετο. ὡς οὖν ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἔμαθεν ἐπιζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, μεταπέμπεται τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας καὶ τίνος βούλονται τυχεῖν ἐπηρώτα. τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Σαούλου παραλαβεῖν ἐπτὰ παῖδας ἀξιωσάντων πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναζητήσας παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, 297 Ἱεβόσθου¹ φεισάμενος τοῦ Ἰωνάθου παιδός. παραλαβόντες δ' οἱ Γαβαωνῖται τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἐβούλοντο ἐκόλασαν. ἤρξατο δ' ὅτειν παραχρῆμα ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν γῆν πρὸς γονὴν καρπῶν ἀνακαλεῖν, ἀπολύσας τοῦ πρότερον αὐχμοῦ· καὶ πάλιν εὐθήνησεν ἡ τῶν Ἐβραίων χώρα.

298 Στρατεύεται δὲ μετ' οὐ² πολὺν χρόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους, καὶ συνάψας μάχην αὐτοῖς καὶ

¹ Memphios Lat.: Μεμφιβόσθου ed. pr.

² μετ' οὐ ed. pr. Lat.: μετὰ codd.

^a Here, as elsewhere (e.g. § 72), Josephus makes the prophets God's interpreters where Scripture has merely "And the Lord answered."

^b Cf. A. v. 55 (Jos. ix. 15).

^c The last part of God's reply is an amplification of Scripture.

have pity on the people and reveal to him the cause of the affliction, and the remedy. Then the prophets^a declared that God wished the Gabaonites to be avenged, whom King Saul had wickedly killed and with whom he had dealt treacherously, in violation of the oaths which the commander Joshua and the elders had sworn to them.^b If, then, he would permit the Gabaonites to exact such satisfaction as they might desire for those who had been slain, God would, He promised, be reconciled to them and would free the multitude from its affliction.^c Accordingly, after learning from the prophets that this was God's desire, he sent for the Gabaonites and inquired what satisfaction they wanted. And, when they asked that seven sons^d of Saul's family be given up to them for punishment, the king had a search made for them and surrendered them to the Gabaonites, but he spared Jebosthos,^e the son of Jonathan. Then the Gabaonites took them and punished them as they saw fit.^f And God at once began to send rain and to restore the land to its fruitfulness, by delivering it from drought. And once more the country of the Hebrews flourished.

Not long after this,^g the king took the field against the Philistines and, after joining battle with them,^{rescues} David from

^a An allusion to the two sons of Saul and Rizpah and the five sons of Saul and Michal, 2 Sam. xxi. 8.

^b A slip for Memphibosthos (Mephibosheth), corrected in the first printed edition of Josephus.

^c Josephus omits the Scriptural detail that they were hanged, 2 Sam. xxi. 9, and also passes over the following verses, which tell of Rizpah's mourning and David's removal of the bones of Saul and Jonathan from Jabesh-gilead for burial in the sepulchre of Kish in Benjamin.

^d Variant "after a long time." In Scripture no interval of time is mentioned.

Gibeonites
slain by
Saul.
² Sam.
xxi. 1.

τρεψάμενος ἐμονώθη διώκων καὶ γενόμενος ἔκλυτος
ῶφθη ὑπό τινος τῶν πολεμίων "Ακμονος μὲν
299 τοῦνομα 'Αράφου δὲ παιδός οὗτος ἦν μὲν καὶ
ἀπόγονος τῶν Γιγάντων, ἔχων δὲ καὶ ξυστόν, οὐ
τὴν λαβήν φασιν ἐλκειν¹ σταθμὸν σίκλους τρια-
κοσίους, καὶ θώρακα ἀλυσιδωτὸν καὶ ρόμφαιαν
ῶρμησεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ὡς ἀποκτενὼν² τὸν τῶν
πολεμίων βασιλέα· παρεῖτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου.
ἐπιφανεὶς δ' ἔξαιφνης 'Αβισαῖος ὁ 'Ιωάβου ἀδελφὸς
300 τὸν βασιλέα μὲν ὑπερήσπισε περιβὰς κείμενον,
ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τὸν πολέμιον. ἦνεγκε δ' ἐπὶ τῷ παρ'
ὅλιγον κινδυνεύσαι τὸν βασιλέα χαλεπῶς τὸ πλῆ-
θος· καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὥρκωσαν αὐτὸν μηκέτι εἰς
μάχην ἀπαντῆσαι σὺν αὐτοῖς, μὴ δι' ἄνδρείαν καὶ
προθυμίαν παθών τι τῶν δεινῶν στερήσῃ τὸν λαὸν
τῶν δι' αὐτὸν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα τε ἦδη παρέσχηκε καὶ
ὅσων ἔτι μεθέξουσι πολὺν βιώσαντος χρόνον.

301 (2) Συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς Γάζαρα
πόλιν ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
στρατιάν. ἡρίστευσε δὲ τότε καὶ σφόδρ' ηὔδο-

¹ φασιν ἐλκειν] Naber: συνέλκειν codd.: συνέβη ἐλκειν Niese.
² ex Lat. Niese: ἀποκτείνων codd.

^a Bibl. Ishbi-benob, LXX 'Ιεσθί. The Heb. consonantal text, meaning "they dwelled in Nob," is corrupt and conceals a proper name rather different from Ishbi-benob. Weill rightly supposes that Josephus's Ακμόν represents Heb. *Hakmon*, but, like others, has failed to see that it is identical with Jashobeam the Hachmonite, 1 Chron. xi. 11 (cf. § 308 note). The latter is, to be sure, one of David's warriors, and not his enemy, as here, but whether Scripture or Josephus is responsible for this confusion, there can be no doubt of this identity of names. It may also be noted that rabbinic tradition makes Ishbi a brother of Goliath and describes at length

put them to flight; but in pursuing, he found him-^a a Philistine giant. self alone, and in this weary state he was seen by one ^b Sam. of the enemy, whose name was Akmōn,^c the son of ^d xxi. 15. Araphos,^b and who was, at the same time, a descendant of the Giants.^b He had a spear, the haft of which was said to weigh three hundred shekels, a breastplate of chainmail,^c and a sword, and he turned about and rushed forward with the intention of killing the enemy's king, who was exhausted by his exertions. But suddenly there appeared Abisai, the brother of Joab, who protected the king by standing astride over him^d as he lay there, and killed his enemy. But the people were distressed by the king's narrow escape from death, and the leaders made him swear that he would never again go out with them to battle, lest, through his bravery and zeal, he should suffer some injury and so deprive the people of the benefits he brought them, both those that he had already conferred, and those that they might still enjoy if he lived for a long time.

(2) Then the Philistines assembled at the city of ^e Prowess of David's Gazara,^e and, when the king heard of it, he sent an ^f warriors army against them. On that occasion mighty ^g deeds Philistines.

Abishai's miraculous rescue of David from his hands, cf. Ginzberg iv. 107.

^b In "Araphos" and "Giants" Josephus combines the bibl. proper name Raphah (cf. pl. Rephaim) and its rendering by Targum and some LXX MSS. as "giants" (so A.V.).

^c Bibl. "was girded with a new —" (A.V. "new sword"; the noun is missing); LXX supplies κορύνην "club," Luc. παραξώνην "girdle," Targum *Ispaniqî* (= 'Ισπανική?) which means either "sword" or "girdle" according to Jewish tradition.

^d Unscriptural detail.
^e 1 Chron. Gezer, LXX Γάζερ; 2 Sam. Gob, LXX Γέθ (v.l. Γαρέλ κτλ.), Luc. Γαζέθ. It is uncertain what the name was in the original text of Scripture.

κίμησε Σαβρήχης¹ ὁ Χετταῖος εἰς τῶν περὶ Δαυίδην ἀνδρειοτάτων· ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν αὐχούντων προγόνους τοὺς Γίγαντας καὶ μέγα ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ φρονούντων, αἴτιός τε τῆς νίκης τοῦς Ἐβραιοὺς 302 ἐγένετο. καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡτταν πάλιν ἐπολέμησαν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι· καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Δαυίδου πέμψαντος ἡρίστευσεν Ἐφάν ὁ συγγενῆς αὐτοῦ· μονομαχήσας γὰρ τῷ πάντων ἀνδρειοτάτῳ Παλαιστίνων ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε, πολλοί τε αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι. διαλιπόντες δ' ὄλιγον χρόνον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο² πρὸς Γίττη³ πόλει τῶν ὅρων τῆς Ἐβραίων χώρας οὐκ ἄπωθεν. ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνήρ τὸ μὲν ὑψος ἐξ πηχῶν, δακτύλους δ' ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τῶν βάσεων καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐνὶ περισσοτέρους εἶχε τῶν κατὰ 304 φύσιν. ἐκ τῆς οὖν πεμφθείσης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Δαυίδου στρατιᾶς τούτω μονομαχήσας Ἰωνάθης ὁ Σαμᾶ⁴ υἱὸς ἀνεῖλέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς δλῆς νίκης ροπή

¹ Σαβρήχεις R: Σοβάκχης SP(M): 'Αθάκχης E: Sabuch Lat.

² Niese cum cod. Vat. apud Hudson: ἐστρατεύσαντο RO: ἐστρατοπέδευσαν MSP: ἐστράτευσαν E.

³ Niese: τῇ codd.: τῇ Γίττῃ Hudson (cf. LXX).

⁴ ed. pr.: Σουμᾶ codd. Lat.

^a Bibl. Sibbechai, LXX Σοβάκχα, Luc. Σοβεκχί.

^b So Luc.; bibl. the Hushathite, LXX ὁ Ἀστατωθεῖ.

^c Scripture mentions only one victim, Saph (1 Chron. Sippai) "that was of the giants (Heb. *Râphâh*)."

^d Bibl. Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim (read Jair as in 1 Chron.) a Bethlehemite, LXX Ἔλεανὰν νὶς Ἀριωγεῖμ ὁ Βαιθλεεμείτης, Luc. Ἔλλανὰν νὶς Ἰαδδεῖν; in 1 Chron. LXX has Ἔλλὰν νὶς Ἰαείρ.

^e This was Goliath according to 2 Sam., but as Goliath was supposedly slain by David (cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 23 ff., Ant. vi. 171 ff.), 1 Chron. harmonistically makes Elhanan's victim 520

were performed and great glory was won by Sabrē-² Sam. chēs^a the Hittite,^b one of David's bravest men, for he killed many of those who boasted of having the Giants for ancestors,^c and thought much of their own courage; and so he was responsible for the victory of the Hebrews. After this defeat the Philistines made war a second time, and David sent an army against them, of whom the most valiant was his relative Ephah,^d for, in single combat with the bravest of all the Philistines,^e he killed him and put the rest to flight, many of them being slain in battle. But after a brief interval of time they encamped near Gitta,^f a city not far from the border of the Hebrews' country, and there was among them a man six cubits^g in height, who had, on both of his feet and hands, one more toe and finger than nature usually provides. Now, of the army sent against them by David, Jonathan, the son of Sama,^h fought against this man in single combat, and by slaying him, turned the battle

a brother of Goliath, and the epithet *Beth ha-lāhmi* "Beth-lehemite" applied to Elhanan in 2 Sam. is converted to a personal name Lahmi, giving the reading, 1 Chron. xx. 5, "And Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite." Josephus evades the difficulty more simply by omitting the name of Goliath.

^f Name restored in Josephus's text from the LXX.

^g Unscriptural detail. In 2 Sam. Heb. has *ish mādōn* "man of strife," LXX ἀνὴρ Μαδῶν; in 1 Chron. *ish middah* "man of stature," LXX ἀνὴρ ἵπερμεγέθης. Possibly Josephus was careless in taking "six," occurring twice in Scripture of the giant's fingers and toes, to apply to his height. It is unlikely that, as Weill suggests, he was thinking of Goliath's height, "six cubits and a span," 1 Sam. xvii. 4, for he follows the LXX in reading "four cubits and a span" in that passage (A. vi. 171).

^h So Luc. and LXX in 1 Chron.; bibl. Shimeah, LXX (2 Sam.) Σεμαί. He was a nephew of David.

γενόμενος δόξαν ἀριστείας ἀπηνέγκατο· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ Παλαιστῖνος ηὔχει τῶν Γιγάντων ἀπόγονος εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μάχην οὐκέτι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐπολέμησαν.

305 (3) Ἀπηλλαγμένος δ' ἦδη πολέμων ὁ Δαυΐδης καὶ κινδύνων καὶ βαθείας ἀπολαύων τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνης, ὡδὰς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὕμνους συνετάξατο μέτρου ποικίλου· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τριμέτρους, τοὺς δὲ πενταμέτρους ἐποίησεν. ὄργανά τε κατασκευάσας ἐδίδαξε πρὸς αὐτὰ τοὺς Λησούτας ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεὸν κατά τε τὴν τῶν καλουμένων σαββάτων 306 ἡμέραν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἔορτάς. ἡ δὲ τῶν ὄργάνων ἐστὶν ἴδεα τοιαύτη τις τὸν τρόπον· ἡ μὲν κινύρα δέκα χορδᾶς ἔξημμένη τύπτεται πλήκτρῳ, ἡ δὲ νάβλα δώδεκα φθόγγους ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται, κύμβαλά τε ἡνὶ πλατέα καὶ μεγάλα χάλκεα. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν, ὥστε μὴ τελέως ἀγνοεῖν τὴν τῶν προειρημένων ὄργάνων φύσιν, ἀρκείσθω λελέχθαι.

307 (4) Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πάντες ἥσαν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρεῖοι· τούτων δ' οἱ διασημότατοι καὶ λαμπροὶ τὰς πράξεις ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα, ὃν πέντε μόνων διηγήσομαι τὰ ἔργα· φανερὰς γὰρ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὰς ἀρκέσουσιν οὗτοι ποιῆσαι· δυνατοὶ γὰρ ἥσαν οὗτοι καὶ χώραν ὑπάγεσθαι καὶ μεγάλων

^a Josephus, in characterizing Hebrew poetry, which is accentual, uses terms familiar to Greek readers, who knew only quantitative poetry. These terms may stand if taken to mean lines of three beats (trimeters) or three plus two beats (pentameters).

^b The following names are taken by Josephus from the LXX, 1 Chron. xxv. 1 *et al.*, cf. A. viii. 94.

^c Bibl. "harp," Heb. *kinnôr*, elsewhere in the LXX trans-

into a complete victory, and carried off the first prize for valour; this Philistine had also boasted of being a descendant of the Giants. But after this battle they did not again make war on the Israelites.

(3) David, being now free from wars and dangers, and enjoying profound peace from this time on, composed songs and hymns to God in varied meters—some he made in trimeters, and others in pentameters.^a He also made musical instruments, and instructed the Levites how to use them in praising God on the so-called Sabbath day and on the other festivals. Now the forms of these instruments were somewhat as follows^b: the *kinyra*^c had ten strings stretched on it, which were struck with a plectrum; the *nabla*,^d which had twelve notes, was plucked with the fingers; and the *kymbala*^e were large, broad plates of brass. But now that our readers are not altogether unacquainted with the nature of the afore-mentioned instruments, let this much about them suffice.

(4) As for the men about the king, all of them were David's brave, but the most distinguished among them and chief warriors famous for their deeds were thirty-eight^f in number; and their exploits. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8; 1 Chron. xi. 10.

lated *κιθάρα* "lyre." Josephus apparently takes the "ten strings" from Ps. xxxiii. 2 and cxliv. 9, taking *nēbel* there (A.V. "instrument") as in apposition with *kinnôr*. On Jewish coins the *kinnôr* has three, five or six strings, while in the Talmud it is said to have seven strings, cf. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, iii. 85.

^a Bibl. psaltery, Heb. *nēbel*; probably a kind of harp. According to some authorities in the Talmud it had more strings than the *kinnôr*, cf. Krauss, *op. cit.* 86 f.

^b Bibl. cymbals, Heb. *mesiltayim*.

^c Thirty-seven, according to Scripture, 2 Sam. xxiii. 39.

308 ἐθνῶν κρατῆσαι. πρῶτος μὲν οὖν Ἰσεβός¹ νιὸς Ἀχεμαίου, ὃς πολλάκις εἰς τὴν παράταξιν ἐμπηδῶν τῶν πολεμίων οὐ πρὶν ἀνεπαύετο μαχόμενος πρὶν ἐνακοσίους αὐτῶν καταβαλεῖν. μετ' αὐτὸν ἦν Ἐλεάζαρος νιὸς Δωδείου, ὃς ἦν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως 309 ἐν Ἐρασαμῷ². οὗτός ποτε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καταπλαγέντων τὸ πλήθος τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ φευγόντων μόνος ἔμεινε καὶ συμπεσών τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν πολλούς, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος προσκολληθῆναι τὴν ρόμφαιαν αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἰδόντας τετραμμένους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καταβάντας³ διώκειν καὶ θαυμαστὴν καὶ διαβόητον τότε νίκην ἀρασθαι, τοῦ μὲν Ἐλεαζάρου κτείνοντος ἐπομένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ σκυλεύοντος τοὺς ἀνηρημένους. τρίτος δὲ ἦν

¹ Ἰσσαίμος MSP: Ἰσαίμος E: Iesebus Lat.

² Ἀρασάμῳ M: Ἀρασαμῷ SP: Respha Lat.

³ +ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρέων P Lat.

^a The Heb. text in 2 Sam. *yôshēb ba-shebeth* “sitting in the seat” is probably a corruption of the name Ishbaal, as indicated by Luc. Ἰεσβαάλ; LXX has Ἰεβοσθέ; in 1 Chron. Heb. has Jashobeam, LXX Ἰεσεβαδά (v.l. Ἰσβαδός κτλ.).

^b 2 Sam. “the Tachmonite” (omitting “the son of”), LXX ὁ Χανανᾶς, Luc. νιὸς Θεκεμανεῖ; 1 Chron. “the son of the Hachmonite,” LXX νιὸς Ἀχαμανεῖ. On the confusion of the latter name with that of a Philistine cf. § 299 note.

^c “Sprang repeatedly” is not found in Scripture, which says that he slew all his victims “at one time.” Possibly it is derived from the Targum’s rendering “weaving back

conquer great nations. Now the first was Isebos,^a Jashobeam (Isebos), the son of Achemaios,^b who sprang repeatedly^c upon the enemy’s ranks and did not cease fighting until he had felled nine hundred^d of them. After him was Eleazar, the son of Dōdeios,^e who was with the king Eleazar in Erasamos,^f and who on one occasion, when the Israelites fled in terror before the host of the Philistines, alone held his ground and, falling on the enemy, killed so many of them that his sword stuck to his right hand with their blood, and the Israelites, seeing that the Philistines had been routed by him, returned to the contest^g and pursued them and thereupon gained a wonderful and celebrated victory, with Eleazar dealing death, and the host following him and despoiling the slain. The third was a son of

and forth (?) with his spear^h of the unintelligible Heb. in 2 Sam., where the LXX has “drew his sword,” Luc. “marshalled his lines”; 1 Chron. “lifted his spear,” LXX, as in 2 Sam., “drew his sword.”

^a So Luc.; Heb. and LXX “eight hundred” in 2 Sam., “three hundred” in 1 Chron.

^b Cf. Luc. νιὸς Δονδεῖ; in 2 Sam. the consonantal Heb. has “the son of Dōdō the son of Ahōhī” (i.e. “the Ahohite” as in A.V.), while the vocalized Heb. has “the son of his uncle (Dōdō) the Ahohite,” LXX νιὸς πατραδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, νιὸς Σουσεῖ; 1 Chron. “the son of his uncle the Ahohite,” LXX νιὸς Δωδαὶ ὁ Ἀρχωνεῖ (v.l. Ἀχοχῖ).

^c 1 Chron. Pas-dammim (for Ephes-dammim), LXX Ἀφασοδομή; the text in 2 Sam. is quite different, *beḥārephām ba-Pilishtim* “in their reviling the Philistines,” LXX ἐν τῷ ὀνειδίσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις, while Luc. has a place-name ἐν Σερράν (cf. Lat. in Resfam). Josephus’s form appears to be a corruption of the latter.

^d καταβάντας, here in its military sense “return to the contest,” was misunderstood by a scribe as “come down,” its usual meaning, and, thinking that a phrase was missing, he added the words ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρέων “from the mountains”—hence the variant in ms. P and the Lat. trans.

310 Ἡλοῦ μὲν νίδις Σαβαῖας¹ δὲ ὄνομα. καὶ οὗτος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Παλαιστίνους ἀγῶσιν εἰς τόπον Σιαγόνα λεγόμενον αὐτῶν παραταξαμένων, ὡς οἱ Ἐβραῖοι πάλιν τὴν δύναμιν φοβηθέντες οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ὑπέστη μόνος ὡς στράτευμα καὶ τάξις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν κατέβαλε τοὺς δ' οὐ καρτερήσαντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἴσχυν καὶ τὴν βίαν ἀλλ' εἰς φυγὴν ἀποστραφέντας ἐδίωκε.² ταῦτα μὲν ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ μάχης οἱ τρεῖς ἐπεδείξαντο. καθ' ὅν δὲ καιρὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπῆλθεν ἡ τῶν Παλαιστίνων δύναμις πολεμῆσαι, Δαυίδης μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνῆλθεν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, πενσόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἔχθρων παρεμβολῆς ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι κειμένης, ἥ μέχρι Βηθλεέμης πόλεως διατείνει σταδίους Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπεχούσης εἴκοσιν, ὁ Δαυίδης τοῖς ἑταίροις “καλὸν ὕδωρ,” εἶπεν, “ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μου,” καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ τῷ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ θαυμάζων, εἴ τις ἐξ αὐτοῦ πιεῖν αὐτῷ κομίσειε μᾶλλον 313 ἐθελήσειν ἥ εἰ πολλὰ χρήματα διδοῖ.³ ταῦτ' ἀκού-

¹ Κησαβαῖος SP.² ἐδίωξε MSP.³ διδοῖη M: δοῖη SP.

^a Cf. Luc. Ἡλά; bibl. Agée (Heb. *'Agē'*), LXX Ἀσά. It is difficult to see any connexion between Luc. Ela and *'Agē'*, unless, as a modern scholar, Klostermann, suggests, Agée is to be identified with Elah the father of Shimei, Solomon's governor in Benjamin, 1 Kings iv. 18.

^b Variant Kēsabaios; bibl. Shammah, LXX Σαμαῖα. Weill calls attention to the resemblance of Kēsabaios son of Elos to Kabzeel (LXX Καβεσεῆλ), 2 Sam. xxiii. 20.

^c So Luc., reading *lehi* “jawbone” for Heb. *la-hayyâh* “by clans” (A.V. “in a troop”); LXX, taking *hayyâh* in its usual sense of “beast,” has *eis θηρία*. Lehi is a site well known from the Samson story, cf. A. v. 297 (Judges xv. 9 ff.).

Ēlos,^a named Sabaias^b; in a battle with the Philistines, who were drawn up at a place called Siagon (Sabaias). (Jawbone),^c the Hebrews were again afraid of their force and failed to stand their ground, but this man withstood them alone, being an army and battle-line in himself; some of them he felled, while the rest, who could not face his powerful attack, turned to flee, and he pursued them. These, then, were the mighty deeds of war which the three performed. And once, when the king was at Jerusalem^d and the Philistine force came to fight against him, David went up to the citadel, as we have said before,^e to inquire of God concerning the war; and, while the enemy lay encamped in the plain which extends as far as the city of Bethlehem, twenty stades^f distant from Jerusalem, he said to his companions, “We have good water in my native place,” praising especially that in the cistern near the gate, and added that he would be better pleased if someone brought him a drink from it than if he gave him a great deal of money.^g As

^a He was in the cave of Adullam according to Scripture, but Josephus might naturally have been confused by the Biblical account, which reads “And three of the thirty chief went down and came to David in the harvest time (Luc., Heb. 1 Chron. “to the rock”) in the cave of Adullam; and the troop of the Philistines pitched in the valley of Rephaim. And David was then in the stronghold (A.V. “an hold”) and the garrison (1 Chron. “commander”) of the Philistines was in Bethlehem.” If he was at Adullam, his men need not have run through the enemy’s camp to get to Bethlehem, whereas his being at Jerusalem makes the incident understandable. The valley of Rephaim lay south of Jerusalem on the way to Bethlehem.

^b §§ 71 ff.^c c. 2½ miles. The actual distance is c. 5 miles.^d This last (about money) is a detail added by Josephus.

σαντες οι τρεις ἄνδρες οὗτοι παραχρῆμα ἐκδραμόντες καὶ διὰ μέσου τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ὁρμήσαντες στρατοπέδου ἥκον εἰς Βηθλεέμην, καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀρυσάμενοι πάλιν διὰ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καταπλαγέντας αὐτῶν τὸ θράσος καὶ τὴν εὐψυχίαν ἡρεμῆσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τολμῆσαι¹ καταφρονήσαντας 314 τῆς ὀλιγότητος. κομισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐκ ἔπιεν ὁ βασιλεύς, κινδύνῳ καὶ αἷματι φήσας ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν κεκομίσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ προσήκειν αὐτῷ πιεῖν, ἔσπεισε δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐχαριστησεν αὐτῷ.
315 μετὰ τούτους ἦν ὁ Ἰωάβον ἀδελφὸς Ἀβισαῖος· καὶ γάρ οὗτος μιᾶς ἡμέρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἔξακοσίους ἀπέκτεινε. πέμπτος Βαναίας ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ γένει· προκληθεὶς γάρ ὑπ' ἀδελφῶν διασήμων ἐν τῇ Μωαβίτιδι χώρᾳ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν. καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀνδρὸς Αἴγυνπτίου τὸ γένος θαυμαστοῦ τὸ μέγεθος προκαλεσαμένου, γυμνὸς ὥπλισμένον, τῷ δόρατι τῷ ἐκείνου βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε· περιελόμενος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄκοντα καὶ ζῶντα ἔτι καὶ μαχόμενον σκυλεύσας τοῖς ἴδιοις αὐτὸν ὅπλοις 316 διεχρήσατο. προσαριθμήσει δ' ἀν τις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς προειρημέναις πράξεσιν ἡ ὡς πρῶτον αὐτῶν κατ' εὐψυχίαν ἡ ὡς οὐ μεῖον². νίφοντος γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ λέων εἰς τινὰ λάκκον ὀλισθὼν ἐνέπεσε.

¹ καὶ μηδὲν . . . τολμῆσαι om. RO.

² οὐ μεῖον ex Lat. Niese: ἀλλοῖον RO: ὁμοῖον rell.

^a So Luc. and some LXX mss. (in 1 Chron.) ; Heb. "three hundred."

^b Cf. 1 Chron. xxvii. 5.

^c Cf. LXX (2 Sam.) τοὺς δύο νιοὺς Ἀριὴλ τοῦ Μωάβ; Heb. "two Ariels of Moab" (A.V. "two lionlike men of Moab,"

soon as they heard this, the three men immediately ran out and dashed through the midst of the enemy's camp, until they came to Bethlehem, and, when they had drawn the water, came back again through the enemy's camp to the king; so amazed were the Philistines at their audacity and courage, that they remained motionless and did not venture to attack them, although they were contemptuous of their fewness. But, when the water was brought to him, the king did not drink it, saying that it had been brought at the risk of men's lives and that therefore it would not be right for him to drink it; then he poured some of it out as a libation to God, and gave Him thanks for the safety of his men. After these three men was Joab's brother Abisai, who in a single day slew six hundred ^a of the enemy. The fifth was Banaias, of priestly descent,^b who was challenged by famous brothers in the Moabite country,^c and defeated them by his prowess. And, on another occasion, when a native Egyptian of extraordinary size ^d challenged him, though he was unarmed against an armed foe, he struck him with his own spear and killed him, that is, he wrested the other's lance from him and, while he was still alive and fighting, stripped him of his armour and dispatched him with his own weapons. To the foregoing account of his deeds, one might add another which shows greater, or not less,^e valour than these: once, when God sent down snow, a lion slipped and fell into a pit, and, as the mouth

based on the etymology 'ari "lion"), Targum "two nobles of Moab."

^d Of five cubits, according to 1 Chron.; in 2 Sam. Heb. "a man of appearance" (A.V. "a goodly man"), LXX ἄνδρα ὥρατόν.

^e Emended text; mss. "similar," "a different kind of."

Abishai.
Banaias
(Banaias)

στενοῦ δ' ὅντος τοῦ στομίου δῆλος ἦν ἀφανῆς
ἐσόμενος ἐμφραγέντος αὐτοῦ τῇ χιόνι· πόρον οὖν
οὐδένα βλέπων ἔξόδου καὶ σωτηρίας ἐβρυχᾶτο.
317 τοῦ δὲ θηρὸς ἀκούσας ὁ Βαναῖας, ὥδενε γάρ τότε,
καὶ πρὸς τὴν βοὴν ἐλθών, καταβὰς εἰς τὸ στόμιον
πλήξας αὐτὸν μαχόμενον τῷ μετὰ χειρας ἔνδιλον
παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δέ τοιοῦτοι
τὰς ὄρετὰς ὑπῆρχον.

318 (xiii. 1) 'Ο δέ βασιλεὺς Δαυΐδης βουλόμενος
γνῶναι πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶ τοῦ λαοῦ, τῶν Μωυσέος
ἐντολῶν ἐκλαθόμενος, ὃς προεῖπεν ἐὰν ἔξαριθμηθῇ
τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ
τελεῖν² ἡμίσικλον, προσέταξεν Ἰωάβῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ
319 πορευθέντι πάντα τὸν ὄχλον ἔξαριθμῆσαι. τοῦ δ'
οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φήσαντος τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐκ
ἐπείσθη, προσέταξε δὲ μηδὲν μελλήσαντα βαδίζειν
ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξαριθμησιν τῶν Ἐβραίων. Ἰώαβος δὲ
τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν φυλῶν παραλαβὼν καὶ γραμ-
ματεῖς, ἐπιών τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώραν καὶ
τὸ πλῆθος ὃσον ἐστὶ κατανοήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς
'Ιεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ μῆνας ἐννέα
καὶ ἡμέρας εἴκοσι καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπέδωκε³ τῷ
βασιλεῖ τοῦ λαοῦ χωρὶς τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς
320 ἔξαριθμῆσαι γάρ αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν
Ληουιτῶν φυλὴν· μετενόησε γάρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὧν εἰς

¹ δὲ τρεῖς M: δὲ λ' S: δὲ τριάκοντα P: numero triginta et tres Lat.

² Niese: τελέσειν MSPE: τελέσειν RO. ³ ἀπέδωκε M.

^a Josephus considerably amplifies the bibl. sentence, "He went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in time of snow."

^b Cf. Ex. xxx. 12 f. This explanation of David's sin in numbering the people is also found in rabbinic tradition.

of the pit was narrow, the beast was clearly destined to perish when it should have been blocked up by the snow, and so, seeing no way of getting out or of being saved, he began to roar. But Banaias, who was just then passing by, heard the beast's noise and, going in the direction of the sound, went down into the mouth of the pit and struck the beast, as it fought with him, with the staff which he held in his hand, and immediately killed it.^a And as for the rest (of the warriors), they were just as valiant.

(xiii. 1) Then King David, desiring to know how many tens of thousands there were of the people, forgot the injunctions of Moses^b who had prescribed that, when the populace was numbered, half a shekel should be paid to God for every person^b; and he ordered Joab, his commander, to go out and take a census of the entire population. And, though Joab told him that there was no need to do this, he did not listen to him, but ordered him to proceed without delay to the numbering of the Hebrews. Joab, therefore, taking along the chiefs of the tribes and scribes,^c went through the Israelite country and noted down the extent of the population; then, after nine months and twenty days, he returned to the king at Jerusalem and reported to him the number of people, excepting the tribe of Benjamin and the tribe of Levites, which he did not have time to count,^d for

Scripture, while not explaining why the census was sinful, gives two different accounts of its origin, 2 Sam. "And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel and he incited David against them, saying, Go, number Israel and Judah"; 1 Chron. "And Satan stood up against Israel and incited David to number Israel."

^a Scribes are not mentioned in Scripture.

^b Cf. Luc. 1 Chron. ὅτι κατεπάχυνεν λόγος τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἰωάβ; Heb. "for the king's word was abominable to Joab."

τὸν θεὸν ἥμαρτεν. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀριθμὸς ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες ὅπλα βαστάζειν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι δυναμένων, ἡ δὲ Ἰούδα φυλὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν.

321 (2) Τῶν δὲ προφητῶν δηλωσάντων τῷ Δαυίδῃ ὅτι δι’ ὄργῆς ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ, ἵκετεύειν ἥρξατο καὶ παρακαλεῖν εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι καὶ συγγινώσκειν ἥμαρτηκότι. Γάδον δὲ τὸν προφήτην ἔπειμψεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν τρεῖς αἵρεσις κομίζοντα, ὅπως ἐκλέξηται τούτων ἦν ἀν δοκιμάσῃ· πότερον θέλει λιμὸν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ ἔπτα, ἢ τρεῖς μῆνας πολεμήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἡττηθῆναι, ἢ λοιμὸν ἐνσκῆψαι καὶ νόσον ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τοῦς 322 Ἐβραίους. ὁ δ’ εἰς ἀμήχανον ἐκλογὴν μεγάλων κακῶν ἐμπεσὼν ἐλυπεῖτο καὶ σφόδρ’ ἦν συγκεχυμένος. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τοῦτο δεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης γενέσθαι φήσαντος καὶ κελεύοντος ἀποκρίνασθαι ταχέως, ἵνα ἀναγγείλῃ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, λογισάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς εἰ λιμὸν αἴτησει, δόξει τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι τοῦς ἄλλους αὐτῷ μὲν ἀφόβως, ὅτι πολὺν αὐτὸς ἐγκεκλεισμένον ἔχοι σῖτον, ἐκείνοις 323 δὲ βλαβερῶς· ἀν δέ¹ γε ἔλληται² τοὺς τρεῖς μῆνας νικωμένους αὐτούς,³ ὅτι τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ φρούρια καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν φοβού-

¹ ἀν δέ] κἄν RO.

² γε ἔλληται M Lat.: γένηται rell.

³ post αὐτούς lacunam statuit Niese; fort. ἐροῦσιν vel sim. desideratur.

^a So Luc.; Heb. and LXX 800,000 in 2 Sam., 1,100,000 in 1 Chron.

^b So Luc.; Heb. and LXX 500,000 in 2 Sam., 470,000 in 1 Chron.

the king repented of his sin against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites, capable of bearing arms and taking the field, was nine hundred thousand,^a while the tribe of Judah by itself was four hundred thousand.^b

(2) When the prophets informed David that God was angry with him,^c he began to supplicate and entreat Him to be gracious and forgive his sin. Then God sent the prophet Gad to offer him a choice of three things from which to choose that which seemed best to him: he might either have a famine come upon the land for seven years,^d or face his enemies in battle for three months and suffer defeat, or have pestilence and disease visited upon the Hebrews for three days. Then David, finding himself in the difficult position of having to choose among great evils, was distressed and greatly perturbed. And when the prophet said that this must inevitably come to pass, and bade him give his answer quickly, in order that he might report his choice to God, the king reflected that if he asked for the famine, it would seem to the others that he had done this without risk to himself, as he had plenty of grain stored up, but with great harm to them; if, moreover, he chose to have them suffer three months of defeat, they would say^e that he had chosen the war because he had the bravest men about him as well as fortresses, and therefore had nothing to fear; so he asked for

^c No prophets are mentioned at this point in Scripture, which says, "And David said unto God, I have sinned greatly."

^d So Heb. in 2 Sam.; Heb. in 1 Chron. and LXX in both places have "three years."

^e Text uncertain.

μενος εἶλετο τὸν πόλεμον, ἥτήσατο πάθος κοινὸν καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, ἐν ὧ τὸ δέος ἵστον ἀπάντων γίνεται, προειπὼν¹ ὅτι πολὺ κρείττον εἰς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χεῖρας ἐμπεσεῖν ἢ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων.

- 324 (3) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ προφήτης ἀπῆγγειλε τῷ θεῷ· ὃ δὲ τὸν λοιμὸν καὶ τὴν φθορὰν ἔπειψε τοῖς Ἐβραίοις. ἀπέθνησκον δ' οὐ μονοτρόπως οὐδὲ ὡστε ῥάδιον κατανοῆσαι γενέσθαι τὴν νόσον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν κακὸν ἐν ᾧ, μυρίαις δ' αὐτοὺς αἰτίαις καὶ προφάσεσιν οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι δυναμένους ἀνήρπαξεν. 325 ἄλλος γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ διεφθείρετο, καὶ λανθάνον ἐπερχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν ὀξεῖαν τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπέφερεν τῶν μὲν αἴφνιδίως μετ' ἀλγημάτων σφοδρῶν καὶ πικρᾶς ὀδύνης τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφίεντων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ μαραινομένων τοῖς παθήμασι καὶ μηδ' εἰς κηδείαν ὑπολειπομένων, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κάμνειν εἰς τὸ 326 παντελὲς δαπανωμένων· οἱ δ' αἴφνιδιον σκότους αὐτοῖς τὰς ὄψεις ὑποδραμόντος περιπνιγεῖς ἀπώμωζον, ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν οἰκείων τινὰ κηδεύοντες ἐναπέθνησκον ἀτελέστι ταῖς ταφαῖς. ἀπώλοντο δ' ἀρξαμένης ἔωθεν τῆς λοιμικῆς νόσου φθείρειν αὐτοὺς ἔως ὥρας ἀρίστου μυριάδες ἐπτά. ἐξέτεινε δ' ὁ ἄγγελος τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ 'Ιεροσόλυμα, τὸ δεινὸν κάκεῖσε πέμπων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς σάκκον

¹ προειπὼν Niese: dicens Lat.

^a These reflections of David are an amplification of Scripture, which says merely, "And David said unto God, I am in a great strait; let me fall now into the hand of the Lord, for very great are his mercies, but let me not fall into the hand of man." Similar to Josephus's expansion are the explanations given in rabbinic tradition, cf. Ginzberg, iv. 112.

^b This amplification of the brief Scriptural statement, "So

such an affliction as is common to kings and subjects alike, and one in which all have equal reason for fear,—first saying that it was much better to fall into the hands of God than into those of the enemy.^a

(3) When the prophet heard this answer, he reported it to God, who thereupon sent pestilence and destruction upon the Hebrews. And they did not all die in the same manner so that the disease could be easily recognized, but, while there was only one (source of) evil, it carried them off for innumerable real or apparent causes, which they could not distinguish. One after the other, they perished, and the dread sickness, coming on them unperceived, brought swift death; some, in the midst of terrible suffering and acute pain, suddenly breathed their last; some were so wasted by their malady that there was nothing of them left for burial, and, in the course of their illness itself, they were completely consumed; others, with sudden darkness falling on their eyes, were suffocated as they groaned; still others died in the act of burying one of their household, and the interment was left unfinished.^b And, in the destructive pestilence, which lasted from early morning until the hour of the noon meal,^c there perished seventy thousand souls. Now the angel stretched out his hand against Jerusalem also and sent the plague upon it as well. And the king put on sack-the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel," is probably an imitation of the famous description of the plague in Thucydides ii. 47 ff., which also furnished the model for similar passages in later books of the *Antiquities*.

^a So LXX in 2 Sam. (1 Chron. omits); Heb. "unto the time appointed (*mō'ed*)," Targum "unto the time of burning (the burnt-offering)"; rabbinic tradition, like the LXX, takes the Heb. "time appointed" to mean "midday," as if *mō'ed* here meant "the time appointed for the day's greatest heat."

ἐνδεδυμένος ἔκειτο κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἵκετεύων τὸν θεὸν καὶ δεόμενος ἥδη λωφῆσαι καὶ τοῦς ἀπολωλόσιν ἀρκεσθέντα παύσασθαι· ἀναβλέψας δὲ εἰς τὸν ἄέρα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν ἄγγελον δι' αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ μάχαιραν ἐσπασ-
328 μένον εἶπε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη κολασθῆναι δίκαιος ὁ ποιμήν, τὰ δὲ ποίμνια σώζεσθαι μηδὲν ἔξαμαρτόντα, καὶ ἥντιβόλει τὴν ὄργην εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀποσκῆπτειν, φείδεσθαι δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ.

329 (4) Κατακούσας δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἵκεσίας ἐπαυσε τὸν λοιμόν, καὶ πέμψας Γάδον τὸν προφήτην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναβῆναι παραχρῆμα εἰς τὴν ἄλω τοῦ Ἱερουσαίλου Ὁρόννα καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντα βωμὸν ἔκει τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαι. Δαυίδης δὲ ἀκούσας οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἐσπευσεν ἐπὶ 330 τὸν παρηγγελμένον αὐτῷ τόπον. Ὁρόννας δὲ τὸν σῖτον ἀλοῶν ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλέα προσιόντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πάντας ἐθεάσατο, προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ καὶ προσεκύνησεν. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος Ἱερουσαίλος, φίλος δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Δαυίδου· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο δεινόν, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν κατε-
331 στρέψατο, ὡς μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐδηλώσαμεν. τοῦ δὲ Ὁρόννα πυθομένου τί παρείη πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον ὁ

^a The word "shepherd" is found in the Targum and some LXX MSS. in 2 Sam.; Heb. "I have sinned and I have done wickedly, but these sheep, what have they done?"

^b According to 2 Sam. xxiv. 16 (1 Chron. xxi. 15) God caused the angel of pestilence to stay his hand as he stood by Araunah's threshing-floor, before David pleaded that the people be spared, while in verses 21-25 (1 Chron. verses 22-27) we read that the plague did not cease until the altar had been built. Josephus ignores this inconsistency here and in § 332.

cloth and lay on the ground, supplicating God and entreating Him at last to be appeased and to rest content with those who had already perished. Then, looking up into the air and beholding the angel being borne through it toward Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, the king said to God that it was he, the shepherd ^a who was rightly to be punished, but the flock, which had committed no sin, should be saved ^a; and he entreated Him to cause His anger to fall upon him and all his line, but to spare the people.

(4) And God hearkened to his supplication, and ^{End of the} caused the pestilence to cease,^b and, sending the ^{plague.} prophet Gad, He commanded David to go up at once ^{David and Araunah} to the threshing-floor of Oronnas ^(Oronnas) the Jebusite, and ^{the} there build an altar to God and offer sacrifice. When ^{Jebusite.} David heard these commands he did not neglect ^{2 Sam.} them, but immediately hastened to the place indicated ^{xxiv. 18;} to him. Now Oronnas was threshing his grain ^{1 Chron.} and, when he saw the king approaching with all his servants,^d he ran to him and did obeisance; he was, to be sure, of Jebusite descent, but he was one of David's best friends, and for this reason, the latter did him no harm when he overthrew the city, as we related a little while ago.^e And when Oronnas inquired why his lord had come to his servant, David

^c Bibl. Araunah, 1 Chron. Ornan, cf. § 69 note.

^d Hardly "children" as Weill translates; cf. bibl. "And Araunah looked and saw the king (*melek*) and his servants crossing over to him," LXX καὶ διέκυψεν Ὁρόννα καὶ εἶδεν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ παραπορευομένους ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. Weill may have been thinking of the corrupt Heb. in 1 Chron., "and Ornan returned and saw the angel (*mal'āk*), and his four sons with him hid themselves," but here it is Araunah's sons who are spoken of.

^e § 69.

δεσπότης, εἶπεν ὡνήσεσθαι¹ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄλω, ὅπως βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάσῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ποιῆσῃ θυσίαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλω εἶπε καὶ τὰ ἄροτρα καὶ τοὺς βόας εἰς ὀλοκαύτωσιν χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἡδέως εὔχεσθαι τὴν θυσίαν προσέσθαι.

332 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγαπᾶν μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας ἔλεγε καὶ δέχεσθαι τὴν χάριν, τιμὴν δ' αὐτὸν ἡξίου λαμβάνειν πάντων· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον προῖκα θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν. τοῦ δὲ Ὀρόννα φήσαντος ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται πεντήκοντα σίκλων ὡνεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄλω. καὶ οἰκοδομήσας τὸν βωμὸν ἱερούργησε καὶ ὀλοκαύτωσε καὶ θυσίας ἀνήνεγκεν εἰρηνικάς. καταπραῦνεται δὲ τούτοις τὸ θεῖον καὶ πάλιν εὐμενὲς γίνεται. συνέβη δ' εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀγαγεῖν τὸν τόπον "Αβραμον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ" Ἰσακον ὥστε ὀλοκαυτῶσαι, καὶ μέλλοντος ἀποσφάττεσθαι τοῦ παιδὸς κριὸν ἔξαιφνης ἀναφανῆναι παρεστῶτα τῷ βωμῷ, ὃν καὶ κατέθυσεν

334 "Αβραμος ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός, ὡς προειρήκαμεν. ὄρῶν δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυΐδης τῆς εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐπήκοον γεγενημένον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἡδέως προσδεξάμενον ἔκρινε τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὅλον βωμὸν² προσαγορεύσαι τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ταύτην εὐστόχως ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ

¹ Naber: ὡνήσασθαι codd.

² ὅλον βωμὸν] ἄλων ex Lat. Niese: ὀλοκαυτωμάτων βωμὸν vel sim. conj.

^a Cf. Luc. 2 Sam. τὰ ξύλα καὶ τὰ ἄροτρα and LXX 1 Chron. τὸ ἄροτρον εἰς ξύλα; Heb. 2 Sam. "threshing instruments and instruments of the oxen," LXX οἱ τροχοὶ καὶ τὰ σκεύη τῶν βοῶν; Heb. 1 Chron. "threshing instruments for wood and wheat for the meat-offering," Luc. τὰς ἀμάξας εἰς ξύλα καὶ τὸν πυρὸν εἰς θυσίαν.

said that it was to buy the threshing-floor from him, in which to build an altar to God and perform sacrifice. Thereupon he replied that he would present the threshing-floor, as well as the plough ^a and oxen, as a burnt-offering, and prayed that God would graciously accept the sacrifice. The king then said that he admired him for his liberality and greatness of soul, and accepted his kind gifts, but requested him to take payment for them all, for it was not right for anyone to offer a sacrifice that cost him nothing.

And when Oronnas said he might do as he pleased, David buys Arauna's threshing-floor or as a site for the temple.

By these means the Deity was appeased and once more became gracious. As it happened, it was to this very place that Abraham brought his son Isaac, to sacrifice him as a burnt-offering, and, as he was about to slaughter him, there suddenly appeared beside the altar a ram, which Abraham sacrificed in place of his son, as we related earlier.^d Then, when David saw that God had hearkened to his prayer and had accepted the sacrifice with favour, he resolved to call that entire place the altar ^e of all the people, and to build a temple to God; and, in uttering this

^b So 2 Sam.; 1 Chron. "600 shekels of gold by weight."

^c Or "performed the sacred rites," bibl. (1 Chron.) "and called upon the Lord."

^d A. i. 222 f., 226. Cf. notes ad loc.

^e Text doubtful. For ὅλον βωμὸν Niese, following the Latin, would read ἄλων "threshing-floor." But it is likely that ὅλον βωμὸν is a corruption of (an abbreviated?) ὀλοκαυτωμάτων βωμὸν "altar of burnt offerings"; cf. 1 Chron. xxii. 1, "And David said, This is the house of the Lord God, and this is the altar of the burnt offering for Israel (LXX θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὀλοκαύτωσιν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ)."

γενησόμενον τὴν φωνήν· ὁ γάρ θεὸς τὸν προφήτην ἀποστείλας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ναὸν ἔλεγεν οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μέλλοντα μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν διαδέχεσθαι.

335 (xiv. 1) Μετὰ δὴ ταύτην τὴν προφητείαν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς παροίκους ἔξαριθμηθῆναι καὶ εὑρέθησαν εἰς ὀκτὼ μυριάδας καὶ δέκα. ἐκ τούτων ἀπέδειξε λατόμους μὲν τοὺς ὀκτακισμυρίους, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος παραφέρειν τοὺς λίθους, τρισχιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέστησεν. ἡτοίμασε δὲ καὶ πολὺν σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔύλα κέδρινα πολλὰ καὶ παμμεγεθέστατα, Τυρίων αὐτῷ ταῦτα πεμπόντων καὶ Σιδωνίων. ἐπεστάλκει γάρ αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν 336 ἔύλων χορηγίαν. πρὸς τε τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγε ταῦτα παρασκευάζεσθαι νῦν, ἵνα τῷ μέλλοντι παιδὶ βασιλεύειν μετ' αὐτὸν ἔτοιμην τὴν ὑλὴν τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ¹ καταλείπη καὶ μὴ τότε συμπορίζῃ νέος ὃν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄπειρος διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ' ἔχων παρακειμένην ἐπιτελῆ τὸ ἔργον.

337 (2) Καλέσας δὲ τὸν παῖδα Σολομῶνα κατασκευάσαι τῷ θεῷ ναὸν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε διαδεξάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν, λέγων ὡς αὐτὸν βουλόμενον κωλύσειν ὁ θεὸς αἴματι καὶ πολέμοις πεφυρμένον,

¹ τοῦ ναοῦ om. RO Lat.

^a This last detail ("and, in uttering this word," etc.) was suggested by the LXX addition to 2 Sam. xxiv. 25 καὶ προσέθηκεν Σαλωμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ δτι μικρὸν ἦν ἐν πρώτοις "and Solomon added to the altar at a later time because it was small at first."

^b In 1 Chron. xxii. 2 there is mention of a census of aliens taken by David, but no figures are given; in 2 Chron. ii. 17 the figure given for the census taken by Solomon "after the numbering wherewith David his father had numbered

word, he came close to foretelling what was later to happen, for God sent a prophet to say that in this place a temple would be built by the son who was destined to succeed him on the throne.^a

(xiv. 1) After receiving this prophecy, the king David collects ordered the aliens to be numbered, and there were men and found to be one hundred and eighty thousand.^b Of these, he designated eighty thousand to be stone-cutters, and the rest of their number to carry the stones; and three thousand five hundred^c of them he set over the workmen. He also collected a great quantity of iron and bronze for the work, and many cedar-trees of very great size, sent to him by the Tyrians and Sidonians, from whom he had ordered a supply of the wood. And he told his friends that he was preparing these things now, in order that he might leave the materials for the building of the temple ready for the son who was destined to reign after him, who would thus not have to procure them when he would still be a youth and inexperienced because of his age, but would have them at hand to complete the work.

(2) Then he called his son Solomon and bade him build the temple to God after he should have succeeded to the throne, telling him that he himself had wished to do so, but God had prevented him because of his being stained with blood shed in war^d; He had

them" is 153,600. This figure corresponds to the total of the classes enumerated in 1 Kings v. 15-16 (Heb. 29-30), 70,000 carriers, 80,000 stone-cutters, 3600 (LXX) overseers = 153,600. Josephus's figure of 180,000 mistakenly includes a levy of 30,000 Israelites (therefore not aliens), and omits the 3600 overseers, whom he counts separately, cf. following note.

^a So LXX cod. A; Heb. 3300, LXX cod. B 3600, Luc. 3700. In A. viii. 59 Josephus, in agreement with Heb., has 3300.

^b Cf. §§ 90 ff.

1 Kings v. 15-16
2 Chron. ii. 2, 17;
1 Chron. xxii. 2.

David's instructions to Solomon concerning the temple.
1 Chron. xxii. 6.

προείποι δ' ὅτι Σολομὼν οἰκοδομήσει τὸν ναὸν¹ αὐτῷ παῖς νεώτατος² καὶ τοῦτο κληθσόμενος τοῦνομα, οὐ προνοήσειν μὲν αὐτὸς ὡς πατὴρ ἐπηγγέλλετο, τὴν δ' Ἐβραίων χώραν εὑδαιμόνα καταστήσειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ πάντων εἰρήνῃ καὶ πολέμων ἀπ-
338 αλλαγῇ καὶ στάσεων ἐμφυλίων. “σὺ τοίνυν ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀπεδείχθης βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πειρῶ τά τε ἄλλα γίνεσθαι τῆς τούτου προνοίας ἄξιος, εὐσεβὴς ὁν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους οὓς διὰ Μωυσέος ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν φύλαττε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
339 μὴ παραβαίνειν ἐπίτρεπε. τὸν δὲ ναόν, ὃν ὑπὸ σοῦ βασιλεύοντος εἴλετο αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι, σπουδασον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ μὴ καταπλαγεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἔργου μηδ' ἀποδειλιάσας πρὸς αὐτό· πάντα γάρ σοι πρὸ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τελευτῆς ἔτοιμα ποιήσω.
340 γίνωσκε δὴ³ χρυσοῦ μὲν ἥδη τάλαντα συνειλεγμένα μύρια, δέκα δ' ἀργύρου μυριάδας ταλάντων, χαλκόν τε καὶ σίδηρον ἀριθμοῦ πλείονα συντέθεικα καὶ ἔνδιλων δὲ καὶ λίθων ὕλην ἀφθονον, ἔχεις δὲ καὶ λατόμων πολλὰς μυριάδας καὶ τεκτόνων· ἂν δέ τι τούτοις προσδέη, σὺ προσθήσεις. γίνου τοίνυν
341 ἄριστος⁴ τὸν θεὸν ἔχων προστάτην.” προσπαρεκελεύσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς οἰκο-

¹ τὸν ναὸν om. RO.

² συνετώτατος Naber.

³ δὲ E: om. RO: siquidem Lat.

⁴ γίνου . . . ἄριστος] γινομένου τοίνυν τούτου ἄριστος (ἄρεστος M) ἔσῃ MSP: esto igitur optimus guvernator Lat.

^a For νεώτατος Naber conjectures συνετώτατος “most intelligent.” Reinach, adopting the latter reading, supposes

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also foretold that his youngest^a son Solomon would build Him a temple, and should be called by this name,^a and promised to watch over him like a father, and bring prosperity to the country of the Hebrews in his reign, with, among other things, the greatest of all blessings, namely peace and freedom from war and civil dissension. “Therefore,” he said, “since, even before your birth, you were chosen by God to be king, endeavour to be worthy of His providence by being pious, just and brave; keep the commandments and the laws which He gave us through Moses, and do not permit others to transgress them; as for the temple which He has decreed shall be made for Him in your reign, take pains to complete^b it for God, and do not be dismayed at the magnitude of the labour, nor shrink from it, for I shall make everything ready for you before my death. You should, indeed, know that ten thousand^c talents of gold and one hundred thousand^d talents of silver have already been collected, and that I have brought together more bronze and iron than can be reckoned, and a limitless quantity of wood and stone. You also have many tens of thousands of stone-cutters and carpenters, and whatever else is needed you yourself will add. Be, then, most brave, for you have God as your protector.” He further exhorted the chiefs of the people to assist his son in the building, and,

that there was originally in the text an allusion to Solomon's surname of the Wise. There is, however, no reason to suspect the present text, cf. 1 Chron. xxii. 9 where the Heb. plays upon the resemblance of Solomon's name (*Shelōmōh*) to *shālōm* “peace”—a word-play that could not be conveyed to Josephus's Greek readers.

^b Lit. “render it as due.”

^c Bibl. 100,000.

^d Bibl. 1,000,000.

δομίας συλλαβέσθαι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ πάντων ἀδεεῖς
ὄντας τῶν κακῶν, περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν
ἀσχολεῖν¹. καρπώσεσθαι² γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τούτων
εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν, οἷς ἀμείβεται τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς
342 καὶ δικαίους ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπους. οἰκοδομηθέντος
δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι προ-
έταξε καὶ τὰ ἄγια σκεύη πρὸ πολλοῦ ναὸν ὀφείλοντα
ἔχειν, εἰ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρήκουσαν
ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες ἐντειλαμένου μετὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν
ταύτην κατασχεῖν οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν αὐτῷ. ταῦτα
μὲν πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνας ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ τὸν νιὸν
αὐτοῦ διελέχθη.

343 (3) Πρεσβύτερος δὲ ὡν ἥδη καὶ τοῦ σώματος
αὐτῷ ψυχομένου διὰ τὸν χρόνον δύσριγος ὑπῆρχεν,
ὡς μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐκ πολλῶν ἴματίων
γινομένης ἀναθερμαίνεσθαι. συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν
ἰατρῶν καὶ συμβουλευσάντων ὅπως ἔξ ἀπάσης τῆς
χώρας εὐειδῆς ἐπιλεχθεῖσα παρθένος συγκαθεύδῃ
τῷ βασιλεῖ, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ῥῆγος ἔσεσθαι
344 βοήθημα θαλπούσης αὐτὸν τῆς κόρης, εύρισκετ'
ἐν πόλει³ γυνὴ μία πασῶν τὸ εἶδος ἀρίστη γυναικῶν
Αβισάκη τοῦνομα, ἣ συγκοιμωμένη μόνον τῷ
βασιλεῖ συνεθέρμαινεν αὐτόν. ὑπὸ γὰρ γήρως ἦν
πρὸς τάφροδίσια καὶ γυναικὸς ὄμιλίαν ἀσθενής.
ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης τῆς παρθένου μετ' ὀλίγον
δηλώσομεν.

345 (4) Ο δὲ τέταρτος νιὸς Δαυΐδου νεανίας εὐειδῆς
καὶ μέγας, ἐκ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ Ἀγίθης⁴ γεγονὼς

¹ ed. pr. Lat.: εὐσχολεῖν codd.² ed. pr. Lat.: καρπώσασθαι codd.³ post πόλει desideratur nomen oppidi, quod in γυνὴ latere conj. Boysen.⁴ Niese: Αἴγιθης codd.: Aegeth Lat.

without fear of any evil, to devote themselves wholly to the worship of God, saying that as a reward for this they would enjoy peace and order, with which God repays pious and just men. And he gave orders that, when the temple was built, Solomon should deposit in it the ark and the holy vessels, which should long since have had a temple, if our fathers had not disobeyed God's command to build a temple to Him after they had taken possession of this land.^a Such, then, were the words which David addressed to the leaders and to his son.

(3) Now as David was already very old, and, because of his age, his body felt cold and numb so that not even by the heaping on of many garments could he be kept warm, his physicians ^b came together and advised that a beautiful virgin be chosen out of the whole country to sleep with the king, as it would help him against the cold to have the maid warm him; and there was found, in the city of . . . ,^c a woman who surpassed all others in beauty, Abisakē^d by name, but she merely slept in the same bed with him and kept him warm, for at his age he was too feeble to have sexual pleasure or intercourse with her. Of this virgin, however, we shall speak a little later.^e

(4) Now the fourth son of David, a tall and handsome youth borne to him by his wife Agithē^f and

^a Abishag (Abisake) comforts David's old age.

1 Kings i. 1

^g Adonijah (Adōnias) plots to succeed David.

1 Kings i. 5

^a The reference to the disobedience of the fathers is added by Josephus.

^b Bibl. "his servants."

^c Shunem, the name of the city, has dropped out of Josephus's text, or has, perhaps, been corrupted to γυνὴ "woman," as Boysen conjectures; the Greek form of the name was probably Συνῆμ, cf. Luc. in Jos. xix. 18.

^d Bibl. Abishag, LXX Ἄβισαγ.

^e A. viii. 5 ff.

^f Bibl. Haggith, cf. § 21 note.

Ἄδωνίας δὲ προσαγορευόμενος, ἐμφερῆς ὥν Ἀψαλώμω τὴν¹ διάνοιαν αὐτὸς ὡς βασιλεύσων ἐπῆρτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν δεῖ παραλαβεῖν· κατεσκεύασε δὲ ἄρματα πολλὰ καὶ ἵππους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς προδρόμους.
 346 ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ὁ πατὴρ οὐκ ἐπέπληττεν οὐδ' ἐπεῖχεν αὐτὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ πυθέσθαι διὰ τί ταῦτα πράττει προήχθη. συνεργοὺς δ' εἶχεν Ἀδωνίας τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἀβιάθαρον, μόνοι δ' ἀντέπραττον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σάδωκος καὶ ὁ προφήτης Νάθας καὶ Βαναίας ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ Σιμούεις² ὁ Δαυίδου φίλος
 347 καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρειότατοι. τοῦ δὲ Ἀδωνία παρασκευασαμένου δεῖπνον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὴν πηγὴν³ τὴν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ πάντας καλέσαντος τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς χωρὶς Σολομῶνος, παραλαβόντος δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς Ἰουδαίας φυλῆς, οὕτε δὲ Σάδωκον τὸν ἀρχιερέα⁴ καὶ Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων Βαναίαν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας αἵρεσεως καλέσαντος⁵ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίασιν, τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν Σολομῶνος κατεμήνυσε μητέρα Βερσάβην Νάθας ὁ προφήτης ὡς Ἀδωνίας βασιλεύς ἔστι καὶ τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν
 348 Δαυίδης⁶ συνεβούλευε τε σώζειν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν παῖδα Σολομῶνα καὶ πρὸς Δαυίδην προσελθοῦσαν μόνην αὐτὴν λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὄμοσειε μετ'

¹ + τε RO.² Σεμεῖς M: Σουμούεις E: Simus Lat.³ πύλην RO: γῆν M.⁴ οὕτε δὲ . . . ἀρχιερέα] τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα M: οὗτοι μὲν πάντες παρῆσαν τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα SP.⁵ οὐκ ἐκάλεσεν MSP Lat.⁶ βασιλεύς ἔστι . . . Δαυίδης] βασιλεύσαι βούλεται RO.

named Adōnias,^a had thoughts similar to those of Absalom and, aspiring to be king himself, told his friends that he ought to succeed to the royal power. So he provided himself with many chariots and horses and fifty men to run before him. When his father saw this, he did not rebuke him nor restrain him from his purpose, nor even go so far as to ask him why he did these things. And Adōnias had as accomplices the commander Joab and the high priest Abiathar; the only ones opposed to him were the high priest Sadok, the prophet Nathan, Banaias, the chief of the bodyguards, David's friend Simūeis^b and all the foremost warriors. And Adōnias prepared a dinner outside the city beside the spring in the royal garden,^c and invited all his brothers except Solomon; he also brought with him the commander Joab and Abiathar and the chiefs of the tribe of Judah, but he did not invite to the feast either the high priest Sadok^d or the prophet Nathan or Banaias, the chief of the bodyguard, or any of the opposing party. These things the prophet Nathan reported to Solomon's mother Bersabē, saying that Adōnias was king and David did not know it^e; at the same time he advised her to save herself and her son Solomon, and to go alone to David and tell him that, although he had sworn^f i. ii.

Nathan
advises
Bath-sheba
to warn
David of
Adonijah's
plot
^{i. Kings}

^a Bibl. Adonijah, cf. *ibid.*^b Cf. Luc. Σαμαῖας καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ, reading *rē'āw* "his friends" for the personal name Rei; bibl. Shimei and Rei, LXX Σεμεῖι καὶ Ρησεῖ. Josephus read *rē'a* "friend" or *rē'ō* "his (David's) friend."^c Bibl. "by the stone of Zoheleth which is by En-rogel" (*En* = "spring"); on the latter cf. § 223 and § 355 notes. The "royal garden" seems to be an invention of Josephus.^d Variant "the high priest Sadok and his followers."^e Variant (after "Adonias") "wished to be king."

αὐτὸν Σολομῶνα βασιλεύειν μεταξὺ δ' ¹ Ἀδωνίας
 349 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἥδη παραλάβοι.² ταῦτα δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ
 διαλεγομένης ὁ προφήτης εἰσελεύσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἔφησε καὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῆς ἐπιμαρτυρήσειν. ἡ
 δὲ Βερσάβη πεισθεῖσα τῷ Νάθᾳ πάρεισι πρὸς τὸν
 βασιλέα καὶ προσκυνήσασα καὶ λόγον αἴτησαμένη
 350 πάντ' αὐτῇ καθὼς ὁ προφήτης ὑπέθετο καὶ διεξ-
 ἔρχεται τό τε δεῖπνον τὸ Ἀδωνία καὶ τοὺς ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ κεκλημένους Ἀβιάθαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ
 Ἰώαβον τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ χωρὶς
 Σολομῶνος καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων αὐτοῦ φίλων
 μηνύσασα· ἔλεγέ τε πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἀφορᾶν τίνα
 χειροτονήσει βασιλέα, παρεκάλει τε κατὰ νοῦν
 ἔχειν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσας
 αὐτὴν τε καὶ Σολομῶνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἀναιρήσει.

351 (5) Διαλεγομένης δὲ ἔτι τῆς γυναικὸς ἦγγειλαν οἱ
 τοῦ δωματίου προεστῶτες ὅτι βούλεται Νάθας
 ἴδειν αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκδέξασθαι³ κελεύ-
 σαντος εἰσελθών, εἰ τήμερον ἀποδείξειε τὸν Ἀδω-
 νίαν βασιλέα καὶ παραδοίη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπινθάνετο.
 352 λαμπρὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα δεῖπνον κεκληκέναι
 τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ πάντας χωρὶς Σολομῶνος καὶ τὸν
 στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον, οἱ μετὰ κρότου καὶ παιδιᾶς
 εὐωχούμενοι πολλῆς αἰώνιον αὐτῷ συνεύχονται τὴν
 ἥγεμονίαν· “ἐκάλεσε δὲ οὕτε ἐμὲ οὕτε τὸν ἀρχ-
 iερέα Σάδωκον οὕτε Βαναίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματο-
 φυλάκων δίκαιον δ' εἶναι ταῦτα γινώσκειν ἄπαντας,

¹ καὶ πρὸς Δαυΐδην . . . μεταξὺ δ'] εἰπερ RO: βασιλεύειν
 μεταξὺ δ' M: καὶ πρὸς Δαυΐδην ἐλθοῦσαν ταῦτα λέγειν E.

² post παραλάβοι add. καὶ περὶ τούτου πιθέσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως
 RO.

³ μὴ ἐκδέξασθαι MSP: εἰσδέξασθαι Coccoji.

that Solomon should be king after his death, Adōnias had meanwhile taken over the royal power.^a And the prophet said that while she was telling this to the king, he himself would enter and confirm her words. So Bersabē took Nathan's advice and went to the king; then, after doing obeisance and asking for permission to speak, she recounted to him all that the prophet had suggested, telling him of Adōnias's dinner and the guests who had been invited by him, and mentioning Abiathar, the high priest, and Joab, the commander, and the king's sons except Solomon and the latter's closest friends. She added that all the people were waiting to see whom he would choose king, and urged him to bear in mind that, if, after his death, Adōnias became king, he would put her and her son Solomon to death.

(5) While his wife was still speaking, the keepers David reassures Bath-sheba.
 of the chamber announced that Nathan wished to see him, and, when the king bade them admit him, he entered and inquired whether David had that day declared Adōnias king and given over the royal power to him, for, he said, he had prepared a splendid dinner and had invited all the king's sons, except Solomon, and the commander Joab, and these were feasting to the accompaniment of clapping of hands and much jesting,^b and were wishing Adōnias lasting sovereignty. “But,” he added, “he invited neither me nor the high priest Sadok nor Banaias, the chief of the bodyguard, and it is right that all should know

^a Variant (after “her son Solomon”) “if, indeed, Adonias had already taken over the royal power, and to inquire of the king concerning this matter.”

^b Details added by Josephus; bibl. “they eat and drink before him.”

353 εἰ κατὰ τὴν σὴν γνώμην ἐγένετο.” ταῦτα τοῦ
Νάθα φήσαντος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε καλέσαι τὴν
Βερσάβην πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐκπεπηδήκει γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
δωματίου τοῦ προφήτου παραγενομένου. τῆς δὲ
γυναικὸς ἐλθούσης “ὅμινοι σοι,” φησί, “τὸν
μέγιστον θεόν, ἢ μὴν τὸν υἱόν σου Σολομῶνα
βασιλεύσειν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὥμοσα, καὶ τοῦτον
ἐπὶ τούμοῦ καθιεῖσθαι¹ θρόνου· καὶ τοῦτο ἔσται
354 τήμερον.” προσκυνησάσης δ’ αὐτὸν τῆς γυναικὸς
καὶ μακρὸν εὐξαμένης αὐτῷ βίον, Σάδωκον μετα-
πέμπεται τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Βαναίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν
σωματοφυλάκων, καὶ παραγενομένοις κελεύει παρα-
λαβεῖν Νάθαν τόν τε προφήτην καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν
355 αὐλὴν ὄπλίτας,² καὶ ἀναβιβάσαντας τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ
Σολόμωνα ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἡμίονον ἔξω τῆς
πόλεως ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην
Γειών καὶ περιχρίσαντας τὸ ἄγιον ἔλαιον ἀποδεῖξαι
βασιλέα· τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαι προσέταξε Σάδωκον τὸν
356 ἀρχιερέα καὶ Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην. ἀκολουθοῦντάς
τε προσέταξε διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως τοῖς κέρασιν
ἐπισαλπίζοντας βοῶν εἰς αἰῶνα Σολομῶνα τὸν
βασιλέα καθίσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θρόνου, ἵνα γνῷ
πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀποδεδειγμένον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς

¹ καθεδεῖσθαι SP: καθησθαι M.
² + ἀπαντας MSPE.

whether this was done with your approval.” When Nathan had thus spoken, the king ordered Bersabē to be summoned to him,—for she had hurried from the room when the prophet arrived ^a—and, when his wife came, he said, “I swear to you by Almighty God that your son Solomon shall assuredly be king, as I have sworn before, and he shall sit upon my throne; and it shall be this very day.” Thereupon she did obeisance to him and wished him long life. The king then sent for Sadok, the high priest, and Banaias, the chief of the bodyguard, and, when they came, he ordered them to take with them the prophet Nathan and the soldiers about the court, and, after mounting his son Solomon upon the royal mule, to lead him outside the city to the spring called Geiōn,^b anoint him with the holy oil, and proclaim him king. This he commanded the high priest Sadok and the prophet Nathan to do. And he ordered them to accompany him through the midst of the city, blowing horns and shouting, “May King Solomon sit upon the royal throne for ever!” ^c in order that all the people might know that he had been declared

David
orders
Zadok and
Nathan to
anoint
Solomon.
¹ Kings i. 82.

^a Scripture merely says that, after Nathan's speech, David summoned Bath-sheba, and does not indicate at precisely what moment she had left his presence. Her leaving upon Nathan's entrance was probably in accord with oriental etiquette. One medieval Jewish commentator explains that Bath-sheba had left in order to avoid any appearance of collusion with Nathan.

^b The LXX form of bibl. Gihon (Heb. *Gihōn*), by some scholars identified with 'Ain Sitti Maryam "Fountain of the Virgin Mary" in the valley of Kidron, S.E. of Jerusalem, c. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N. of Bir 'Ayyūb the supposed site of En-rogel mentioned above in § 347 note.

^o Bibl. “(Long) live king Solomon” (A.V. “God save king Solomon”).

βασιλέα, Σολομῶνι δ' ἐντετάλθαι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς,
ἴνα εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως προστῆ τοῦ τε Ἑβραίων
357 ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς. Βαναία δὲ
εὐξαμένου τὸν θεὸν Σολομῶνι εὔμενῇ γενέσθαι μηδὲ
μικρὸν διαλιπόντες ἀναβιβάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμίονον
τὸν Σολομῶνα, καὶ προαγαγόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως
ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν καὶ τῷ ἔλαιῳ χρίσαντες εἰσήγαγον
εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπευφημοῦντες καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν
358 αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πολυχρόνιον εὐχόμενοι, καὶ παρ-
αγαγόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν βασιλικὸν καθίζουσιν
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπ' εὐωχίαν
εὐθὺς ἐτράπη καὶ ἑορτὴν χορεύων καὶ αὐλοῖς
τερπόμενος, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὄργάνων
ἀπασαν περιηχεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα.
359 (6) 'Ως δ' ἥσθοντο τῆς βοῆς Ἀδωνίας τε καὶ οἱ
παρόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐταράχθησαν, ὃ τε στρατη-
γὸς Ἰώαβος ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς ἥχοις οὐδὲ
τῇ σάλπιγgi· παρακειμένου δὲ τοῦ δεῖπνου καὶ
μηδενὸς γενομένου πάντων δ' ἐπ' ἐννοίας ὑπ-
αρχόντων, εἰστρέχει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
360 Ἀβιαθάρου παῖς Ἰωνάθης. τοῦ δ' Ἀδωνίᾳ θεασα-
μένου τὸν νεανίαν ἡδέως καὶ προσειπόντος ἀγαθῶν¹
ἄγγελον, ἐδήλου πάντ' αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Σολομῶνα

¹ ex Lat. Niese: ἀγαθῶν codd.

^a These instructions are an amplification of 1 Kings i. 35. The infinitive ἐντετάλθαι is here to be taken, as elsewhere in Josephus, as a finite verb, the indirect discourse after προσ-έταξε “ordered” being carelessly continued, cf. LXX ἐγὼ ἐντειλάμην (Luc. αὐτῷ ἐντελοῦμαι) τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἡγούμενον ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰουδα; Heb. “I have appointed him to be ruler over Israel and Judah.” Weill, taking ἐντετάλθαι as a continuation of David’s order to Zadok and Nathan, understands it to mean that they were to give the instructions about the kingdom to Solomon; he remarks “this last

king by his father. He then gave instructions to Solomon,^a concerning the kingdom, in order that he might rule with piety and justice over all the Hebrew nation and the tribe of Judah. Then, after Banaias Solomon is acclaimed by the people. 1 Kings i. 36.

(6) When Adōnias and those present at the dinner Adonijah, heard this noise, they were thrown into confusion, deserted by his friends, and the commander Joab said that he was uneasy asks forgiveness of about the shouting and the trumpet blast; and, with Solomon. 1 Kings i. 41. the dinner before them, which no one tasted,^c all being occupied with their thoughts, there came running to them the high priest Abiathar’s son Jonathan. Adōnias was very glad to see the youth and called him a messenger of good tidings, but, when he told them all about Solomon and the decision

detail is added by Josephus and has often been misunderstood.” It appears that Weill himself has misunderstood the construction and has overlooked the reference to 1 Kings i. 35; cf. also § 384.

^b A detail added from Jonathan’s report to Adonijah, 1 Kings i. 46.

^c According to Scripture they had finished eating when they heard the shouting, but perhaps Josephus understood the Heb. *killû le’ekôl* “they had finished eating” differently, cf. Targum *sappiqû* “they had enough.”

καὶ τὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμην· ἀναπηδήσαντες δ' ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου ὃ τε Ἀδωνίας καὶ οἱ κεκλημένοι πάντες ἔφυγον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἔκαστοι.
 361 φοβηθεὶς δ' Ἀδωνίας τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἵκέτης γίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κεράτων ἃ δὴ προεῖχεν ἐλλαβόμενος δηλούται τοῦτο Σολομῶνι πεποιηκὼς καὶ πίστεις ἀξιῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὥστε μὴ μνησικακῆσαι μηδ'
 362 ἐργάσασθαι δεινὸν αὐτὸν μηδέν. ὃ δὲ ἡμέρως πάνυ καὶ σωφρόνως τῆς μὲν τότε ἀμαρτίας αὐτὸν ἀφῆκεν ἀθῶν, εἰπὼν δέ, εἰ ληφθείη τι πάλιν καινοποιῶν, ἔαυτῷ αἴτιον τῆς τιμωρίας ἔσεσθαι, πέμψας ἀνίστησιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱκεσίας· ἐλθόντα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν¹ καὶ προσκυνήσαντα εἰς τὴν ἴδιαν οἰκίαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲν ὑφορώμενον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παρέχειν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν ὡς αὐτῷ τοῦτο συμφέρον ἡξίον.
 363 (7) Βουλόμενος δὲ Δαυίδης ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν νιὸν βασιλέα συγκαλεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τοὺς Ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Λησούτας. ἔξαριθμήσας δὲ τούτους πρῶτον εὑρίσκει τῶν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἕως πεντήκοντα τρισμυρίους ὅκτα-
 364 κισχιλίους. ἔξ ὧν ἀπέδειξεν ἐπιμελητὰς μὲν τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ δισμυρίους τετρακισχιλίους,² κριτὰς δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ γραμματεῖς τούτων ἔξακισχιλίους, πυλωροὺς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους³ καὶ τοσούτους ὑμνῳδοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ἄδοντας τοῖς ὄργανοις οὓς
 365 Δαυίδης κατεσκεύασε, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν. δι-

¹ πρὸς αὐτὸν om. RO.² τρισχιλίους MSP Lat.³ + τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ MSP Lat.^a Lit. "from his supplication"; bibl. "from the altar," LXX ἀπάγωθεν (Luc. ἀπὸ) τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. ^b The Levites.

of King David, Adōnias and all the guests sprang up from the banquet table and fled, each to his own home. And Adōnias, being afraid of the king because of what he had done, became a suppliant to God and grasped the horns of the altar,—that is, its projections; and this act of his was reported to Solomon, and also that he had asked to have a pledge from him that he would bear him no malice and do him no harm. Solomon with great mildness and moderation let him off this time without punishment for his offence, but said that if he were ever again caught in an attempt at revolution, he would have himself to blame for his punishment; then he sent men to remove him from his place of sanctuary,^a and, when he came before him and did obeisance, Solomon ordered him to go back to his own house without any fear, and requested him to conduct himself well in future, as this would be to his own advantage.

(7) Then David, wishing to appoint his son king over all the people, summoned to Jerusalem the chiefs and the priests and Levites, and, having first numbered these,^b he found that there were thirty-eight thousand of them between the ages of thirty and fifty^c years. Twenty-four thousand of them he appointed as overseers of the building of the temple, six thousand as judges of the people and as scribes,^d four thousand as gatekeepers, and an equal number to sing the praises of God to the accompaniment of the instruments which David had made, as we said

^a 1 Chron. xxiii. 3 "from the age of thirty years and upward"; verses 24, 27 "from the age of twenty years and upward." The upper limit of 50 years is derived from Num. iv. 3 f., viii. 25.^b So LXX; bibl. "officers"; the Heb. *shōterim* probably included scribes.

εμέρισε δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ πατριὰς καὶ χωρίσας ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοὺς ἱερεῦς εὑρε τούτων εἴκοσι τέσσαρας πατριάς, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκίας ἑκκαΐδεκα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰθαμάρου ὀκτώ, διέταξε τε μίαν πατριὰν διακονεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἀπὸ σαβ-
366 βάτου ἐπὶ σάββατον. καὶ οὕτως αἱ πατριὰὶ πᾶσαι διεκληρώσαντο Δαυΐδου παρόντος καὶ Σαδώκου καὶ Ἀβιαθάρου τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀρχόντων· καὶ ἡ πρώτη μὲν ἀναβάσα πατριὰ ἔγραφη πρώτη, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἀκολούθως ἄχρι τῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων· καὶ διέμεινεν οὗτος ὁ μερισμὸς ἄχρι τῆς
367 σήμερον ἡμέρας. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ληονίτιδος φυλῆς εἴκοσι μέρη καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ κληρωσαμένων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνέβησαν τρόπον ταῖς τῶν ἱερέων ἐφημερίσιν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. τοὺς δ' ἀπογόνους τοὺς Μωυσέος ἐτίμησεν· ἐποίησε γὰρ αὐτοὺς φύλακας τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἃ συνέβη τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀναθεῖναι· διέταξε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ληονίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι δουλεύειν κατὰ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν τῷ θεῷ, καθὼς αὐτοὺς ἐπέστειλε Μωυσῆς.

368 (8) Μετὰ ταῦτα διεμέρισε πᾶσαν¹ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς δώδεκα μοίρας σὺν ἡγεμόσι καὶ ἑκατοντάρχοις καὶ ταξιάρχοις. ἔλχεν δ' ἑκάστη τῶν μοιρῶν δισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ὥν ἐκέλευσε προσεδρεύειν κατὰ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἕως τῆς ὑστάτης Σολομῶνι τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν τοῖς

¹ πᾶσαν om. RO.

^a § 306.

^c These are grouped by Josephus, in *Ap.* ii. 108, into four

^b Of Levi.

before.^a He then divided them into families, and, ^{1 Chron. xxiv. 3.} after separating the priests from the rest of the tribe,^b he found that of these there were twenty-four families,^c sixteen of the house of Eleazar and eight of the house of Ithamar; he further arranged that one family should minister to God each week from Sabbath to Sabbath.^d Now this is the way in which all the families drew lots in the presence of David and the high priests Sadok and Abiathar and all the chiefs: the family which came out first in the drawing was inscribed as the first to serve, and the second similarly, and so with all twenty-four. And this apportionment has lasted down to this day. He also divided the tribe of Levites into twenty-four parts, and, according to the order in which the lots were drawn, they were chosen for a week, in the same manner as the priestly courses. And he honoured ^{1 Chron. xxvi. 24.} the descendants of Moses by making them keepers of the treasury of God and of such offerings as the kings had made.^e He also ordained that all those of the tribe of Levites and the priests should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

(8) After this, he divided the army into twelve divisions with their leaders, captains of hundreds and lower officers,^f each division having twenty-four thousand men, whom he ordered to be in attendance on Solomon for thirty days at a time, from the first day of the month until the last, together with their

priestly classes (Schürer suspects a corruption of 24 to 4); in *Vita 2* he mentions only the 24 courses (*ἐφημερίδες*), as here.

^d This weekly alternation, not mentioned in Scripture, is found in the Mishnah and represents the arrangement in use in Josephus's time.

^e Cf. § 379 note.
^f Lit. "taxiarchs," cf. § 26 note; bibl. "captains of thousands and of hundreds and their officers (*LXX γραμματεῖς*)."

369 χιλιάρχοις καὶ ἑκατοντάρχοις. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα ἑκάστης μοίρας ὃν ἀγαθὸν ἦδει καὶ δίκαιον, ἐπιτρόπους τε τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ κωμῶν καὶ ἄγρων ἄλλους καὶ κτηνῶν, ὃν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην μνησθῆναι τῶν ὄνομάτων.

370 (9) 'Ως δ' ἔκαστα τούτων κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον διέταξε τρόπον, εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλέσας τὸν ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἐβραίων καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν διαιρέσεων καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πάσης πράξεως ἡ κτήσεως τοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένους, στὰς ἐφ' ὑψηλοτάτου βήματος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλεξε

371 πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος· "ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ὅμοεθνεῖς, γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς βούλομαι ὅτι ναὸν οἰκοδομῆσαι τῷ θεῷ διανοηθεὶς χρυσόν τε πολὺν παρεσκευασάμην καὶ ἄργυρον ταλάντων μυριάδας δέκα, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐκώλυσέ με διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Νάθα διά τε τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πολέμους καὶ το¹ φόνω τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεμιάνθαι τὴν δεξιάν, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐκέλευσε τὸν διαδεξόμενον

372 τὴν βασιλείαν κατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν αὐτῷ. νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ προγόνῳ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβῳ δυοκαΐδεκα παῖδων γενομένων ἴστε τὸν Ἰούδαν ἀποδειχθέντα βασιλέα, καὶ ἐμὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐξ ὄντων προκριθέντα καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λαβόντα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μηδένα τούτων² δυσχεράναντα, οὕτως ἀξιῶ κάγὼ τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ παῖδας μὴ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἄλλήλους Σολομῶνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφότος, ἀλλ' ἐπισταμένους ὡς ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐξελέξατο

373 φέρειν ἡδέως αὐτὸν δεσπότην. οὐ δεινὸν γὰρ θεοῦ

¹ τῷ MS¹.

² τούτῳ Bekker.

^a Their names are given in 1 Chron. xxvii. 25 ff.

^b Heb. "and David the king stood upon his feet," LXX καὶ ἐστη Δαυίδης ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

captains of thousands and captains of hundreds. He also appointed as chief of each division a man whom he knew to be brave and just; others he made custodians of the treasuries and of the villages, fields and cattle, but I have not thought it necessary to mention their names.^a

(9) When he had arranged each of these matters in the above manner, the king convoked an assembly of the heads of the Hebrews and the tribal chiefs and the leaders of the (military) divisions and those in charge of any of the king's affairs or property, and, standing upon a very high tribune,^b he addressed the gathering as follows: "Brothers and fellow-countrymen, I wish you to know that with the intention of building a temple to God I collected a great quantity of gold and one hundred thousand talents of silver^c; but God, through the prophet Nathan,^d has kept me from doing so, because of the wars I have fought on your behalf and because my hand is stained with the blood of the enemy, and He has commanded my son, who will succeed to my throne, to build the temple to Him. Now since, of our forefather Jacob's twelve sons, it was Judah, as you know, who was appointed king, and since I was preferred to my six brothers and received the sovereignty from God without complaint from any of them, I, in turn, ask that my sons similarly refrain from civil dissension, now that Solomon has received the kingship, and, in recognition of the fact that God has chosen him, cheerfully accept him as their lord. For it is not such a terrible thing to serve

^c Bibl. "and had made ready for the building"; no amount of money is specified at this point in Scripture.

^d Nathan is not mentioned at this point in Scripture, 1 Chron. xxviii. 3, which has, "But God said unto me, Thou shalt not build," etc.

David com.
mends
Solomon to
the people.
1 Chron.
xxviii. 1.

θέλοντος οὐδ' ἀλλοτρίῳ κρατοῦντι δουλεύειν, χαιρεῖν δ' ἐπ' ἀδελφῷ ταύτης τυχόντι τῆς τιμῆς προσῆκεν ὡς κοινωνοῦντας αὐτῆς. εὐχομαι δὴ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τοῦ θεοῦ παρελθεῖν εἰς τέλος καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ταύτην ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν σπαρῆναι καὶ τὸν ἄπαντα ταύτην παραμεῖναι χρόνον, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐπηγγείλατο παρέξειν ἐπὶ Σολομῶνος βασιλέως.

374 ἔσται δὲ ταῦτα βέβαια καὶ καλὸν ἔξει πέρας, ἀν εὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαιον σαυτὸν¹ καὶ φύλακα τῶν πατρίων παρέχης² νόμων, ὃ τέκνον· εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ χείρω προσδόκα³ ταῦτα παραβαίνων."

375 (10) 'Ο μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους ἐπαύσατο, τὴν δὲ⁴ διαγραφὴν καὶ διάταξιν τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ πάντων ὁρώντων ἔδωκε Σολομῶνι θεμελίων καὶ οἴκων καὶ ὑπερώων, ὅσοι τε τὸ πλήθος καὶ πηλίκοι τὸ ὑψος καὶ τὸ εὑρος γένοιντο, ὅσα τε σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ τούτων τὸν σταθμὸν ὥρισε. προσπαρώρμησε δὲ καὶ λόγοις αὐτὸν τε πάσῃ χρήσασθαι προθυμίᾳ περὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὴν Λησούτων φυλὴν συναγωνίσασθαι διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐλέσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας προστάτην. εὐμαρῇ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἐπίπονον τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἀπέφαινεν αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μὲν τάλαντα χρυσοῦ πλείω δ' ἀργύρου καὶ ἔνδια καὶ τεκτόνων πλῆθος καὶ λατόμων ἥδη παρεσκευασμένου σμαράγδου τε καὶ

377 πάσης ἴδεας λίθου πολυτελοῦς· καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι τῆς ἴδιας ἀπαρχῆν⁵ διακονίας ἀλλα τρισχίλια τάλαντα

¹ αὐτὸν RO: αὐτὸν Niese.

² παρέχῃ RO.

³ προσδοκάτω RO. ⁴ τε RO.
Niese: ἀπαρχῆς ROSP: ἀρχῆς M: primitias Lat. (unde ἀπαρχὰς conj. Niese).

even a foreign master, if God so wills, and, when it is one's brother to whom this honour has fallen, one should rejoice at having a share in it.^a I pray, then, that the promises of God will be fulfilled and that the prosperity which He Himself has declared He will send during Solomon's reign will be diffused throughout the entire land and continue with it for all time. These things will be assured and will come to a happy issue, if you show yourself to be pious and just, my son, and an observer of our country's laws. Otherwise, if you transgress them, you must expect a worse fate."

(10) Such, then, was the address which the king David gives Solomon the plans of in the sight of all, the plan and arrangement of the temple. ^{1 Chron. xxviii. 11.}

and upper rooms, showing how many there were to be and of what height and breadth, and also fixing the weight of the gold and silver vessels. Then he ^{1 Chron. xxix. 1.} spoke again, further exhorting him to show the utmost zeal in the work, and also the chiefs and the tribe of Levites to assist Solomon in the labour, because of his youth and because God had chosen him to preside over the building of the temple and over the kingdom. He also made clear to them that the building would be easy for them and not very difficult, because he had already secured many talents of gold and more of silver, and wood and a host of carpenters and stonecutters, as well as emeralds ^b and precious stones of every kind. Moreover he said that he would give as his private offering ^c for the service an additional

^a This part of David's speech is amplified by Josephus.

^b Heb. *shōham* (A.V. "onyx"), LXX *σόδου*, Luc. (*λίθους*) *σονχος*.

^c Text doubtful.

χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ παρέξειν ἔλεγεν εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς Χερουβέας, οὓς ἐφεστάναι δεήσει τὴν κιβωτὸν καλύπτοντας. σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δαυΐδον πολλὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῆς Ληονίτιδος φυλῆς προθυμία συμβαλλομένων καὶ ποιουμένων ἐπαγγελίας λαμπρὰς καὶ 379 μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐγένετο· χρυσοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέστησαν εἰσοίσειν τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια καὶ στατῆρας μυρίους, ἀργύρου δὲ μύρια τάλαντα, καὶ σιδήρου μυριάδας ταλάντων πολλάς· καὶ εἴ τινι λίθῳ ἦν πολυτελὴς ἐκόμισε καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς τοὺς θησαυρούς, ὃν ἐπετρόπευεν¹ ὁ Μωυσέος ἔκγονος Ἰαλος.

380 (11) Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἥσθη τε ὁ λαὸς ἄπας, καὶ Δαυΐδης τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων δρῶν, τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἤρξατο, μεγάλῃ βοῇ πατέρᾳ τε καὶ γένεσιν τῶν ὅλων ἀποκαλῶν καὶ δημιουργὸν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ θείων, οἷς αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησε, προστάην τε καὶ κηδεμόνα γένους τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ τῆς τούτων εὐδαιμονίας ἵστε αὐτῷ βασιλείας ἔδωκεν. 381 ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐξάμενος τῷ τε παντὶ λαῷ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ Σολομῶνι διάνοιαν ὑγιῆ καὶ δικαίαν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς μέρεσιν ἐρρωμένην, ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐλογεῖν τὸν θεόν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πεσόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεκύνησαν, εὐχαρίστησαν δὲ καὶ Δαυΐδη περὶ πάντων ὃν αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν

¹ Niese: ἐπετρόπευεν codd.

^a Scripture adds, "and seven thousand talents of refined silver."

^b The priests and Levites are not included among the contributors in Scripture.

^c Heb. 'adarkōnîm (A.V. "drams"), LXX χρυσοῦς. The 'adarkōn was the Persian daric, which the Greeks called

three thousand talents of pure gold ^a for the shrine and ^{1 Chron. xxviii. 18.} for the chariot of God, the Cherubim, which were to be placed upon the ark as a covering. And, when David had done, the chiefs and priests and the tribe of Levites ^b showed great eagerness in contributing and making offers of splendid and magnificent gifts; they undertook to bring in five thousand talents and ten thousand staters ^c of gold, ten thousand talents of silver, and many tens of thousands of talents of iron ^d; and whoever had a precious stone brought it and gave it to the treasury, of which Ialos, ^e the descendant of Moses, had charge.

(11) At this all the people rejoiced, and David, ^{David's prayer for Solomon. 1 Chron. xxix. 9.} seeing the zeal and rivalry in giving of the chiefs and priests and all the others, began to bless God in a loud voice, addressing Him as father and source of the universe, as creator of things human and divine, with which He had adorned Himself, and as the protector and guardian of the Hebrew race and of its prosperity and of the kingdom which He had given him. Thereupon he prayed for the happiness of all the people and that his son Solomon might have a sound and just mind, strengthened by all virtuous qualities ^f; and then he commanded the multitude also to bless God. And so they fell upon the ground and prostrated themselves; and they also gave thanks to David for all the blessings they had enjoyed—*στατῆρ δαρεικός*—hence Josephus's *στατῆρας*. This Persian coin was, of course, not in use until long after the time of David, and the passage in 1 Chron. is therefore a late addition.

^d Bibl. "of bronze (A.V. "brass") eighteen thousand talents and one hundred thousand talents of iron."

^e Bibl. Jehiel (Heb. *Yehi'ēl*), LXX Ἰειήλ; he is called a Gershonite, 1 Chron. xxix. 8.

^f Josephus briefly summarizes David's prayer, 1 Chron. xxix. 11-19.

382 παραλαβόντος ἀπέλαυσαν. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ παρέστησαν μόσχους χιλίους καὶ κριοὺς τοσούτους καὶ χιλίους ἄμυνάς, οὓς ὠλοκαύτωσαν· ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς θυσίας, πολλὰς μυριάδας ἵερεών κατασφάξαντες. καὶ δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἑώρτασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ Σολομῶνα δεύτερον ἔχρισαν τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ ἀπέδειξαν αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ Σάδωκον ἀρχιερέα τῆς πληθύνος ἀπάσης. εἰς τε τὸ βασιλειον ἀγαγόντες Σολομῶνα καὶ καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θρόνου τοῦ πατρῶου ἀπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπῆκουον αὐτῷ.

383 (xv. 1) Μετ’ ὅλιγον δὲ χρόνον ὁ Δαυΐδης καταπεσὼν εἰς νόσον ὑπὸ γήρως καὶ συνειδῶς ὅτι μέλλει τελευτᾶν καλέσας τὸν υἱὸν Σολομῶνα διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιάδε· “Ἐγὼ μέν, ὁ τέκνον, εἰς τὸ χρεῶν ἥδη καὶ πατέρας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀπαλλάσσομαι κοινὴν ὁδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν τε νῦν ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων πορευόμενος, ἐξ ἧς οὐκέτι οἰόν τε ἐπανελθόντα γνῶναι τί κατὰ τὸν βίον πράττεται. διὸ ζῶν ἔτι καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γεγονὼς¹ τῷ τελευτᾶν παραινῶσοι ταῦθ’ ἀ καὶ πρότερον ἔφθην συμβουλεύσας, δικαίῳ μὲν εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους, εὐσεβεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τὴν βασιλείαν δεδωκότα θεόν, φυλάττειν δ’ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος κατέπεμψεν ἡμῖν, καὶ μήτε χάριτι μήτε θωπείᾳ μήτ’ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μήτε ἄλλῳ πάθει προστιθέμενον τούτων ἀμελῆσαι· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ θείου πρὸς σαυτὸν² εὔνοιαν ἀπολεῖς παραβάς τι τῶν νομίμων³

¹ + ὄντως M: + ἀρτι SP: iam constitutus Lat.

² ed. pr.: αὐτὸν ROMP: αὐτὸν S.

³ τι τῶν νομίμων] τὰ νόμιμα MSP Lat.

joyed since he had succeeded to the throne. And, ^{Feast in honour of Solomon's accession.} on the following day, they presented to God as sacrifices a thousand calves and as many rams and a thousand lambs, which they gave as burnt-offerings; ^{1 Chron. xxix. 21.} they also sacrificed many peace-offerings, and slaughtered many tens of thousands of victims.^a And throughout the whole day the king feasted with all the people, and they anointed Solomon with oil a second time and proclaimed him king, with Sadok as high priest of the entire nation. And they led Solomon to the palace and seated him upon his father's throne, and from that day forth they were obedient to him.

(xv. 1) Now a little while after this, David fell ill ^{David's dying charge to Solomon. 1 Kings ii. 1} by reason of old age, and, realizing that he was about to die, he called his son Solomon and spoke to him as follows: “I am now, my son, going to my destiny and must depart to my fathers and travel the common road of all men now alive or yet to be, from which no one can ever return to learn what is happening among the living. Therefore, while I am still alive, though very close to death, I exhort you, in the same manner as when I counselled you once before,^b to be just toward your subjects and pious toward God, who has given you the kingship, and to keep His commandments and laws, which He Himself sent down to us by Moses; do not neglect them by yielding either to favour or flattery or lust or any other passion, for you will lose the goodwill of the Deity toward you, if you transgress any of His ordinances, and you will

^a In addition to these burnt-offerings with their drink-offerings, Scripture mentions only “sacrifices in abundance”; these sacrifices would naturally be peace-offerings, as Josephus supposes.

^b Cf. § 356 note.

καὶ πρὸς τάνατοῦ¹ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἀποστρέψεις πρόνοιαν· τοιοῦτον δὲ σαυτὸν παρέχων, ὅποιον εἶναι τε δεῖ κάγὼ δὲ παρακαλῶ, καθέξεις ἡμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ γένει καὶ οἶκος ἄλλος Ἐβραίων οὐκ ἀν δεσπόσειεν, ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος. μέμνησο δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάβου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρανομίας ἀποκτείναντος διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν δύο στρατηγοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἀγαθούς, Ἀβεννήρον τε τὸν Νήρου παῖδα καὶ τὸν Ἀμασᾶν νιὸν Ἰέθρα· ὃν² ὅπως ἀν σοι δόξῃ τὸν θάνατον ἐκδίκησον, ἐπεὶ καὶ κρείττων ἐμοῦ καὶ δυνατώτερος ὁ Ἰωάβος ὃν μέχρι νῦν τὴν δίκην διέφυγε. παρατίθεμαι δέ σοι καὶ τοὺς Βερζέλου τοῦ Γαλαδίτου παῖδας, οὓς ἐν τιμῇ πάσῃ καὶ προνοίᾳ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ χαριζόμενος ἔξεις· οὐ προκατάρχομεν γάρ εὐποιίας, ἀλλ’ ἀμοιβὴν ὃν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ὑπῆρξε μοι χρεολυτοῦμεν. καὶ τὸν Γήρα δὲ νιὸν Σουμούιν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, ὃς πολλὰ βλασφημήσας με παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν, ὅτ' εἰς Παρεμβολὰς ἐπορευόμην, ἀπήντησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον καὶ πίστεις ἔλαβεν ὡς μηδὲν αὐτὸν παθεῖν τότε, νῦν ἐπιζητήσας αἰτίαν εὐλογογόνος ἄμυνα.³

389 (2) Ταῦτα παραινέσας τῷ παιδὶ περὶ τε τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ οὓς ἦδει τιμωρίας ἀξίους γεγενημένους ἀπέθανεν ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἑβδομήκοντα, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἑπτὰ μὲν ἐν Χεβρῶνι τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις δὲ ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας τρία καὶ τριάκοντα.

390 οὗτος ἄριστος ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχων

¹ Niese: ἀπαντ' codd.² Ἰέθρα· ὃν ex Lat. Niese: Ἰεθράων RO: Ἰεθράνου MSP.³ ἄμυνε ROSP¹.

turn His kind watchfulness into a hostile attitude.^a But, if you show yourself to be such as you should be and as I urge you to be, you will secure the kingdom to our line, and no other house than we shall be lords over the Hebrews for all time. Remember also the David's instructions concerning his enemies and friends. 1 Kings ii. 5.

But I commend to you the sons of Berzelos the Galadite, whom you shall hold in all honour and care for, and thus gratify me; for in this matter we are not the first to show kindness, but are repaying the debt owed them for their father's service to me during my exile. And as for Sūmūis,^b the son of Gēra, of the tribe of Benjamin, who cursed me repeatedly during my flight, on the way to The Camps, and, when he met me at the Jordan, received a pledge that he would suffer no harm for the time being,—look now for a reasonable pretext to punish him.”

(2) With these recommendations to his son concerning the state and his friends and those whom he knew to be deserving of punishment, David died at the age of seventy, having reigned seven years and six months^c in Hebron, over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem, over the entire country. He was a most excellent^d man and pos-

^a Emended text; mss. “you will altogether alienate His kind watchfulness.”^b Called Samuis in § 207; bibl. Shimei.^c 1 Kings has only 7 years for David's reign in Hebron; the figure given by Josephus is found in 2 Sam. v. 5.^d Or “very brave.”

ἢν ἔδει τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν σωτηρίᾳ
ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ προσεῖναι¹ ἀνδρεῖος γὰρ ἦν ὡς οὐκ
ἄλλος τις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀγῶσι
πρώτος ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ὥρμα τῷ πονεῖν καὶ
μάχεσθαι παρακελευόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ²
τὰς παρατάξεις ἄλλ' οὐχὶ τῷ προστάττειν ὡς
391 δεσπότης, νοῆσαι τε καὶ συνιδεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν
μελλόντων καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐνεστηκότων οἰκονομίας
ἰκανώτατος, σώφρων ἐπιεικής χρηστὸς πρὸς τοὺς
ἐν συμφοραῖς ὑπάρχοντας, δίκαιος φιλάνθρωπος, ἀ
μόνοις ἔξαίρετα τοῖς³ βασιλεῦσιν εἶναι προσῆκε,
μηδὲν ὅλως παρὰ τοσοῦτο μέγεθος ἔξουσίας ἀμαρ-
τῶν ἢ τὸ περὶ τὴν Οὐρία γυναῖκα. κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ
πλοῦτον ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος βασιλεὺς οὕθ' Ἐβραίων
οὗτ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν.

392 (3) "Εθαψε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Σολομὼν ἐν Ἱερο-
σολύμοις διαπρεπῶς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις οἷς περὶ κηδείαν
νομίζεται βασιλικὴν ἄπασι καὶ δὴ καὶ πλοῦτον
αὐτῷ πολὺν καὶ ἄφθονον συνεκήδευσεν, ὃν τὴν
ὑπερβολὴν τεκμήραιτ⁴ ἀν τις ῥᾳδίως ἐκ τοῦ λεχθη-
393 σομένου· μετὰ γὰρ χρόνον ἐτῶν χιλίων καὶ τρια-
κοσίων Ὑρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς πολιορκούμενος ὑπ'
Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Εύσεβοῦς ἐπικληθέντος υἱοῦ δὲ

¹ οὗτος ἀριστος . . . προσεῖναι haud dubie corrupta: οὗτος
ἀριστῷ ἀνδρὶ γεγενημένῳ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι καὶ τοσούτων
ἐθνῶν σωτηρίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ βασιλεῖ ἔδει προσεπαινέσαι καὶ τό
τε τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εὐσθενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης συνετόν RO.

² πράξεις MSP Exc. Suidas.

³ ἔξαίρετα τοῖς] δικαιότατα RO.

sessed of every virtue which should be found in a His
king entrusted with the safety of so many nations; ^a character.
there was no one like him for bravery, and, in the
contests fought on behalf of his subjects, he was the
first to rush into danger, encouraging his soldiers
against the opposing lines by his labours in the fight,
and not by commanding them like a master. He was
also most apt in perceiving and understanding the
course of future events and in dealing with the im-
mediate situation, prudent, mild, kind to those in
trouble, just and humane,—qualities which only the
greatest kings are expected to have; and, with so
great a measure of authority, never once did he do
wrong, except in the matter of Uriah's wife. More-
over he left behind such wealth as no other king,
whether of the Hebrews or other nations, ever did.

(3) Then his son Solomon interred him in Jeru- David's
salem with all the splendour customary at royal burial.
funerals, and also buried with him a great abundance 1 Kings
of wealth, the vastness of which one may easily gather
from what is now to be related: after a period of ii. 10.
thirteen hundred years,^b when Hyrcanus, the high Later
priest, was besieged by Antiochus, surnamed the history of
David's tomb.

^a The text (from “He was a most excellent man”) is probably corrupt. The variant reads “In addition to his having been so excellent a man, possessed of every virtue and entrusted with the safety of so many nations, one must praise him for the vigour of his (bodily) strength and his prudence and intelligence.”

^b The siege of Jerusalem, here referred to, took place in 135/134 B.C. Josephus thus places David's death in 1435 B.C., which is almost 500 years earlier than the generally accepted date (c. 970 B.C.).

⁴ ex E Niese: τεκμήρετ¹ R: τεκμαίρετ² OS¹P: τεκμαίροιτ² MS².

Δημητρίου, βουλόμενος χρήματ' αὐτῷ δοῦναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λῦσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν, καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν οὐκ εὔπορων, ἀνοίξας ἔνα οἰκον τῶν ἐν τῷ Δαυίδου μνῆματι καὶ βαστάσας τρισχίλια τάλαντα μέρος ἔδωκεν Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ διέλυσεν οὕτως τὴν πολιορκίαν, καθὼς καὶ ἐν 394 ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐτῶν πολλῶν διαγενομένων πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἔτερον ἀνοίξας οἰκον ἀνείλετο χρήματα πολλά. ταῖς μέντοι γε θήκαις τῶν βασιλέων οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπέτυχεν· ἥσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν μηχανικῶς κεκηδεύμέναι πρὸς τὸ μὴ φανεραὶ εἶναι τοῖς εἰς τὸ μνῆμα εἰσιοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἡμῖν τοσοῦτον ἀπόχρη δεδηλώσθαι.

* This was Antiochus VII. Euergetes, surnamed Sidetes, a son of Demetrius I. Soter. Josephus calls him Antiochus Soter in *A.* xiii. 271. In the same book, § 244, his surname

Pious (*Eusebēs*),^a the son of Demetrios, he wished to give the latter money to raise the siege and withdraw his army, and, as he had no other resource, he opened one of the chambers in David's tomb and carried off three thousand talents, part of which he gave to Antiochus and so put an end to the siege, as we have elsewhere related.^b And again, after an interval of many years, King Herod opened another chamber and took away a large sum of money.^c Neither of them, however, came upon the coffins of the kings, for these had been artfully buried under the earth so that they could not be seen by anyone entering the tomb. But concerning these matters let it suffice us to have related this much.

of Pious is said to have been given him because of his "extraordinary piety." These surnames, Soter and Eusebes, applied to Antiochus Sidetes by Josephus, are not found elsewhere in ancient sources.

^b *B.J.* i. 61 (|| *A.* xiii. 249). Weill has overlooked this earlier passage in his note.

^c Cf. *A.* xvi. 179.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Η

(i. 1) Περὶ μὲν οὖν Δαυΐδου καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γενόμενος τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις πολέμους τε καὶ μάχας ὅσας κατορθώσας γηραιὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης 2 βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν. Σολομῶνος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ νέου τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔτι ὄντος τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος, ὃν ἔτι ζῶν ἀπέφηνε τοῦ λαοῦ δεσπότην κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, καθίσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ὃ μὲν πᾶς ὅχλος ἐπευφήμησεν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐπ' ἀρχομένῳ βασιλεῖ, τελευτῆσαι καλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι λιπαρὸν καὶ πανεύδαιμον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

3 (2) Ἀδωνίας δέ, ὃς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔτι ζῶντος ἐπεχείρησε τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν, παρελθὼν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα Βερσάβην καὶ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὴν ἀσπασάμενος, πυθομένης εἰ καὶ διὰ χρείαν τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀφίκται καὶ δηλοῦν κε- 4 λευούσης ὡς ἡδέως παρεξομένης ἥρξατο λέγειν ὅτι γινώσκει μὲν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους προαίρεσιν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ, μεταβάσης δὲ πρὸς Σολομῶνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην στέργει καὶ

^a In § 211 Josephus makes Solomon fourteen years old at his accession, while some of the LXX mss. here add that he was twelve, with which figure rabbinic tradition agrees.

BOOK VIII

(i. 1) CONCERNING David and his prowess and the many benefits which he conferred upon his countrymen and how, after successfully conducting many wars and battles, he died at an advanced age, we have written in the preceding book. Now when his son Solomon, whom he had while yet alive, in accordance with the will of God, proclaimed sole ruler of the people, took over the kingship, being still a mere youth,^a and sat upon the throne, the entire multitude, as is usual at the beginning of a king's reign, greeted him joyfully with the prayer that his affairs might have a fortunate issue and that he might end his rule in a rich and happy old age.^b

(2) But Adonias, who even in his father's lifetime had attempted to seize the royal power, went to the king's mother Bersabē^c and greeted her in a friendly manner, and, when she inquired whether he had come to her with any request and bade him make it known, as she would gladly grant it, he began by saying that she herself knew that the kingship belonged to him both by reason of his age and the people's preference, but since, in accordance with the wish of God, it had gone to her son Solomon, he was willing and happy

^b "end . . . in a rich . . . old age" is an Homeric phrase, cf. *Od.* xi. 136 γῆρᾳ ύπὸ λιπαρῷ ἀρημένον.

^c Bibl. Bath-sheba, cf. *A.* vii. 130 note.

Solomon's
accession.
1 Kings
ii. 12.

Adonijah
(Adonias)
asks for
Bersabē^c
Abishag
(Abisake)
as wife.
1 Kings
ii. 13.

ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ δουλείαν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν
 5 ἥδεται πράγμασιν.¹ ἐδεῖτο δ' οὖν διακονῆσαι πρὸς
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πεῖσαι δοῦναι τὴν τῷ πατρὶ²
 συγκοιμωμένην πρὸς γάμον αὐτῷ Ἀβισάκην· οὐ
 γὰρ πλησιάσαι τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸ γῆρας αὐτῇ,
 6 μένειν δ' ἔτι παρθένον. ἡ δὲ Βερσάβη καὶ δια-
 κονῆσειν σπουδαίως ὑπέσχετο καὶ καταπράξεσθαι³
 τὸν γάμον δι' ἀμφότερα, τοῦ τε βασιλέως αὐτῷ
 χαρίσασθαι τι βουλησομένου καὶ δεησομένης αὐτῆς
 λιπαρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὔελπις ἀπαλλάττεται περὶ
 τοῦ γάμου, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Σολομῶνος μῆτηρ εὐθὺς
 ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν διαλεξομένη περὶ ὧν Ἀδωνίᾳ
 7 δεηθέντι κατεπηγγείλατο. καὶ προϋπαντήσαντος
 αὐτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ περιπλακέντος, ἐπεὶ παρήγαγεν
 αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν οἶκον οὖν συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι τὸν
 βασιλικὸν θρόνον, καθίσας ἐκέλευσεν ἔτερον ἐκ
 δεξιῶν τεθῆναι τῇ μητρί. καθεσθέσα δὲ ή Βερσάβη
 “μίαν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ παῖ, χάριν αἰτουμένη μοι
 κατάνευσον καὶ μηδὲν ἐξ ἀρνήσεως δύσκολον μηδὲ
 8 σκυθρωπὸν ἀπεργάσῃ.” τοῦ δὲ Σολομῶνος προσ-
 τάττειν κελεύοντος (πάντα γὰρ δσιον εἶναι μητρὶ⁴
 παρέχειν) καὶ τι προσμεμψαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι
 μὴ μετ' ἐλπίδος ἦδη βεβαίας τοῦ τυχεῖν ὧν ἀξιοῖ
 ποιεῖται τοὺς λόγους ἀλλ' ἀρνησιν ὑφορωμένη,
 δοῦναι τὴν παρθένον αὐτὸν Ἀβισάκην Ἀδωνίᾳ
 τάδελφῷ πρὸς γάμον παρεκάλει.

9 (3) Λαβὼν δὲ πρὸς ὄργὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν λόγον
 ἀποπέμπεται μὲν τὴν μητέρα μειζόνων ὄρέγεσθαι

¹ ἥδεται πράγμασιν om. RO.

² Bekker: καταπράξασθαι codd. E Zonaras.

³ The last is an unscriptural detail.

⁴ Bibl. Abishag, cf. A. vii. 344 note.

to serve under him and was satisfied with the present state of affairs.^a He requested her, however, to intercede for him with his brother and persuade him to give him in marriage Abisakē,^b who had lain with his father ; for, he said, his father by reason of his age had not had intercourse with her, and she still remained a virgin. And Bersabē promised to intercede for him zealously and to bring the marriage about, both because the king would wish to do him a favour and because she would earnestly entreat him.^c And so he departed with high hopes of the marriage, while Solomon's mother straightway hastened to her son to tell him of the promise she had made Adōnias upon his request. And her son came forward to meet her and embraced her, and when he had led her to the chamber where, at that time, his royal throne was, and had taken his seat upon it, he ordered another throne to be placed for his mother at his right hand. When Bersabē was seated she said, “I have, my son, one favour to ask ; grant me this and do not act disagreeably or angrily by denying it.” And, as Solomon bade her command him, for, he said, it is a sacred duty to do everything for a mother, and added a word of reproach for the way she had begun, in that she had not spoken with a sure hope of obtaining what she requested but had been fearful of being denied,^d she asked him to give the virgin Abisakē to his brother Adōnias in marriage.

(3) But the king took offence at her words and sent Solomon his mother away, saying that Adōnias was aiming at ^{orders Ben-} aiah (Ban-

^a Bath-sheba's reply is an amplification of 1 Kings ii. 18, “Well ; I will speak for thee to the king.”

^b The foregoing is an amplification of 1 Kings ii. 20, “Ask on, my mother, for I will not say thee nay.”

πραγμάτων εἰπὼν Ἀδωνίαν καὶ θαυμάζειν πῶς οὐ παραχωρῆσαι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὡς πρεσβυτέρῳ παρακαλεῖ, τὸν γάμον αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀβισάκης αἰτουμένη φίλους ἔχοντι δυνατοὺς Ἰώαβον τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον τὸν ἵερέα, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ Βαναίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀποκτεῖναι 10 προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀδωνίαν. καλέσας δὲ τὸν Ἀβιάθαρον τὸν ἵερέα “θανάτου μέν,” εἶπε, “ρύεται σε τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα τῷ πατρί μου συνέκαμες καὶ ἡ κιβωτός, ἣν σὺν αὐτῷ μετήνεγκας. ταῦτην δέ σοι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπιτίθημι ταξαμένῳ μετὰ Ἀδωνία καὶ τὰ ἔκείνου φρονήσαντι· μήτε ἐνθάδε ἴσθι μήτε εἰς ὅψιν ἀπάντα τὴν ἐμήν, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ζῆθι καὶ τοῦτον ἄχρι τελευτῆς ἔχε τὸν βίον ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ μηκέτι 11 εἶναι δικαίως ἐν ἀξίᾳ.” καταλύεται μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς ὁ Ἰθαμάρον οἶκος διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίαν, καθὼς καὶ τῷ Ἀβιαθάρου πάππῳ προεῖπεν ὁ θεὸς Ἡλεί, μετέβη δὲ εἰς τὸ 12 Φινεέσου γένος πρὸς Σάδωκον. οἱ δὲ ἴδιωτεύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ Φινεέσου γένους μεθ' ὃν καιρὸν εἰς τὸν Ἰθαμάρου οἶκον ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη μετῆλθεν, Ἡλεὶ πρώτου ταύτην παραλαβόντος, ἥσαν οὗτοι· ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ¹ υἱὸς Βοκκίας, τούτου δὲ Ἰώθαμος, Ἰωθάμον δὲ Μαραιώθος, Μαραιώθου

¹ Ιωσήπου MSP Lat.

^a Anathoth.

^b Cf. A. v. 338 ff. = 1 Sam. ii. 12 ff.

^c Cf. A. v. 361-362 notes, vii. 110 note.

^d With the following genealogy contrast that given in A. v. 361.

greater things, and that he wondered she did not ask him, when seeking the marriage with Abisakē for Adōnias, to yield up the kingdom also to him, on the ground that he was his elder brother and had powerful friends in Joab the commander and Abiathar the priest. Then, having sent for Banaias, who was in charge of the bodyguard, he ordered him to kill his brother Adōnias. And he called Abiathar the priest

^aias) to execute.
Adonijah.
^{1 Kings}
ii. 22.

Abiathar is deposed from the high priesthood.
^{1 Kings}
ii. 27.

and said, “ You owe your life to the hardships you shared with my father and to the ark which you brought over with him ; but I impose the following punishment upon you for having gone over to Adōnias's side and sympathized with him : you shall not remain here nor ever come into my presence, but go to your native place^a and live in the fields and continue so to live until your death, for you have sinned too greatly to remain justly in office any longer.” And so the house of Ithamar was deprived of the priestly privilege for the afore-mentioned reason, just as God had foretold to Eli the grandfather of Abiathar,^b and it was transferred to the family of Phinees, to Sadok.^c Now the members of the family of Phinees who lived as private persons after the time when the high-priesthood passed over to the house of Ithamar—of whom Eli was the first to receive it—were as follows :^d Bokkias^e the son of the high priest Jesus,^f Jōthamos^g the son of Bokkias, Maraiōthos^h the son of Jōthamos, Arophaiosⁱ the

^a Bibl. Bukki, LXX Βωκί, Βωκαί.

^b Var. Josephos ; bibl. Abishua, LXX Ἀβεισού. He is called Abiezer in A. v. 362.

^c Bibl. Uzzi (as Josephus writes in A. v. 362), LXX Ὁζεί. Josephus here omits Zerahiah the son of Uzzi.

^d Bibl. Meraioth, LXX Μαρείηλ, Μαραιώθ, Luc. Μαρεώθ.

^e Bibl. Amariah, LXX Ἀμαρεία.

Genealogy of Zadok, the new high priest.
^{1 Chron.}
vi. 5

(Heb. v. 81)

δὲ Ἀροφαῖος, Ἀροφαίου δὲ Ἀχίτωβος, Ἀχιτώβου δὲ Σάδωκος, ὃς πρῶτος ἐπὶ Δανίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχιερεὺς ἐγένετο.

13 (4) Ἰώαβος δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀκούσας τὴν Ἀδωνία περιδεήσ ἐγένετο, φίλος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ βασιλεῖ Σολομῶνι, καὶ κύνδυνον ἐκ τούτου διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὔνοιαν οὐκ ἀλόγως ὑποπτεύων καταφεύγει μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀσφάλειαν δὲ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ ποριεῖν ἐκ τῆς 14 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὔσεβείας τοῦ βασιλέως. ὁ δὲ ἀπαγγειλάντων αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰώαβου γνώμην πέμψας Βαναίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον ἄγειν ὡς ἀπολογησόμενον. Ἰώαβος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη καταλείψειν τὸ ἱερόν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τεθνήξειςαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ἔτέρῳ χωρίῳ. Βαναίου δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ δηλώσαντος προσέταξεν ὁ Σολομὼν ἐκεῖ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμεῖν, καθὼς βούλεται, καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν τὴν δίκην ὑπὲρ τῶν δύο στρατηγῶν, οὓς ὁ Ἰώαβος ἀνοσίως ἀπέκτεινε, θάψαι δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, ὅπως τὰ μὲν ἀμαρτήματα μηδέποτε καταλείπῃ τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκείνου, τῆς δὲ Ἰώαβου τελευτῆς αὐτὸς τε καὶ 16 ὁ πατὴρ ἀθῷοι τυγχάνωσι. καὶ Βαναίας μὲν τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιήσας αὐτὸς ἀποδείκνυται στρατηγὸς πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, Σάδωκον δὲ ποιεῖ μόνον ἀρχιερέα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν Ἀβιαθάρου τόπον, ὃν μετεστήσατο.

* Bibl. Ahitub, LXX Ἀχειτώβ.

[†] Josephus, like some LXX mss. and Luc., read "Solomon" for "Absalom" in 1 Kings ii. 28, "for Joab had turned after Adonijah, though he turned not after Absalom."

[°] ἀνιστάναι has the technical meaning "make a suppliant leave a sanctuary."

son of Maraiōthos, Achitōb^a the son of Arophaios, and Sadok the son of Achitōb, who was the first to become high priest in the reign of David.

(4) Now when Joab the commander heard that Joab is also Adōnias had been put to death, he was greatly executed by Benaiah.^b afraid, for he was more friendly to him than to King Solomon,^c and, as he not unreasonably expected that danger threatened him because of his goodwill to Adōnias, he fled for refuge to the altar, where he imagined he would secure safety for himself because of the king's piety toward God. But when the king was told of Joab's plan, he sent Banaias with orders to remove him^d and bring him to the judgement-hall to make his defence.^e Joab, however, said that he would not leave the temple but would die there rather than in any other place. When Banaias reported his answer to the king, Solomon ordered his head to be cut off there, as Joab wished it,—this being the penalty exacted for the two generals whom he had impiously slain—and his body to be buried, in order that his sins might never leave his family (in peace), while Solomon himself and his father should be blameless for Joab's death.^f And so Banaias, after having carried out these orders, was himself appointed commander of the entire army, and the king made Sadok sole high priest in place of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

^a This detail is unscriptural (*cf.* a similar addition in *A.* v. 215). Scripture says, "Solomon sent Benaiah . . . saying, Go, fall upon him." Rabbinic tradition gives a long account of Joab's trial before Solomon, *cf.* Ginzberg, iv. 126.

^b According to Scripture, Solomon, while explicitly holding his father and himself guiltless of the blood of those whom Joab had slain, only implies that he is also blameless for Joab's death, 1 Kings ii. 32, "And the Lord shall return his blood upon his own head, who fell upon two men," etc.

17 (5) Σουμονίσω δὲ προσέταξεν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσαντι μένειν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτῷ προσεδρεύοντι καὶ μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν χειμάρρουν Κεδρῶνα ἔχειν ἔξουσίαν, παρακούσαντι δὲ τούτων¹ θάνατον ἔσεσθαι τὸ πρόστιμον. τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τῆς ἀπειλῆς καὶ 18 ὄρκους αὐτῷ προσηνάγκασε ποιήσασθαι. Σουμούσος δὲ χαίρειν οἷς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ Σολομὼν φῆσας καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν προσομόσας καταλιπὼν τὴν πατρίδα τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐποιεῖτο. διελθόντων δὲ τριῶν ἑτῶν ἀκούσας δύο δούλους ἀποδράντας αὐτὸν ἐν Γίττῃ τυγχάνοντας 19 ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐπανελθόντος δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰσθόμενος, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ καταφρονήσαντος καὶ τὸ μεῖζον τῶν ὄρκων τοῦ θεοῦ μηδεμίαν ποιησαμένου φροντίδα, χαλεπῶς εἶχε καὶ καλέσας αὐτόν “οὐ σύ,” φησίν, “ἄμοσας μὴ καταλείψειν ἐμὲ μηδ’ ἔξελεύσεσθαι ποτ’ ἐκ 20 ταύτης τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἄλλην; οὐκονν ἀποδράσῃ τὴν τῆς ἐπιορκίας δίκην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης καὶ ὧν τὸν πατέρα μου παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν² ὕβρισας τιμωρήσομαι σε πονηρὸν γενόμενον, ἵνα γνῶς ὅτι κερδαίνουσιν οὐδὲν οἱ κακοὶ μὴ παρ’ αὐτὰ τάδικήματα κολασθέντες, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ³ ὡς νομίζουσιν ἀδεεῖς εἶναι μηδὲν πεπονθότες αὐξεται καὶ γίνεται μεῖζων ἡ κόλασις αὐτοῖς ἡς ἂν παραυτίκα

¹ Niese: τούτῳ codd.: τούτου Exe.

² φύσιν RO.

³ ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ χρόνου Niese.

^a Josephus follows the Heb. in making Shimei's story come directly after the appointment of Benaiah and Zadok.
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(5) ^aAs for Sūmūisos,^b he ordered him to build a house and remain in Jerusalem in attendance upon him, and did not give him permission to cross the brook Kedron, saying that if he disobeyed the commands, death would be the penalty. To the severity of this threat he added the obligation of taking an oath.^c So Sūmūisos, saying that he was pleased with Solomon's commands, and also swearing to observe them, left his native place and made his home in Jerusalem. But after three years had passed, upon hearing that two of his slaves who had escaped from him were in Gitta,^d he set out after the men. And when he returned with them, the king heard of it and, holding that he had made light of his commands and—what was worse—had shown no regard for the oaths sworn to God, he was angered and having called him, said, “Did you not swear not to leave me nor ever go out from this city to another? You shall not, therefore, escape the penalty for your perjury, but I shall punish you as a miscreant both for this crime and for your insolence to my father at the time of his flight, in order that you may know that evildoers gain nothing by not being punished at the time of their crimes, but during the whole time in which they think themselves secure because they have suffered nothing, their punishment increases and becomes more severe than that which they would have paid at

The LXX inserts, between vss. 35 and 36 of 1 Kings ii., a long passage concerning Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter (cf. Heb. iii. 1), his buildings and officers.

^b Bibl. Shimei; for variants in Josephus cf. A. vii. 207, 388.

^c The oath is mentioned at this point, 1 Kings ii. 37, in the LXX, but in the Heb. not until vs. 42.

^d Bibl. Gath.

πλημμελήσαντες ἔδοσαν.” καὶ Σουμούισον μὲν κελευσθεὶς Βαναίας ἀπέκτεινεν.

- 21 (ii. 1) Ἡδη δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν βεβαίως ἔχων Σολομὼν καὶ τῶν ἔχθρῶν κεκολασμένων ἄγεται τὴν Φαραώθου τοῦ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέως θυγατέρα· καὶ κατασκευάσας τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πολλῷ μεῖζω καὶ ὀχυρώτερα τῶν πρόσθεν ὅντων διεῖπε τὰ πράγματα λοιπὸν ἐπὶ πολλῆς εἰρήνης μηδ’ ὑπὸ τῆς νεότητος πρός τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων καὶ μνήμην ὡν ὁ πατὴρ τελευτῶν ἐπέστειλε βλαπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ πάνθ’ ὅσα οἱ τοῦ χρόνοις προβεβηκότες καὶ πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν ἀκμάζοντες μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας ἐπιτελῶν.
 22 ἔγνω δ’ εἰς Γιβρᾶνα¹ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ὑπὸ Μωυσέος θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ χίλια τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀλοκαύτωσεν ἵερεῖα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας μεγάλως ἔδοξε τὸν θεὸν τετιμηκέναι· φανεὶς γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκέλευσεν αἴρεισθαι τίνας ἀντὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας παράσχῃ δωρεὰς αὐτῷ.
 23 Σολομὼν δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα καὶ θεῷ παρασχεῖν ἥδιστα καὶ λαβεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ συμφορώτατα τὸν θεὸν ἤτησεν· οὐ γὰρ χρυσὸν οὐδὲ ἄργυρον οὐδὲ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦτον ὡς ἀνθρωπος καὶ νέος ἤξιωσεν αὐτῷ προσγενέσθαι (ταῦτα γὰρ σχεδὸν νενόμισται παρὰ τοῦς πλείστοις μόνα σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ θεοῦ δῶρα εἶναι) ἀλλά “δός μοι,” φησί,

¹ Γαβαῶνα ex LXX conj. edd.

^a The latter part of Solomon's speech is an amplification.

^b Here again Josephus follows the Heb. order, cf. 1 Kings iii. 1 ff.; in the LXX the execution of Shimei is followed by

the very moment of their wrongdoing.^a Then Banaias at the king's command put Sūmūisos to death.

(ii. 1) ^bSolomon, having now firm possession of the kingdom, and his enemies having been chastised, married the daughter of Pharaōthēs the king of the Egyptians. He also made the walls of Jerusalem much greater and stronger than they had been before, and thereafter governed the state in perfect peace, nor was he hindered by his youth from dealing justice and observing the laws and remembering the injunctions of his dying father, but performed all tasks with as great scrupulousness as do those of advanced age and mature wisdom. And he decided to go to ^cGibron^{i. 3, 5.} and sacrifice to God upon the bronze altar built by Moses,^d and he offered whole burnt-offerings of a thousand victims. By having done this he seemed greatly to have honoured God, for He appeared to him that night in his sleep and bade him choose what gifts He should confer upon him in return for his piety. And Solomon asked for the most excellent and greatest gifts, most pleasing to God to ^eat Gibron (Hebron) confer and most beneficial for man to receive, for it asks God was not gold or silver or other form of wealth that ^ffor wisdom. he asked to be bestowed upon him, as a man and a young one might have done—such are considered by most men as almost the only things worthy of regard and as gifts of God—but he said, “Give me, O

an account of Solomon's revenues and officers, corresponding in part to the Heb. of iv. 20 ff.

^c (= Bibl. Hebron), either a slip for, or a corruption of, Γαβαῶνα, bibl. Gibeon.

^d The bronze altar, made by Bezalel, is mentioned in connexion with the tabernacle of Moses at Gibeon in ^g2 Chron. i. 3 ff.

"δέσποτα, νοῦν ὑγιῆ καὶ φρόνησιν ἀγαθήν, οἷς ἀντὸν λαὸν τάληθῆ καὶ τὰ δίκαια λαβῶν¹ κρίνομε."

24 τούτοις ἥσθη τοῖς αἰτήμασιν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ' ὃν οὐκ ἐμνήσθη παρὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο, πλούτον δόξαν νίκην πολεμίων, καὶ πρὸ πάντων σύνεσιν καὶ σοφίαν οἵαν οὐκ ἄλλος τις ἀνθρώπων ἔσχεν οὕτε βασιλέων οὔτ' ἴδιωτῶν. φυλάξειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὑπισχνεῖτο χρόνον, ὃν δίκαιος τε ὃν διαμένη καὶ πειθόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν πατέρα 25 μιμούμενος ἐν οἷς ἦν ἄριστος. ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ Σολομῶν ἀκούσας ἀνεπήδησεν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς μεγάλας ἐπιτελέσας θυσίας κατευώχει τοὺς ἴδιους² ἄπαντας.

26 (2) Ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις κρίσις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἥχθη δυσχερής, ἵσ τὸ τέλος εὑρεῖν ἦν ἐπίπονον. τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα περὶ οὖ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὴν δίκην ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην δηλώσαι, ἵνα τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τό τε δύσκολον τῆς κρίσεως γνώριμον ὑπάρξῃ, καὶ τοιούτων μεταξὺ πραγμάτων γενόμενοι λάβωσιν ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰκόνος τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγχινοίας τὸ ῥαδίως ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ζητου- 27 μένων δυνηθῆναι. δύο γυναῖκες ἔταῖραι τὸν βίον ἥκον ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὃν ἡ ἀδικεῖσθαι δοκοῦσα πρώτη λέγειν ἤρξατο· "οἴκῳ μέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μετὰ ταύτης ἐν ἐνὶ δωματίῳ, συνέβη δ' ἀμφοτέραις ἥμīn ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀποτεκεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν 28 ὥραν ἄρρενα παιδία. τρίτης δὲ ἡμέρας διελθούσης

¹ λαλῶν cod. Vat. ap. Hudson.

² Ἰουδαῖος RO: om. Lat.

^a Var. "the Jews"; bibl. "his servants."

Lord, a sound mind and good understanding where-with I may judge the people, having truth and justice in me." With this prayer God was pleased, and promised to give him, in addition to what he had chosen, also the other things he had not mentioned, wealth, honour and victory over his enemies and, above all, intelligence and wisdom such as no other man whether king or commoner had ever had. And He also promised to preserve the kingdom for his descendants a very long time, if he continued to be righteous and to imitate his father in those things wherein he was excellent. When Solomon heard these words of God he at once leaped from his bed and did obeisance to Him; then he returned to Jerusalem and, after offering great sacrifices before the tabernacle, feasted all his household.^a

(2) Now in these days a difficult case was brought before him, for which it was troublesome to find a solution. I have thought it necessary to explain the matter about which the suit happened to be, in order that my readers may have an idea of the difficulty of the case and that those who are involved in such matters may take example from the king's sagacity so as to be able to give a ready opinion on questions at issue. Two women who lived as harlots came before him and she who seemed to be the injured one first began to speak, saying, "I, O King, live with this woman in the same room,^b and it so happened that we both gave birth on the same day and at the same hour^b to male children. But on the

^b According to Scripture, the plaintiff's child was born three days before the other woman's. Probably, as Rappaport suggests, Josephus was confused by a phrase in the preceding verse (1 Kings iii. 17), "And I was delivered of a child with her in the house."

God's promises to bless Solomon.
1 Kings iii. 10.

ἐπικοινηθεῖσα τῷ αὐτῆς παιδίῳ αὕτη τοῦτο μὲν ἀποκτείνει, βαστάσασα δὲ τούμὸν ἐκ τῶν γονάτων πρὸς αὐτὴν μεταφέρει καὶ τὸ νεκρὸν ἐμοῦ κοιμω-
29 μένης εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας μου τίθησι. πρωτὸν δὲ θηλὴν ὁρέξαι βουλομένη τῷ παιδίῳ τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν οὐχ εὑρον, τὸ δὲ ταύτης νεκρὸν ὅρῳ μοι παρακείμενον· ἀκριβῶς γάρ κατανοήσασα τοῦτο ἐπέγνων· ὅθεν ἀπαιτῶ τὸν ἐμὸν νίὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνουσα καταπέφευγα, δέσποτα, ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ βοήθειαν· τῷ¹ γάρ εἶναι μόνας ἡμᾶς καὶ μηδένα τὸν ἐλέγξαι δυνάμενον φοβεῖσθαι καταφρονοῦσα ἵσχυ-
30 ρῶς ἀρνουμένη παραμένει.” ταῦτ’ εἰπούσης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέκρινε τὴν ἑτέραν τί τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀντιλέγειν ἔχει. τῆς δὲ ἀρνουμένης τοῦτο πεποιη-
κέναι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον τὸ αὐτῆς ζῆν λεγούσης, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀντιδίκου τεθνηκέναι, μηδενὸς ἐπινοοῦντος τὴν κρίσιν ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐπ’ αἰνίγματι περὶ τὴν εὑρεσιν αὐτοῦ πάντων τῇ διανοίᾳ τετυφλωμένων μόνος ὁ
31 βασιλεὺς ἐπενόησέ τι τοιοῦτον· κέλεύσας κομι-
σθῆναι καὶ τὸ νεκρὸν καὶ τὸ ζῶν παιδίον μεταπέμ-
πεταί τινα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ σπασάμενον ἐκέλευσε² τὴν μάχαιραν ἀμφότερα διχοτομῆσαι τὰ παιδία, ὅπως ἐκάτεραι λάβωσιν ἀνὰ ἡμίσυ τοῦ τε
32 ζῶντος καὶ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος. ἐπὶ τούτῳ πᾶς μὲν ὁ λαὸς λανθάνων ἔχλεύαζεν ὡς μειράκιον τὸν βασιλέα, μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀπαιτούσης καὶ ἀλη-
θοῦς μητρὸς ἀνακραγούσης τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ παραδιδόναι τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὸ παιδίον ὡς ἐκείνης, ἀρ-

¹ Hudson: τὸ RMSP: τοῦ O. ² προσέταξε MSPE.

^a Scripture does not imply, as does Josephus, that Solomon waited for the others to find a solution.

^b Josephus follows Luc. in saying that both the living

third day this woman by sleeping on her child caused its death, and she took my child from my lap and carried it over to her side and then laid the dead child in my arms as I slept. And in the morning when I wished to give the breast to the child, I did not find my son but I saw this woman's dead child lying beside me, for I looked at it carefully and recognized whose it was. I therefore demanded my son back, and, as I have not obtained him, I have come to appeal to you, my lord, for help; for, contemptuously relying on the fact that we were alone and that she has no one to fear who can convict her, she stubbornly persists in her denial.” After she had spoken the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to these statements. And she denied having done this thing, saying that it was her child that was alive, while her adversary's was the dead one. And when no one could see what judge- Solomon as-
ment to give, but all were mentally blinded, as by a sagacious a judge dis-
riddle, in finding a solution, the king alone devised covers the the following plan:^a he ordered both the dead and 1 Kings
the living child to be brought, and then sent for one ill. 24.
of the bodyguard and ordered him to draw his sword and cut both children in half, in order that either woman might take half of the dead child and half of the living child.^b Thereupon all the people secretly made fun of the king as of a boy.^c But meanwhile the woman who had demanded the child and was its true mother cried out that they should not do this but should give the child over to the other woman as if and the dead child were to be divided; the Heb. and LXX mention only the division of the living child. Perhaps the Luc. addition is, as Weill suggests, a reminiscence of the procedure followed in another case, cf. Ex. xxi. 35.
• Unscriptural detail.

κεῖσθαι γὰρ τῷ ζῆν αὐτὸ καὶ βλέπειν μόνον καν
ἀλλότριον δοκῆ, τῆς δὲ ἔτερας ἐτοίμως ἔχούσης
διαιρούμενον ἵδεν τὸ παιδίον καὶ προσέτι βασανι-
33 σθῆναι καὶ αὐτὴν ἀξιούσης, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιγνοὺς
τὰς ἑκατέρων φωνὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας γεγενη-
μένας τῇ μὲν ἀνακραγούσῃ τὸ παιδίον προσέκρινε,
μητέρα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀληθῶς εἶναι, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης
κατέγνω πονηρίαν τὸ τε ἴδιον ἀποκτεινάσης καὶ
τὸ τῆς φίλης σπουδαζούσης ἀπολλύμενον θεάσασθαι.
34 τοῦτο μέγα δεῖγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως
φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας ἐνόμιζε τὸ πλῆθος, καξ
ἔκείνης τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ὡς θείαν ἔχοντι
διάνοιαν αὐτῷ προσεῖχον.
35 (3) Στρατηγοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν τῆς
χώρας ἀπάσης οἵδε· τῆς μὲν Ἐφραίμου κληρουχίας
Οὔρης· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Βιθιέμες¹ τοπαρχίας ἦν Διό-
κληρος· τὴν δὲ τῶν Δώρων καὶ τὴν παραλίαν
Ἀβινάδαβος εἶχεν ὑφ' αὐτῷ² γεγαμηκὼς τὴν
36 Σολομῶνος θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ μέγα πεδίον ἦν ὑπὸ³
Βαναίᾳ τῷ Ἀχίλου παιδί, προσεπήρχε⁴ δὲ καὶ τῆς
ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου πάσης· τὴν δὲ Γαλαδῖτιν καὶ Γαυ-
λανῖτιν ἕως τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ πόλεις ἔξήκοντα

¹ Βηθλεέμης SP: Bethlem Lat.: Βηθσέμες Bosius: Βαιθσέμες Schotanus.

² Dindorf: ὑπ' αὐτῷ codd.

³ Hudson: προσεπήρχε codd.

^a That is, to prove her veracity; the text may, however, mean that she wished her opponent to be tortured. The phrase is an unscriptural detail.

^b Josephus here omits the list of Solomon's court officers, given in 1 Kings iv. 2 ff.

^c Heb. *Ben Hûr* (A.V. son of Hur), LXX Βαιώρ, v.l. Βὲ-
νίδες "Ωρ.

it were hers, for she would be content to have it alive and only look at it, even if it should seem to be another's, while the other woman was prepared to see it divided and even asked that she herself^a be put to torture. Thereupon the king, recognizing that the words of either were prompted by her true sentiments, adjudged the child to the one who cried out, holding that she was really its mother, and condemned the other for her wickedness both in having killed her own son and in being anxious to see her friend's child destroyed. This the multitude considered a great sign and proof of the king's prudence and wisdom, and from that day on hearkened to him as to one possessed of a godlike understanding.

(3) ^b Now his generals and governors of the whole Solomon's provincial country were as follows: over the territory of governors. Ephraim was Urēs^c; and over the toparchy of ^d 1 Kings iv. 7. Bithiemes^d was Dioklēros^e; the district of Dor and the coast were under Abinadab,^f who had married Solomon's daughter^g; the great plain^h was under Banaiasⁱ the son of Achilos,^j who also governed all the country as far as the Jordan; all of Galaditis and Gaulanitis^k up to Mount Lebanon was governed by

^a Bibl. Beth-shemesh, LXX Βαιθσάμυν. Scripture adds three other cities as belonging to this district.

^b Heb. *Ben Deqer* (A.V. son of Dekar), LXX νίδες Δακάρ, cod. B Πῆχας, Luc. Πῆχαβ. Josephus's form, if not a corruption of the first LXX form, may be a deliberate Hellenization of the name.

^c So the Heb. and some LXX MSS.; other LXX MSS. Αμιναδάβ. Josephus omits Hesed, the governor of Aruboth, Sochoh and Hepher, vs. 10. ^d Called Taphath in Scripture.

^e Including Taanach, Megiddo and Beth-shean.

^f Bibl. Baana, LXX Βαανά, cod. B Βακχά, Luc. Βαχά.

^g Bibl. Ahilud, LXX Αχιλούθ, cod. B Αχειμάχ, Luc. Αχιάβ.

^h Bibl. Gilead and Argob in Bashan.

μεγάλας καὶ ὁχυρωτάτας ἔχων ὑφ' αὐτὸν Γαβάρης διεῖπεν· Ἀχινάδαβος δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὅλης ἄχρι Σιδῶνος ἐπετρόπενε συνοικῶν καὶ αὐτὸς θυγατρὶ³⁷ Σολομῶνος Βασίμα τοῦνομα· τὴν δὲ περὶ Ἀκὴν¹ παραλίαν εἶχε Βανακάτης· Σαφάτης δὲ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος καὶ Καρμήλιον καὶ τὴν κάτω Γαλιλαίαν ἄχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν² πᾶσαν ἐπετέτραπτο· Σουμούις δὲ τὴν Βενιαμίτιδος κληρουχίαν ἔγκεχείριστο· Γαβάρης δὲ εἶχε τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων εἰς πάλιν ἄρχων³⁸ ἀποδέδεικτο. θαυμαστὴν δὲ ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβεν ὁ τε τῶν Ἐβραιῶν λαὸς καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα φυλὴ πρὸς γεωργίαν τραπέντων καὶ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν· εἰρήνης γὰρ ἀπολαύοντες καὶ πολέμους καὶ ταραχᾶς μὴ περισπώμενοι καὶ προσέτι τῆς ποθεινοτάτης ἐλευθερίας ἀκρατῶς ἐμφορούμενοι πρὸς τὸ³ συναύξειν ἔκαστος τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ποιεῖν ἀξία πλείονος ὑπῆρχεν.

39 (4) Ἡσαν δὲ καὶ ἔτεροι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡγεμόνες, οἱ τῆς τε Σύρων γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἦτις ἦν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ διήκουσα μέχρι τῆς

¹ περὶ Ἀκὴν M: Περιαλκῆ RO: Πετριαλκῆ SP: circa arcae civitatem Lat.: περὶ Ἀρκὴν Naber.

² + ἐπὶ (δὲ) τούτων (τούτῳ) codd.

³ τῷ Niese.

^a Heb. *Ben Geber* (A.V. son of Geber), LXX νιὸς Γάβερ, Luc. Γάμερ.

^b Josephus here combines two verses, 1 Kings iv. 14, 15, which mention two separate governors, “14. Ahinadab, the son of Iddo, had Mahanaim. 15. Ahimaaz was in Naphtali; he also took Basmath (LXX Βασεμαθ), the daughter of Solomon, to wife.”

^c Bibl. Asher and Aloth; this was west of Naphtali, in the neighbourhood of Tyre.

^d Bibl. Baanah, LXX Βαανά, v.l. Βανατος.

^e Bibl. Jehoshaphat, LXX Ἰωσαφάτ. Josephus follows the

Gabarēs,^a who had under him sixty great and strongly fortified cities; Achinadab administered all of Galilee as far as Sidon, and he was also married to a daughter of Solomon, named Basima^b; the coast about Akē^c was under Banakatēs^d; to Saphatēs^e was entrusted Mount Itabyrion^f and Mount Carmel and all of lower Galilee as far as the river Jordan^g; Sūmūis^h was given the territory of Benjamin to rule; Gabarēsⁱ had the country across the Jordan. And one more was appointed as ruler over these.^j Now a wonderful increase was obtained by the people of the Hebrews and the tribe of Judah when they turned to husbandry and the cultivation of the soil, for, as they enjoyed peace and were undistracted by wars and disturbances and also enjoyed to the fullest most desirable freedom, they devoted themselves, each one to increasing his holdings and making them more valuable.

(4) The king also had other governors, who ruled The requisitions for Solomon's table.

Heb. in mentioning Jehoshaphat directly after Baanah, while the LXX inserts two verses mentioning Shimei in Benjamin and Geber in Gilead.

^a Scripture does not specify, saying only “in Issachar.”

^b Bibl. Shimei, LXX Σεμεί, Luc. Σαμαί.

^c Bibl. Geber, LXX Γάβερ.

^d Heb. (vs. 19 end), “and one governor (*nesib*) was in the land” (A.V. “and he *i.e.* Geber> was the only officer which was in the land”), LXX καὶ Νασέφ εἰς ἐν γῇ Ἰούδᾳ (Luc. ἐν τῇ γῇ). The Biblical text is obscure and probably corrupt. Josephus’s “appointed” seems to be based on the Targum.

^e Heb. “from the river of the land of the Philistines,” which must be corrected, as is done in 2 Chron. ix. 26, to “from the river (*i.e.* the Euphrates, the river *par excellence*) to the land of the Philistines,” etc.

Αἰγυπτίων, ἐπῆρχον ἐκλέγοντες αὐτῷ φόρους παρὰ 40 τῶν ἔθνων. συνετέλουν δὲ καὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ καθ' ήμέραν καὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τοῦ βασιλέως σεμιδάλεως μὲν κόρους τριάκοντα, ἀλεύρου δ' ἑξήκοντα, σιτιστοὺς δὲ βόας δέκα καὶ νομάδας βόας εἴκοσι, σιτιστοὺς δὲ ἄρνας ἑκατόν. ταῦτα πάντα πάρεξ τῶν ἀπ' ἄγρας, ἐλάφων λέγω καὶ βουβάλων καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ ἰχθύων, ἐκομίζετο καθ' ήμέραν τῷ 41 βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων. τοσοῦτον δὲ πλῆθος ἦν ἀρμάτων Σολομῶνι, ὡς τέσσαρας εἶναι μυριάδας φατνῶν τῶν ὑποζευγνυμένων ἵππων· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἥσαν ἵππεῖς δισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις τῷ βασιλεῖ προσήδρευον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰς βασιλικὰς διεσπαρμένοι κώμας ἐν αὐταῖς κατέμενον. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ὁ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δαπάνην πεπιστευμένος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἔχορήγει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συγκομίζων εἰς ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς διέτριβε τόπον.

42 (5) Τοσαύτη δ' ἦν ὁ θεὸς παρέσχε Σολομῶνι φρόνησιν καὶ σοφίαν, ὡς τούς τε ἀρχαίους ὑπερβάλλειν ἀνθρώπους καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, οἵ πάντων συνέσει διενεγκεῖν λέγονται, συγκρινομένους λείπεσθαι παρ' ὅλιγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖστον ἀφεστηκότας τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φρονήσεως ἐλέγχεσθαι. ὑπερῆρε δὲ καὶ διήνεγκε σοφίᾳ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν δόξαν ἔχόντων παρὰ τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐπὶ δεινότητι, ὧν οὐ παρελεύσομαι τὰ

^a The *kor*, also called *homer*, was equivalent to about 370 litres or 11 bushels.

lected tribute for him from the nations. They also ^{1 Kings iv. 21} contributed daily to the king's table for his dinner (Heb. v. 1) thirty *kors*^a of fine flour, sixty of meal, ten fatted oxen and twenty pastured oxen and a hundred fatted^b lambs,—all these, in addition to wild game, that is, deer and antelopes and birds and fish, were daily brought to the king by the foreigners. And Solomon had so great a number of chariots that there were forty thousand stalls for the yoked horses.^c Beside these he had twelve thousand horsemen, half of whom attended the king in Jerusalem, while the rest were scattered about the royal villages and dwelt in them. And the same officer who was entrusted with the king's expenses also furnished supplies for the horses, bringing them to the place where the king resided.^d

(5) Now so great was the prudence and wisdom Solomon's great wisdom. which God granted Solomon that he surpassed the ancients,^e and even the Egyptians, who are said to excel all men in understanding, were not only, when compared with him, a little inferior but proved to fall far short of the king in sagacity. He also surpassed and excelled in wisdom those who in his own time had a reputation for cleverness among the Hebrews, and whose names I shall not omit; they were Athanost^f

^b Unscriptural detail.

^c Recent excavations at Megiddo have uncovered stables of the Solomonic period, built to accommodate some 300 horses, cf. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 344 f.

^d Scripture, 1 Kings iv. 28 (Heb. v. 8), does not make clear whether these provisions were brought to the place where the king resided or where the various officers were.

^e So the LXX, translating Heb. *benê qedem* "sons of the east"; the variant is readily understandable since the root *qdm* also means "ancient."

^f Bibl. Ethan, LXX Γαιθάν, Luc. Αἰθάμ.

ὸνόματα· ἥσαν δὲ "Αθανος καὶ Αίμανὸς καὶ Χάλ·
 44 κεος καὶ Δάρδανος νιοὶ Ἡμάνως. συνετάξατο
 δὲ καὶ βιβλία περὶ ὡδῶν καὶ μελῶν πέντε πρὸς
 τοὺς χιλίους καὶ παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων βίβλους
 τρισχιλίας· καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ εἶδος δένδρου παρα-
 βολὴν εἶπεν ἀπὸ ὑσσώπου ἔως κέδρου, τὸν αὐτὸν
 δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ κτηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων
 ἀπάντων ζώων καὶ τῶν νηκτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀερίων·
 οὐδεμίαν γὰρ¹ φύσιν ἥγνόσην οὐδὲ παρῆλθεν
 ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις ἐφιλοσόφησε καὶ τὴν
 ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἴδιωμάτων ἄκραν ἐπεδεί-
 45 ξατο. παρέσχε δ' αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν
 κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην εἰς ὡφέλειαν καὶ θερα-
 πείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἐπωδάς τε συνταξάμενος
 αἷς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα καὶ τρόπους ἐξ-
 ορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς οἱ ἐνδούμενοι² τὰ δαι-
 46 μόνια ὡς μηκέτ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώκουσι.³ καὶ αὕτη
 μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἴσχυει·
 ἵστορησα γάρ τινα Ἐλεάζαρον τῶν ὁμοφύλων
 Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παρόντος καὶ τῶν νῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ
 χιλιάρχων καὶ ἄλλου στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους τοὺς
 ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανομένους ἀπολύοντα τού-
 των. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς θεραπείας τοιοῦτος ἦν·

¹ + τούτων MSP.

² οἱ ἐνδούμενοι RO: ἐνδούμενοι MP: ἐνδούμενα E Lat.: ἐναδόμενα S.

³ ἐκδιώξουσι ROE.

^a Bibl. Heman, LXX Αἰνάν, Ἡμάν, Luc. Αἴμαν.

^b Bibl. Chalcol, LXX Χαλκάδ, Χαλκάλ, Luc. Χαλκάχ.

^c Bibl. Darda, LXX Δαραλά, Δαρδά, Luc. Δαρδαέ. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 163, sees here a reference to the Dardanos often mentioned in Graeco-Egyptian magical texts as the founder of the mysteries of the Mother Goddess.

and Haimanos^a and Chalkeos^b and Dardanos,^c sons of Hēmaōn.^d He also composed a thousand and five His proverbs. I Kings iv. 32 (LXX iv. 28; Heb. v. 12). books of odes and songs,^e and three thousand books of parables and similitudes,^f for he spoke a parable about every kind of tree from the hyssop to the cedar, and in like manner about birds and all kinds of terrestrial creatures and those that swim and those that fly. There was no form of nature with which he was not acquainted or which he passed over without examining, but he studied them all philosophically and revealed the most complete knowledge of their several properties. And God granted him knowledge of the art used against demons for the benefit His charms against demons. and healing of men. He also composed incantations by which illnesses are relieved, and left behind forms of exorcisms with which those possessed by demons drive them out, never to return.^g And this kind of cure is of very great power among us to this day, for I have seen a certain Eleazar,^h a countryman of mine, in the presence of Vespasian, his sons, tribunes and a number of other soldiers, free men possessed by demons, and this was the manner of the cure: he

^a Bibl. Mahol, LXX Μαούλ, Μάλ.

^b So the Heb.; LXX 5000. Both texts, however, refer to the number of songs, not the number of books of songs.

^c Here too Scripture gives the number of parables, not the number of books of parables.

^d Though Scripture says nothing of Solomon's power over demons and skill in healing, both Jewish and Christian as well as Muslim tradition contain many legends on these subjects, some of them to be found in the *Arabian Nights*.

^e Perhaps, as Weill suggests, he was an Essene, for this sect possessed books of medicine attributed to Solomon. Cf. Ginzberg vi. 291 note 48, "the recognized authorities of rabbinic Judaism condemn the use of the conjuring books ascribed to Solomon, whereas the early Church held them in high esteem."

47 προσφέρων ταῖς ρίσὶ τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου τὸν δακτύλιον ἔχοντα ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγῖδι ρίζαν ἐξ ὧν ὑπέδειξε Σολομῶν ἐπειτα ἔξειλκεν ὀσφρομένῳ διὰ τῶν μυκτήρων τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ πεσόντος εὐθὺς τάνθρωπου μηκέτ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπανῆξεν¹ ὥρκου Σολομῶνός τε μεμνημένος καὶ τὰς ἐπωδὰς ἃς 48 συνέθηκεν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιλέγων. βουλόμενος δὲ πεῖσαι καὶ παραστῆσαι τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσιν ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος ὅτι ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἴσχυν, ἐτίθει μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἡτοι ποτήριον πλήρες ὕδατος ἢ ποδονιπτρον καὶ τῷ δαιμονίῳ προσέταττεν ἐξιόντι τάνθρωπου ταῦτ' ἀνατρέψαι καὶ παρασχεῖν ἐπιγνῶναι τοὺς ὄρωσιν ὅτι καταλέλοιπε τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

49 γενομένου² δὲ τούτου σαφῆς ἡ Σολομῶνος καθίστατο σύνεσις καὶ σοφία δι' ἣν, ἵνα γνῶσιν ἅπαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖν τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὸ θεοφιλές καὶ λάθη μηδένα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ πᾶν εἶδος ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολή, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν προήχθημεν.

50 (6) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς Εἵρωμος ἀκούσας ὅτι Σολομῶν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διεδέξατο βασιλείαν ὑπερήσθη (φίλος γὰρ ἐτύγχανε τῷ Δαυΐδῃ) καὶ πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσπάζετό τε καὶ συνέχαιρεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς. ἀποστέλλει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σολομῶν γράμματα δηλοῦντα τάδε·

51 "βασιλεὺς Σολομὼν Εἵρωμῳ βασιλεῖ. ἵσθι μου τὸν πατέρα βουληθέντα κατασκευάσαι τῷ θεῷ ναὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν συνεχῶν στρατειῶν κεκωλυμένον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύσατο πρότερον τοὺς ἔχθροὺς καταστρεφόμενος πρὶν ἡ πάντας αὐτοὺς

¹ ἐπανελθεῖν MSPE.
² Niese: γενομένου codd.

put to the nose of the possessed man a ring which had under its seal one of the roots^a prescribed by Solomon, and then, as the man smelled it, drew out the demon through his nostrils, and, when the man at once fell down, adjured the demon never to come back into him, speaking Solomon's name and reciting the incantations which he had composed. Then, wishing to convince the bystanders and prove to them that he had this power, Eleazar placed a cup or foot-basin full of water a little way off and commanded the demon, as it went out of the man, to overturn it and make known to the spectators that he had left the man. And when this was done, the understanding and wisdom of Solomon were clearly revealed, on account of which we have been induced to speak of these things, in order that all men may know the greatness of his nature and how God favoured him, and that no one under the sun may be ignorant of the king's surpassing virtue of every kind.

(6) Now when Eirōmos,^b the king of the Tyrians, Hiram (Eirōmos), King of Tyre, sends greetings to Solomon. 1 Kings v. 1 (Heb. v. 15)

heard that Solomon had succeeded to his father's kingdom, he was overjoyed, for he was a friend of David, and sent him greetings and congratulations on his present good fortune. Then Solomon wrote a letter in return, the contents of which were as follows: ^c "King Solomon to King Eirōmos. Know that my father wished to build a temple to God but was prevented by wars and continual expeditions, for he did not leave off subduing his enemies until he

^a T. Reinach plausibly conjectures that this was the *baaras* plant described in *B.J.* vii. 180 ff.

^b Bibl. Hiram, cf. *A.* vii. 66 note.

^c Cf. *Ap.* i. 111 note and the text of the letters, given by the Jewish Alexandrian writer Eupolemos *ap.* Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix. 33 ff.

52 φόρων ὑποτελεῖς πεποιηκέναι.¹ ἐγὼ δὲ χάριν οἶδα τῷ θεῷ τῆς παρούσης εἰρήνης καὶ διὰ ταύτην εὐσχολῶν οἰκοδομῆσαι τῷ θεῷ βούλομαι τὸν οἶκον· καὶ γὰρ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ τοῦτον ἔσεσθαι τῷ πατρί μου προεῖπεν ὁ θεός. διὸ παρακαλῶ σε συμπέμψαι τινὰς τοὺς ἐμοῖς εἰς Λίβανον τὸ ὄρος κόφοντας ξύλα· πρὸς γὰρ τομὴν ὅλης ἐπιστημονέστερον ἔχουσι τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ Σιδώνιοι. μισθὸν δ’ ὃν ἂν ὀρίσῃς ἐγὼ τοὺς ὑλουργοὺς παρέξω.”

53 (7) Ἀναγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Εἰρωμος καὶ τοὺς ἐπεσταλμένους ἡσθεὶς ἀντιγράφει τῷ Σολομῶνι· “βασιλεὺς Εἰρωμος βασιλεῖ Σολομῶνι. τὸν μὲν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἄξιον ὅτι σοι τὴν πατρῷαν παρέδωκεν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι, ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις ἡδόμενος ἀπαντα ὑπουργήσω τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα· τεμών γὰρ ξύλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κέδρου τε καὶ κυπαρίσσου διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν καταπέμψω ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ κελεύσω τοὺς ἐμοὺς σχεδίαν πηξαμένους εἰς ὃν ἂν βουληθῆστον τῆς σαντοῦ χώρας πλεύσαντας ἀποθέσθαι· ἔπειθ’ οἱ σοὶ διακομίσουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὅπως δὲ καὶ σὺ παράσχῃς ἡμῖν ἀντὶ τούτων σῆτον, οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ νῆσον οἰκεῖν δεόμεθα, φρόντισον.”

55 (8) Διαμένει δὲ ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον τὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τούτων ἀντίγραφα οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις μόνον σωζόμενα βιβλίοις ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Τυρίοις, ὥστ’ εἴ τις ἐθελήσει τὸ ἀκριβὲς μαθεῖν, δεηθεὶς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ² Τυρίων γραμματοφυλακείου δημοσίων εὗροι συμφωνοῦντ’ ἀν³ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὑφ’ ἡμῶν τὰ παρ’ ἔκείνοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διεξῆλθον βου-

¹ ἐποίησεν MSP.
² Niese: τῶν codd.

³ ἀν add. Niese.

had forced all of them to pay tribute. But I give thanks to God for the peace I now enjoy, and as on that account I am at leisure, I wish to build a house to God, for He indeed foretold to my father that this would be made by me. I therefore request you to send some men along with mine to Mount Lebanon to cut timber, for the Sidonians are more skilful in cutting timber than are our men. And whatever wage you may fix, I will give it to the woodcutters.”

(7) When Eirōmos read this letter, he was pleased with the request contained in it, and wrote back to Solomon, “King Eirōmos to King Solomon. It is proper to praise God for having given to you, who are a wise man endowed with every virtue, your father’s royal power. As for me, I am very glad of this and I will assist you in all the things mentioned in your letter. I will have my men cut down many great cedars and cypresses^a and send them down to the sea, and will order my servants to put together a raft and sail and deliver them at whatever place in your country you may choose, and then your men shall carry them to Jerusalem. And take care, on your part, to furnish us in return for them with grain, of which we are in need because we live on an island.”^b

(8) To this day there remain copies of these letters, preserved not only in our books but also by the Tyrians, so that if anyone wished to learn the exact truth, he would, by inquiring of the public officials in charge of the Tyrian archives, find that their records are in agreement with what we have said.^c These things I have given in detail because I wish

^a LXX πεύκινα “pines”; Heb. *berōš*, which is elsewhere in the LXX translated as *κυπάρισσος* “cypress.”

^b Or “peninsula” (*νῆσος* means both), which Tyre really was. The detail is unscriptural.

Hiram
agrees to
help
Solomon
build the
temple.

1 Kings v. 7
(Heb. v. 21)

Preserva-
tion of the
correspond-
ence of
Hiram and
Solomon.

λόμενος γνῶναι τοὺς ἐντευξομένους ὅτι μηδὲν μᾶλλον ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας λέγομεν, μηδὲ πιθανοῖς τισι καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην καὶ τέρψιν ἐπαγωγοῖς τὴν ἱστορίαν διαλαμβάνοντες τὴν μὲν ἔξέτασιν φεύγειν πειρώμεθα, πιστεύεσθαι δ' εὐθὺς ἀξιοῦμεν, οὐδὲν συγκεχωρημένον ἡμῖν κατεξανισταμένοις τοῦ πρέποντος τῇ πραγματείᾳ¹ ἀθώοις ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνειν παρακαλοῦντες, ἃν μὴ μετὰ ἀποδεῖξεως καὶ τεκμηρίων ἴσχυρῶν ἐμφανίζειν δυνώμεθα τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

57 (9) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολομὼν ὡς ἐκομίσθη τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως γράμμata τὴν τε προθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἐπήνεσε καὶ οἷς ἦξισε τούτοις αὐτὸν ἡμεύφατο, σίτου μὲν αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος πέμψας δισμυρίους κόρους καὶ τοσούτους ἐλαίου βάτους². ὁ δὲ βάτος δύναται³ ξέστας ἑβδομήκοντα δύο· τὸ δ' αὐτὸν μέτρον καὶ οὗνον παρ-
58 εἶχεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Εἰρώμου φιλία καὶ Σολομῶνος ἀπὸ τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ηὔξησε καὶ διαμενεῖν⁴ ὥμοσαν εἰς ἄπαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπέταξε παντὶ τῷ λαῷ φόρον ἐργάτας τρισμυρίους, οἷς ἀπονον τὴν ἐργασίαν κατέστησε μερίσας αὐτὴν συνετῶς· μυρίους γὰρ ἐποίησε κόπτοντας ἐπὶ μῆνα ἓν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὅρει δύο δὲ μῆνας ἀναπαύεσθαι παραγενομένους ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, μέχρις οὐ⁵ πάλιν οἱ δισμύριοι τὴν ἐργασίαν ἀναπληρώσωσι⁶ κατὰ τὸν
59 ὥρισμένον χρόνον· ἐπειθ' οὕτως συνέβαινε τοῖς πρώτοις μυρίοις διὰ τετάρτου μηνὸς ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ

¹ ὡς οὐδὲ Naber.

² Niese: τῆς πραγματείας codd.

³ βάδους MSPE.

⁴ + χωρῆσαι MSP Theodoretus (vid.).

⁵ Niese: διαμένειν codd.

⁶ ἀν Naber.

⁷ ἀναπληρώσονται conj. Niese.

my readers to know that we have said nothing more than what is true, and have not, by inserting into the history various plausible and seductive passages meant to deceive and entertain, attempted to evade critical inquiry, asking to be instantly believed; nor should we be indulgently held blameless if we depart from what is proper to a historical narrative; on the contrary, we ask that no hearing be given us unless we are able to establish the truth with demonstrations and convincing evidence.

(9) Now King Solomon, on receiving the letter ^{1 Kings v. 11} Solomon's gifts to Hiram, from the king of the Tyrians, commended his zeal and goodwill, and gave him in return the supplies he had requested, sending him yearly twenty thousand *kors*^a of grain and as many ^b *baths* of oil—the *bath* containing seventy-two *sextarii* (*xestai*).^c He also furnished the same measure of wine. And so the friendship of Eirōmos and Solomon increased through these things, and they swore that it should continue for ever. And the king imposed on all the people a levy of thirty thousand workmen, whose labour he made less difficult by dividing it wisely among them, for he had ten thousand cut timber for a month on Mount Lebanon and then return to their homes and rest for two months until the other twenty thousand had finished their work in the appointed time. Thus it would then be the turn of the first ten thousand to return to their work in the fourth month. The

^a Cf. § 40 note.

^b So LXX; Heb. has "20 *baths*" instead of 20,000; both texts in the parallel passage, 2 Chron. ii. 10, add "20,000 *kors* of barley."

^c The *bath* was equivalent to about 36 litres or 9 gallons; it contained 72 *logs*, which are thus equated by Josephus with *sextarii*.

τὸ ἔργον. ἐγεγόνει δ' ἐπίτροπος τοῦ φόρου τούτου Ἀδώραμος. ἦσαν δ' ἐκ τῶν παροίκων οὓς Δαυίδης καταλελοίπει τῶν μὲν παρακομιζόντων τὴν λιθίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὅλην ἐπτὰ μυριάδες, τῶν δὲ λατομούντων ὀκτάκις μύριοι, τούτων δ' ἐπι-
60 στάται τρισχίλιοι καὶ τριακόσιοι. προστετάχει δὲ λίθους μὲν αὐτοῖς τέμνειν μεγάλους εἰς τοὺς τοῦ ναοῦ θεμελίους, ἀρμόσαντας δὲ πρῶτον καὶ συνδήσαντας ἐν τῷ ὅρει κατακομίζειν οὕτως εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐγένετο δὲ ταῦτ' οὐ παρὰ τῶν οἰκοδόμων τῶν ἐγχωρίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃν ὁ Εἰρόμος ἐπεμψε τεχνιτῶν.

61 (iii. 1) Τῆς δ' οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ Σολομῶν ἥρξατο τέταρτον ἔτος ἥδη τῆς βασιλείας ἔχων μηνὶ δευτέρῳ, ὃν Μακεδόνες μὲν Ἀρτεμίσιον καλοῦσιν Ἐβραῖοι δὲ Ἰάρ, μετὰ ἑτη πεντακόσια καὶ ἑνενήκοντα καὶ δύο τῆς ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἔξόδου, μετὰ δὲ χίλια καὶ εἴκοσι ἑτη τῆς Ἀβράμου εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀφίξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπομβρίας μετὰ 62 χίλια καὶ τετρακόσια καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρῶτου γεννηθέντος Ἀδάμου ἕως οὗ τὸν ναὸν ὡκοδόμησε Σολομῶν, διεληλύθει τὰ πάντα ἑτη τρισχίλια καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο. καθ' ὃν δὲ ὁ ναὸς

^a Bibl. Adoniram, cf. *A.* vii. 293 note.

^b So Heb.; LXX 3600, v.l. 3500, Luc. 3700. Both Heb. and LXX have 3600 in 2 Chron. ii. 18. Cf. *A.* vii. 335 note.

^c Josephus gives the later Hebrew name (Iyyar) of the month = April-May. Scripture here uses the old Canaanite name, *Ziv* (A.V. *Zif*).

^d Heb. and Luc. 480, LXX 440. Josephus's figure agrees with that given in *A.* vii. 68 (cf. note *ad loc.*), but differs from his chronology in *A.* xx. 230 and *Ap.* ii. 19.

officer in charge of this levy was Adōramos.^a And of the aliens whom David had left, there were seventy thousand to carry stone and other material, and eighty thousand stone-cutters, and over them were three thousand three hundred ^b overseers. Now he had ordered them to hew large stones for the foundations of the temple and, after fitting them and binding them together on the mountain, to bring them down in this way to the city. And this was done not only by the native builders but also by the artisans whom Eirōmos had sent.

(iii. 1) Solomon began the building of the temple ^{Chronology of the temple.} in the fourth year of his reign, in the second month, ^{1 Kings vi. 1} which the Macedonians call Artemisios and the Hebrews Iar,^c five hundred and ninety-two years after the Israelites' exodus from Egypt,^d one thousand and twenty years after the coming of Abraham to Canaan from Mesopotamia,^e one thousand four hundred and forty years after the deluge^f; and from the creation of Adam the first man to the time when Solomon built the temple there elapsed altogether three thousand one hundred and two years.^g And

^a In *A.* ii. 318 (= Ex. xii. 40) Josephus dates Abraham's coming to Canaan 430 years before the exodus, i.e. 1022 years before the building of the temple.

^b According to this reckoning, 420 years (1440-1020) elapsed between the deluge and Abraham's coming to Canaan, but in *Ant.* i. 148 ff. the interval is to be reckoned as 1067 years.

^c According to *Ant.* i. 82 the deluge came 2262 years after Adam's creation; if to this we add 1440 years, given above as the interval between the deluge and the building of the temple, we get 3702 instead of 3102 years between Adam's creation and the building of the temple. For an explanation of these chronological discrepancies cf. *Ant.* i. 82 note.

ἥρξατο οἰκοδομεῖσθαι χρόνον, κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἔτος
ἡδη τῆς ἐν Τύρῳ βασιλείας ἐνδέκατον ἐνειστήκει
Εἰρώμω, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς¹ οἰκίσεως² εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν
τοῦ ναοῦ διεγεγόνει χρόνος ἑτῶν τεσσαράκοντα
καὶ διακοσίων.

63 (2) Βάλλεται μὲν οὖν τῷ ναῷ θεμελίους ὁ
βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μῆκιστον τῆς γῆς βάθος ὑλης λίθων
ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πρὸς χρόνον ἀντέχειν δυναμένης, οἵ
τῇ τε γῇ συμφυέντες ἔμελλον ἔδαφος καὶ ἔρεισμα
τῆς ἐποικοδομηθησομένης³ κατασκευῆς ἔσεσθαι
καὶ διὰ τὴν κάτωθεν ἴσχὺν οἴσειν ἀπόνως μέγεθός
τε τῶν ἐπικεισομένων καὶ κάλλους πολυτέλειαν,
ἡ βάρος ἔμελλεν οὐχ ἡττον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα
πρὸς ὕψος καὶ πρὸς ὅγκον κόσμου τε χάριν καὶ
64 μεγαλουργίας ἐπενοεῖτο. ἀνήγαγε δ' αὐτὸν ἄχρι
τῆς ὁροφῆς ἐκ λευκοῦ λίθου πεποιημένον. τὸ μὲν
οὖν ὕψος ἦν ἔξηκonta πηχῶν, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ
μῆκος, εὐρος δ' εἴκοσι. κατὰ τούτου δὲ ἄλλος ἦν
ἐγγηγερμένος ἵσος τοῖς μέτροις, ὥστε εἶναι τὸ πᾶν
ὕψος τῷ ναῷ πηχῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι· τέτραπτο
65 δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν. τὸ δὲ προνάιον αὐτοῦ
προύστησαν⁴ ἐπὶ πήχεις μὲν εἴκοσι τὸ μῆκος πρὸς
τὸ εὐρος τοῦ οἴκου τεταμένον,⁵ ἔχον δὲ πλάτος
πήχεις δέκα εἰς ὕψος δὲ ἀνεγγερμένον πηχῶν

¹ ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ed. pr. Lat.: τῆς δὲ codd.

² ex Lat. Bekker: οἰκίσεως codd.

³ ἐποικοδομησομένης ROM.

⁴ προύστησεν Naber.

⁵ τεταγμένον MSP.

^a Twelfth, according to *Ap.* i. 126.

^b Justinus, in his Epitome of Trogus Pompeius, xviii. 3. 5, says that Tyre was founded a year before the fall of Troy. This, in turn, is dated by the Parian marble (cf. Cambridge

at the time when the temple began to be built—in that same year, Eirōmos was already in the eleventh^a year of his reign at Tyre; from the founding (of this city) to the building of the temple there was an interval of two hundred and forty years.^b

(2) And so the king had the foundations for the temple laid very very deep in the ground, the material being strong stones capable of resisting the wear of time, which would grow to the soil and be a base and support for the structure to be erected upon them, and which, because of their strength from below, would without difficulty bear the great mass resting on them and the precious ornaments, the weight of which would be no less than that of the other parts designed for height and massiveness and for graceful beauty and magnificence as well.^c He built it up to the roof of white marble;^d its height was sixty^e cubits, its length was the same,^f and its breadth was twenty cubits. Upon it was erected another story of equal proportions, so that the total height of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits;^g it faced toward the east. Then they placed a porch in front of it, twenty cubits in length, extending the width of the building, and ten cubits wide, and rising to a

Ancient History, i. 178) in the year corresponding to 1209-1208 B.C.

^a In the foregoing description Josephus has greatly amplified Scripture.

^b Unscriptural detail.

^c Heb. thirty, LXX twenty-five (*v.l.* = Heb.).

^d So Heb.; LXX forty (*v.l.* = Heb.).

^e This detail shows a confused understanding of 1 Kings vi. 3 and the parallel passage, 2 Chron. iii. 4, which speak of the porch before the temple, 120 cubits high according to 2 Chron. Josephus proceeds, in the next sentence, to describe this same porch.

έκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι. περιωκοδόμησε δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τριάκοντα βραχέσιν οἴκοις, οἱ συνοχή τε τοῦ παντὸς ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι διὰ πυκνότητα καὶ πλῆθος ἔξωθεν περικείμενοι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς 66 εἰσόδους αὐτοῖς δι’ ἀλλήλων κατεσκεύασεν. ἔκαστος δὲ τῶν οἴκων τούτων εὔρος μὲν εἶχε πέντε πήχεις, μῆκος¹ δὲ τοὺς αὐτούς, ύψος δὲ εἴκοσιν. ἐπωκοδόμητο δὲ τούτοις ἄνωθεν ἔτεροι οἴκοι καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοι κατ’ αὐτῶν ἵσοι καὶ τοῖς μέτροις καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ, ὡς τὸ πᾶν ψῆφος αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν τῷ κάτωθεν οἴκῳ παραπλήσιον· ὅ γάρ ὑπερώσος οὐκ ἦν 67 περιωκοδομημένος. ὅροφος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεβέβλητο κέδρου· καὶ τοῖς μὲν οἴκοις ἴδιος ἦν οὗτος ἐκάστῳ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον οὐ συνάπτων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ὑπῆρχεν ἡ στέγη κοινὴ δι’ ἀλλήλων δεδομημένη μηκίσταις δοκοῖς καὶ διηκούσαις ἀπάντων, ὡς τοὺς μέσους τοίχους ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν συγκρατουμένους 68 ξύλων ἐρρωμενεστέρους διὰ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι. τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς δοκοὺς στέγην τῆς αὐτῆς ὄλης ἐβάλετο πᾶσαν ἔξεσμένην εἰς φατνώματα καὶ προσκόλλησιν χρυσοῦ. τοὺς δὲ τοίχους κεδρίναις διαλαβών σανίσι οὐταῖς ἐνετόρευσεν, ὥστε στίλβειν

¹ Niese: μῆκος codd. E Lat.

^a Scripture does not state how many chambers there were. This number may be derived from the description of Ezekiel's temple, Ezek. xl. 17, or, as Weill thinks, may have been reckoned by Josephus on the basis of the length of three sides of the temple (140 cubits), divided by the width of each chamber (5 cubits); this gives 28 chambers, and with the addition of 2 chambers at the corners 30 chambers altogether.

^b Unscriptural detail.

^c The height of the chambers is not given in Scripture.

height of a hundred and twenty cubits. And all The side-chambers.
around the temple he built thirty ^a small chambers 1 Kings vi. 5 which, surrounding it on the outside, were to hold it (LXX vi. 10) together by their compactness and number. He also made entrances in them, leading from one to the other.^b Each of these chambers was five cubits in breadth, the same in length, and twenty cubits in height.^c And above these were built other chambers and again still others above them, equal in proportion and number,^d so that they reached a combined height equivalent to that of the lower building, the upper story not having chambers built around it. And a roof of cedar was put over the edifice. But the chambers each had a separate roof not joined to the next, while the rest of the building had a common roof constructed of very long beams crossing one another and reaching all sides,^e so that the middle walls,^f being held together by the same pieces of timber, were thereby made stronger. And under the beams he laid a ceiling of the same material, which was all smoothly divided into panels and overlaid with gold. The walls he covered at intervals with cedar boards, which he embossed with gold, so that the

Josephus apparently divides 60 cubits, the height of the temple, by 3 (the number of stories of chambers).

^a Josephus omits to state that these rows of side chambers projected from the temple wall in step fashion, each story extending one cubit beyond the story below, cf. 1 Kings vi. 5.

^b The text is difficult; in part it seems to refer to brackets running diagonally from the horizontal ceiling timbers to the vertical timbers of the walls. Josephus apparently takes Heb. *yasi'a* (A.V. "chambers") in 1 Kings vi. 10 in the sense of "bracing timbers," cf. LXX *ἐνδέσμους* "bondings."

^c Which middle walls are meant is far from clear. Possibly Josephus means the walls as they were before being covered with cedar and gold.

ἀπαντα τὸν ναὸν καὶ περιλάμπεσθαι τὰς ὄψεις
τῶν εἰσιόντων ὑπὸ τῆς αὐγῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ παν-
69 ταχόθεν φερομένης.¹ ἡ δ' ὅλη τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομία
κατὰ πολλὴν τέχνην ἐκ λίθων ἀκροτόμων ἔγενετο
συντεθέντων ἀρμονίας πάνι καὶ λείως, ὡς μήτε
σφύρας μήτε ἄλλου τινὸς ἐργαλείου τεκτονικοῦ
τοῖς κατανοοῦσιν ἐργασίαν δηλοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ δίχα
τῆς τούτων χρήσεως πᾶσαν ἡρμόσθαι τὴν ὑλην
προσφυῶς, ὡς ἐκούσιον τὴν ἀρμονίαν αὐτῆς δοκεῖν
70 μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς τῶν ἐργαλείων ἀνάγκης. ἐφιλο-
τέχνησε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνοδον εἰς τὸν ὑπέρῳν
οἰκον διὰ τοῦ εὔρους τοῦ τοίχου· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε θύραν
μεγάλην κατὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὡς εἶχεν ὁ κάτωθεν
οἴκος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πλευρῶν ἥσαν εἴσοδοι διὰ
μικρῶν πάνι θυρῶν. διέλαβε δὲ τὸν ναὸν καὶ
ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν ξύλοις κεδρίνοις ἀλύσεσι
παχείαις συνδεδεμένοις, ὥστε ἀντ' ὁχυρωμάτων
καὶ ρώμης τοῦτο² εἶναι.

71 (3) Διελὼν δὲ τὸν ναὸν εἰς δύο τὸν μὲν ἔνδοθεν
οἰκοι πηχῶν ἐποίησεν ἄδυτον,³ τὸν δὲ τεσ-
σαράκοντα πηχῶν ἄγιον ναὸν ἀπέδειξεν. ἐκτεμὼν
δὲ τὸν μέσον τοίχον θύρας ἐπέστησε κεδρίνας
χρυσὸν αὐταῖς πολὺν ἐνεργασάμενος καὶ τορείαν
72 ποικίλην. κατεπέτασε δὲ ταύτας ὑφεσιν εὐανθε-
στάτοις ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κόκκου
πεποιημένοις, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ βύσου λαμπρ-

¹ φαινομένης Naber.
² τοῦτο³ αὐτοῖς Naber.
³ + εἶναι SP.

whole temple gleamed and dazzled the eyes of those
who entered by the radiance of the gold which met
them on every side. And the whole construction of ^{The}
the temple was carried out with great skill by means ^{masonry.}
of stones cut fine and laid together so neatly and <sup>1 Kings vi. 7
(LXX vi. 12).</sup>
smoothly that to the beholder there appeared no
sign of the use of mallets or other work-tools, but all
the material seemed to have fitted itself together
naturally without the use of these things, so that their
fitting together seemed to have come about of itself
rather than through the force of tools.^a And the king ^{The}
contrived a stairway to the upper story through the ^{stairway.}
thickness of the wall, for it had no great door on the <sup>1 Kings vi. 8
(LXX vi. 13).</sup>
east as the lower building had, but it had entrances
through very small doors on the sides. He also over-
laid the temple both inside and outside with cedar
boards fastened together with thick chains, so as to ^{2 Chron.}
serve as support and strength. ^{iii. 5.}

(3) And he divided the temple into two parts, and ^{The Holy}
made the inner space ^b of twenty cubits an adytum,^c ^{of Holies}
while the rest, forty cubits long, he designated as the ^{(Adytum).}
Holy Temple.^d Then he cut through the middle ^{1 Kings}
wall ^e and set doors of cedar in it, working into them ^{vi. 16 (LXX}
much gold and intricate carving. And he curtained ^{vi. 17).} ^{2 Chron. iii. 14.}
these with a cloth brightly coloured in hyacinth blue
and purple and scarlet, which was, moreover, made

^a A very free paraphrase of 1 Kings vi. 7 “And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither, so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building.”

^b At the western end of the temple.

^c Heb. *debir* or *qōdeš qodāšim* (A.V. “oracle” or “most holy place”), LXX *δαβεῖρ* or *ἄγιον τῶν ἀγίων*.

^d Heb. *hēkāl* (A.V. “temple”), LXX *ναός*.

^e The wall dividing the adytum from the temple.

τάτης καὶ μαλακωτάτης. ἀνέθηκε δ' εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον
εἴκοσι πηχῶν τὸ ἔνρος τῶν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος
δύο Χερουβεῖς ὀλοχρύσους πηχῶν ἑκατέραν τὸ
ὑψος πέντε, δύο δ' ἡσαν ἑκατέρα πτέρυγες ἐπὶ^a
73 πέντε πήχεις ἑκτεταμέναι. διὸ καὶ οὐ μακρὰν¹
ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτὰς ἀνέστησεν, ἵνα τῶν πτερύγων
τῇ μὲν ἅπτωνται τοῦ κατὰ νότον κειμένου τοίχου
τοῦ ἄδυτου, τῇ δὲ κατὰ βορέαν, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι
πτέρυγες αὗταις συνάπτουσαι τεθείσῃ μεταξὺ
αὐτῶν τῇ κιβωτῷ σκέπη τυγχάνωσι. τὰς δὲ
Χερουβεῖς οὐδεὶς ὅποιαί τινες ἡσαν^b εἰπεῖν οὐδ'
74 εἰκάσαι δύναται. κατέστρωσε δὲ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ
ἔδαφος ἐλάσμασι χρυσοῦ, ἐπέθηκε δὲ καὶ τῷ
πυλῶνι τοῦ ναοῦ θύρας πρὸς τὸ ὑψος τοῦ τοίχου
συμμετρημένας εὑρος ἔχουσας πηχῶν εἴκοσι,
75 καὶ ταύτας κατεκόλλησε χρυσῷ. συνελόντι δ'
εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν εἴσαε τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος οὔτε ἔξωθεν
οὔτε ἔνδοθεν, ὃ μὴ χρυσὸς ἦν. κατεπέτασε δὲ καὶ
ταύτας τὰς θύρας ὁμοίως ταῖς^c ἔνδοτέρω κατα-
πετάσμασιν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ προναίου πύλη τούτων
οὐδὲν εἶχε.

76 (4) Μεταπέμπεται δ' ἐκ Τύρου Σολομὼν παρὰ
Εἰρώμου τεχνίτην Χείρωμον^d ὄνομα μητρὸς μὲν
οὗτα Νεφθαλίτιδος τὸ γένος (ἐκ γὰρ ταύτης

¹ οὐ μακρὰν ed. pr.: μακρὰν οὐκ codd. E.

² εἰσιν RO.

³ Dindorf: ταῖς codd.

⁴ Χείρωμον MSP: Chirom Lat.

^a Josephus closely follows the wording of the LXX in 2 Chron. (1 Kings omits the curtain) but fails to mention the figures of cherubim woven in the curtain. On this reluctance to dwell on them cf. next note but one.

of the most gleaming and softest linen.^a In the adytum, which was twenty cubits in length and the same in breadth, he set up two cherubim of solid gold, each five^b cubits in height and each having two wings with a spread of five cubits; for that reason he set them up not far from each other, in order that they might with one of their wings touch the southern wall of the adytum, and with the other the northern wall, while their inner wings joined each other so as to form a covering for the ark, which was placed between them. As for the cherubim themselves, no one can say or imagine what they looked like.^c And he also paved the floor of the temple with plates of gold, and to the gate of the temple set doors in proportion to the height of the walls, in breadth twenty cubits,^d and these he inlaid with gold. In a word, he left no part of the temple, whether on the outside or on the inside, which was not gold. These doors he also overhung with curtains in the same way as those within.^e But the entrance of the porch had none of these.

(4) ^f And Solomon summoned from Tyre, from The Tyrian craftsman, Eirōmos's court, a craftsman named Cheirōmos,^g who Hiram (Cheirōmos).

^b Bibl. ten.

^c In this statement Rappaport sees an attempt to smooth over the theological difficulties involved in Solomon's apparent disregard of the prohibition in the decalogue against the making of images.

^d Unscriptural detail. Reinach compares Ezek. xli. 2.

^e According to Scripture they were carved and embossed with gold, but had no curtain.

^f Heb. here, 1 Kings vii. 1 ff., gives a description of Solomon's palace, which Josephus, like the LXX, postpones, cf. §§ 130 ff.

^g Bibl. Hiram (Heb. *Hîrām*), LXX Χειρόμ.

ὑπῆρχε τῆς φυλῆς) πατρὸς δὲ Οὐρίου γένος Ἰσραηλίτου. οὗτος ἄπαντος μὲν ἐπιστημόνως εἶχεν ἔργουν, μάλιστα δὲ τεχνίτης ἦν χρυσὸν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκόν, ὡφ' οὐδὴ καὶ πάντα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν τὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν 77 ἐμηχανήθη.¹ κατεσκεύασε δὲ ὁ Χείρωμος οὗτος καὶ στύλους δύο χαλκοῦς ἔσωθεν τὸ πάχος² τεσσάρων δακτύλων. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ὑψος τοῖς κίοσιν δικτωκαΐδεκα πήχεων, ἡ δὲ περίμετρος δέκα καὶ δύο πηχῶν· χωνευτὸν δ' ἐφ' ἑκατέρᾳ κεφαλῇ κρίνον ἐφειστήκει τὸ ὑψος ἐπὶ πέντε πήχεις ἐγγερμένον, ὃ περιέκειτο δίκτυον ἐλάτη χαλκέα 78 περιπεπλεγμένον καλύπτον τὰ κρίνα. τούτου δὲ ἀπήρτηντο κατὰ διστιχίαν καὶ ροιαὶ διακόσιαι. τούτων τῶν κιόνων τὸν μὲν ἔτερον κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν ἔστησε τοῦ προπυλαίου παραστάδα καλέσας αὐτὸν Ἰαχεύν, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ὀνομάσας αὐτὸν Ἀβαιζ.³

79 (5) Ἐχώνευσε δὲ καὶ θάλασσαν χαλκῆν εἰς ἡμισφαίριον ἐσχηματισμένην. ἐκλήθη δὲ τὸ χαλκούργημα θάλασσα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. ἦν γὰρ ὁ

¹ ἐξεμηχανήθη MSP.

² + cum canalibus cavatione Lat.

³ Βαιζ MS: Βαῖς P: Baez Lat.

^a Bibl. "his father was a man of Tyre"; Josephus's "Urias" is generally explained as a corruption of the LXX Τύριος; possibly it is due to confusion with Uri, LXX Οὐρελᾶς, the father of Bezaleel the artificer of the bronze altar mentioned in 2 Chron. ii. 5, cf. § 22 note.

^b Josephus is evidently harmonizing the contradiction between this passage in 2 Kings and 2 Chron. ii. 14, where Hiram's mother is said to be "of the daughters of Dan," by making Hiram's father an Israelite, presumably a Danite; while rabbinic tradition assumes that Hiram was a Naphthalite

she was of that tribe—and whose father was Urias,^a an Israelite by race.^b This man was skilled in all kinds of work, but was especially expert in working gold, silver and bronze,^c and it was he who constructed all the things about the temple, in accordance with the king's will. This Cheirōmos also made two pillars of bronze which was four fingers in thickness,^d the height of the columns being eighteen cubits and their circumference twelve^e cubits; and on the capital of each rested a lily formed of cast metal, rising to a height of five cubits, about which was a network intertwined with bronze palm-buds, which covered the lilies. And from this depended two hundred pomegranates in two rows. One of these columns he placed as a doorpost^f on the right of the gateway, calling it Jachein,^g while the other, on the left, he named Abaiz.^h

(5) He also cast a bronze "sea" in the shape of a hemisphere;ⁱ this bronze vessel was called a sea^j because of its size,^k for the laver was ten cubits in

on his father's side and a Danite on his mother's side, cf. Ginzberg vi. 295 note 61.

^a Gold and silver, as well as other materials, are mentioned in 2 Chron.; 1 Kings speaks only of bronze (A.V. "brass").

^b So LXX; Heb. omits. The thickness refers to the shell of the hollow columns.

^c So Heb.; LXX fourteen.

^d Or perhaps "in the vestibule." παραστάς signifies the square pillar or pilaster in the front wall of a temple and, by extension, the vestibule or entrance to the temple.

^e Bibl. Jachin (Heb. Yākin), LXX Ἰαχούμ, v.l. Ἰαχούν, Luc. Ἰακούμ.

^f Bibl. Boaz, LXX Βάλαζ, v.l. Βοάζ, Luc. Βαάζ. In 2 Chron. iii. 17 LXX translates the Heb. names (lit. "he sets up" and "in him is strength") by κατέρθωσις "setting up" and ἰσχύς "strength."

^g The real reason for this peculiar name is unknown to us.

^a 1 Kings vii. 13 (LXX vii. 1).

The pillars, Jachin and Boaz.
1 Kings vii. 15 (LXX vii. 3).

ⁱ "Sea."
1 Kings vii. 23 (LXX vii. 10).

λουτήρ τὴν διάμετρον πηχῶν δέκα καὶ ἐπὶ παλαιστιαίνον πάχος κεχωνευμένος. ὑπερήρειστο¹ δὲ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τοῦ κύτους σπείρᾳ περιαγομένῃ εἰς ἔλικας δέκα· ἦν δὲ τὴν διάμετρον πήχεως, περιειστήκεσαν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν μόσχοι δώδεκα πρὸς τὰ κλίματα τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀποβλέποντες καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τρεῖς εἰς² τὰ ὄπίσθια νενευκότες, ὥστ' αὐτοῖς ἐπικαθέζεσθαι τὸ ἡμισφαίριον κατὰ περιαγωγὴν ἔνδον ἀπονεῦον.³ ἐδέχετο δὲ ἡ θάλασσα βάτους τρισχιλίους.

81 (6) Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ λουτήρων δέκα βάσεις χαλκᾶς τετραγώνους.⁴ τούτων ἐκάστη μῆκος γεγόνει πηχῶν πέντε πλάτος τεσσάρων ὑψος ἔξ. συνεκέκλειστο⁵ δὲ τὸ ἔργον κατὰ μέρος τετορευμένον οὕτως· τέσσαρες ἡσαν κιονίσκοι κατὰ γωνίαν ἔστωτες τετράγωνοι, τὰ πλευρὰ τῆς βάσεως ἔξ ἐκατέρου μέρους ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἔξηρμοσμένα. 82 ἦν δὲ ταῦτα τριχῇ διηρημένα· ἐκάστην δὲ χώραν ὄρος⁶ ἐπεῖχεν εἰς ὑπόβασιν κατεσκευασμένος,⁷ ἐφ' ἣς⁸ ἐτετόρευτο πῆ μὲν λέων πῆ δὲ ταῦρος καὶ ἀετός, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κιονίσκων ὅμοίως ἔξειργαστο 83 τοῖς κατὰ τὰ πλευρὰ τετορευμένοις. τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔργον ἐπὶ τεσσάρων αἱωρούμενον τροχῶν εἰστήκει.

¹ Dindorf: ὑπήρειστο RO: ὑπηρεῖτο P: ὑπήρητο S: ὑπήρει M.

² ἔσω MSP.

³ ἐπινεῦον MSP.

⁴ ex Lat. Ernesti: τετραγώνων codd.

⁵ S: συνεκέκλειτο MP: συνεκέκλιτο RO.

⁶ M: ὄρος rell.

⁷ κατεσκευασμένον MSP.

⁸ Niese: ols codd.: als Hudson.

^a Cf. 1 Kings vii. 24, "and under the brim of it round about there were colocynths" (Heb. *peqā’im*, A.V. "knops," LXX ὑποστηρίγματα "props," Targum "egg-shapes") "compassing it, ten cubits" (A.V., like the LXX, "ten in a cubit").

diameter and was cast to the thickness of a palm's breadth. The vessel was supported underneath at its centre by a rounded base which curved around in ten volutes and was one cubit in diameter.^a And round about the sea there stood twelve calves facing the four quarters of the winds, three in each direction, and with their hinder parts sloping down so that the hemisphere might rest upon them, narrowing inwards all around. The sea could hold three thousand *baths*.^b

(6) He also made ten square bronze bases for the lavers, each of which was five^c cubits in length, four^d cubits in breadth and six^e in height. And the work, which in every part was carved in relief, was enclosed^f as follows: there were four square little columns at each corner, each of which held two intersecting sides of the base fitted into it; these sides were divided into three fields,^g and in each of these spaces was a dividing strip extending to the sub-base^h; in the space itself was carved in relief here a lion, there a bull and an eagle,ⁱ while the little columns were worked in relief in the same way as the sides of the base. And so the whole thing stood, raised upon four wheels.

^a So 2 Chron. iv. 5; 1 Kings, 2000. On the *bath* cf. § 57 note.

^b So LXX; Heb. four.

^c So LXX; Heb. three.

^d Cf. LXX συγκλειστὸν αὐτοῖς translating Heb. *misgerôth lâhem* "they had bands" (? A.V. "borders").

^e Apparently, horizontal fields.

^f Josephus's text and the Scriptural text, 1 Kings vii. 28, are both rather difficult to understand.

^g Bibl. cherubim. Possibly, as Rappaport suggests, Josephus is influenced by the description, in Ezekiel's vision, Ezek. i. 10, of the angelic beings with the faces of an eagle, lion and ox.

χωνευτοὶ δὲ ἡσαν οὗτοι, πλήμνας καὶ ἄντυγας πήχεως καὶ ἡμίσους ἔχοντες τὴν διάμετρον. ἐθαύμασεν ἀν τις τὰς ἀψίδας τῶν τροχῶν θεασά-
μενος, ὅπως συντετορευμέναι καὶ τοῖς πλευροῖς τῶν βάσεων προσηγνωμέναι ἀρμονίας ταῖς ἄντυξιν
84 ἐνέκειντο· ἡσαν δὲ ὅμως οὕτως ἔχουσαι. τὰς δὲ γωνίας ἄνωθεν συνέκλειον ὥμοι χειρῶν ἀνατετα-
μένων, οἷς ἐπεκάθητο σπεῖρα κατὰ κοῖλον ἐπι-
κειμένη τὸν λουτῆρα ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπαναπανόμενον ἀετοῦ καὶ λέοντος αὐτοῖς ἐφηρμοσμένων, ὡς σύμφυτα ταῦτ’ εἶναι δοκεῖν τοῖς ὄρῶσι. μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων φοίνικες ἡσαν τετορευμένοι. τοιαύτῃ
85 μὲν ἡ κατασκευὴ τῶν δέκα¹ βάσεων ὑπῆρχε. προσ-
εξείργαστο δὲ καὶ χυτρογαύλους² δέκα λουτῆρας στρογγύλους χαλκοῦς, ὧν ἕκαστος ἔχώρει τεσ-
σαράκοντα χόας· τὸ γὰρ ὑψος εἶχε τεσσάρων πηχῶν καὶ τοσούτοις ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς δι-
ειστήκει τὰ χεῖλη. τίθησι δὲ τοὺς λουτῆρας τού-
τους ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα βάσεων τῶν κληθεισῶν Με-
86 χωνώθ.³ πέντε δὲ λουτῆρας ἴστησιν ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους τοῦ ναοῦ, τέτραπτο δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ βορέαν ἄνεμον, καὶ τοσούτους ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ πρὸς νότον ἀφορῶντας εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν· κατὰ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ
87 τὴν θάλασσαν ἔθηκε. πληρώσας δὲ ὕδατος τὴν

¹ δώδεκα SP hic et mox infra.

² Theodoretus: κυθρογαύλους MSP: κυτροκαύλους RO.

³ Μεχενώθ RO: Moecenoth Lat.

^a ἀψίς usually means the felly or rim of a wheel, but sometimes the wheel itself. Here Josephus is evidently describing a solid wheel with sides or plates of bronze, and not one with spokes as is usually understood of the bibl. text.

^b Meaning of the Greek doubtful. Scripture says that they

These also were cast in metal, and had hubs and rims a cubit and a half in diameter. One would marvel to see how cunningly the drums ^a of the wheels, which were carved in relief of the same design,^b and united with the sides of the bases, were fitted into the rims. But none the less they did so. And to the upper part of the corners were attached projections ^c in the form of outstretched hands, on which was supported a spiral moulding ^d placed around the bottom of the laver, and the laver rested on the paws of an eagle ^e and a lion which were so well fitted together that to one looking at them they seemed to be one natural growth. Between these were palm-trees carved in relief. Such, then, was the construction of the ten bases. And in addition he also wrought ten round basins ^f or lavers of bronze, each of which held forty *choeis*,^g for they were four cubits in height and the diameter of their rims was the same distance.^h And he placed these lavers on the ten bases called *Mechōnōth*.ⁱ Five of the lavers he placed on the left side of the temple, which was the side toward the north, and the same number on the south-east. In the same part he also placed the Sea. And, having ^j were carved in the same way as a chariot (A.V. “chariot wheel”).

^a Lit. “shoulders”; so also the LXX literally translates Heb. *ketēphōth* (A.V. “undersetters”).

^b Bibl. “round compass.”

^c Bibl. *cherubim*, cf. § 82 note.

^d Josephus uses the LXX word for Heb. *kiyyôrōth*.

^e So the LXX; Heb. *bath*. The Attic *choeis* is equal to about $\frac{1}{4}$ gallon, whereas the *bath* is equal to about 9 gallons. Josephus himself tells us, in A. iii. 197, that the *hin* ($\frac{1}{6}$ *bath*) is equal to 2 Attic *choeis*, i.e. one *bath* is equal to 12 *choeis*, which is correct.

^f This last is an unscriptural detail.

^g Here Josephus uses the LXX transliteration.

μὲν θάλασσαν ἀπέδειξεν εἰς τὸ νίπτειν τοὺς εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσιόντας ἵερεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας μέλλοντας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, τοὺς δὲ λουτῆρας εἰς τὸ καθαίρειν τὰ ἐντὸς τῶν ὁλοκαυτουμένων ζῷων καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν.

88 (7) Κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ θυσιαστήριον χάλκεον εἴκοσι πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος καὶ τοσούτων τὸ εὖρος τὸ δὲ ὑψος δέκα πρὸς τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις. ἐποίησε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη πάντα χάλκεα ποδιστῆρας καὶ ἀναλημπτῆρας· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτοις Χείρωμος καὶ λέβητας καὶ ἄρπαγας καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος ἔδημιούργησεν ἐκ χαλκοῦ τὴν αὐγὴν ὁμοίου χρυσῷ
89 καὶ τὸ κάλλος· τραπεζῶν τε πλῆθος ἀνέθηκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ μίαν μὲν μεγάλην χρυσέαν, ἐφ' ἃς ἐτίθεσαν τοὺς ἄρτους τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ταύτη παραπλησίας μυρίας πρὸς αὐταῖς ἐτέρῳ τρόπῳ γεγενημένας, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέκειτο τὰ σκεύη φιάλαι τε καὶ σπονδεῖα χρύσεα μὲν δισμύρια ἀργύρεα δὲ τετρακισμύρια. καὶ λυχνίας δὲ μυρίας ἐποίησε κατὰ τὴν Μωυσέος προσταγὴν, ἐξ ὧν μίαν ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν, ἵνα καίηται καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ τράπεζαν μίαν ἐπικειμένην ἄρτους πρὸς τὸ βόρειον τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος ἀντικρὺ τῆς λυχνίας· ταύτην γὰρ κατὰ νότον ἔστησεν, ὁ δὲ χρύσεος

^a Scripture does not state for what offerings the altar was made.

^b Hiram.

^c The Greek word is the same as that used in LXX 2 Chron.; Heb. *sirōth* (A.V. "pots"). In 1 Kings LXX has λέβητας.

^d Here too Josephus uses the same word as in LXX 2 Chron.; Heb. *yā'īm* (A.V. "shovels"). In 1 Kings LXX has *θερμαστρεῖς* "tongs."

^e Again the Greek word is the same as in LXX 2 Chron.;

filled the Sea with water, he set it apart for the priests to wash their hands and feet in when they entered the temple and were about to go up to the altar, while the lavers were for cleansing the entrails and feet of the animals used as whole burnt-offerings.

(7) He also made a bronze altar, twenty cubits in length and the same in breadth and ten cubits in height, for the whole burnt-offerings.^a And he^b made the vessels for it, tripods^c and ladles,^d all of bronze. Moreover, beside these, Cheiromos fashioned basins^e and hooks and all other vessels of bronze, in brightness and beauty like gold.^f The king also set up a great number of tables,^g including one large one of gold on which they placed the loaves^h of God, and countless others besides, very much like this one but made in a different style, upon which were placed the vessels, shallow bowls and libation-cups, twenty thousand of gold and forty thousand of silver.ⁱ He also made ten thousand lampstands,^j in accordance with the commandment of Moses, one of which he set up in the temple to burn all day in obedience to the law, and placed one table, with loaves laid on it, on the north side of the temple over against the lampstand, for this he set on the south side, while the

The bronze
altar.

2 Chron. iv.
1.

The table of
shewbread.

1 Kings vii.
48 (LXX vii.
34); 2 Chron.
iv. 8.

The lamp-
stands.

1 Kings vii.
49 (LXX vii.
35); 2 Chron.
iv. 7.

Heb. has *mizlāgōth* "forks," a corruption of *mizrāqōth* (A.V. "basons") which is rendered *φιάλας* by LXX in 1 Kings.

^b Bibl. "of polished (LXX "pure") bronze" (A.V. "of bright brass").

^c There were ten, according to 2 Chron.; 1 Kings mentions only one table of gold.

^d Bibl. shewbread.

^e These numbers are invented by Josephus. Scripture speaks of "exceeding many."

^f There were only ten, according to Scripture, 1 Kings vii. 49, "five on the right side and five on the left, before the oracle."

βωμὸς μέσος αὐτῶν ἔκειτο. ταῦτα πάντα εἶχεν
ὅταν τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν οἶκος πρὸ τοῦ κατα-
πετάσματος τοῦ ἀδύτου· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἡ κιβωτὸς
ἔμελλε κεῖσθαι.

91 (8) Οἰνοχόας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς μυριάδας ὀκτὼ κατ-
εσκεύασε καὶ φιαλῶν χρυσέων δέκα ἀργυρέας δὲ
διπλασίονας. πινάκων δὲ χρυσέων εἰς τὸ προσ-
φέρειν ἐν αὐτοῖς πεφυραμένην σεμίδαλιν τῷ
βωμῷ μυριάδας ὀκτὼ, τούτων δ' ἀργυροῦς δι-
πλασίονας. κρατῆρας δ' οἷς ἐνεφύρων τὴν σεμί-
δαλιν μετ' ἑλαίου χρυσέους μὲν ἔξακισμυρίους,
92 ἀργυρέους δὲ δὶς τοσούτους. τὰ μέτρα δὲ τοῖς
Μωυσείοις¹ λεγομένοις δὲ εὖν καὶ ἀσταρῶνες²
παραπλήσια, χρυσᾶ μὲν δισμύρια ἀργύρεα δὲ
διπλασίονα. θυμιατήρια δὲ χρυσᾶ ἐν οἷς ἐκομίζετο
τὸ θυμίαμα εἰς τὸν ναὸν δισμύρια· ὅμοιας ἀλλα
θυμιατήρια οὓς ἐκόμιζον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ
πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν μικρὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πεν-
93 τακισμύρια. στολὰς δὲ ἱερατικὰς τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι
σὺν ποδήρεσιν ἐπωμίσι καὶ λογίῳ καὶ λίθοις χιλίας·
ἡ δὲ στεφάνη, εἰς ἣν τὸν θεὸν Μωυσῆς ἔγραψε,
μία ἡν καὶ διέμεινεν ἄχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας· τὰς
δὲ ἱερατικὰς στολὰς ἐκ βύσσου κατεσκεύασε καὶ
94 ζώνας πορφυρᾶς εἰς ἔκαστον μυρίας. καὶ σαλ-
πίγγων κατὰ Μωυσέος ἐντολὴν μυριάδας εἴκοσι,
καὶ στολῶν τοῖς ὑμνῳδοῖς Ληουτῶν ἐκ βύσσου
μυριάδας εἴκοσι· καὶ τὰ ὅργανα τὰ μουσικὰ καὶ
πρὸς τὴν ὑμνῳδίαν ἔξηντημένα, ἃ καλεῖται νάβλας

¹ ex Lat. Niese: Μωυσῆου RO(M): Μωυσέως SP.

² cod. Vat. ap. Hudson Lat.: ἐσσάρωνες R: ἐσσαρῶνες O: ἐσσαρώναις SP.

golden altar stood between them. All these things were contained in the hall of forty cubits before the curtain of the adytum ; and in that the ark was to rest.

(8) ^aThe king also made eighty thousand pitchers and a hundred thousand shallow bowls of gold and a double number of silver; eighty thousand golden platters on which to carry the mixed fine flour for the altar, and a double number of silver; sixty thousand golden bowls in which they mixed the fine flour with oil, and twice as many of silver; of the measures which resembled those of Moses, called *hin*^b and *assarōn*,^c there were twenty thousand of gold, and a double number of silver; of golden censers in which they carried the incense into the temple there were twenty thousand. Similarly, of other censers in which they carried fire from the great altar to the small altar in the temple there were fifty thousand. Of the priestly vestments for the high priests, including long robes, upper garments, oracle^d and precious stones, he made a thousand; but the crown on which Moses had inscribed God's name was unique and has remained to this day; of the (simple) priests' vestments he made ten thousand of linen and purple girdles for each. And he made two hundred thousand trumpets, in accordance with the commandment of Moses, and two hundred thousand robes of linen for the Levite singers; and of the musical instruments devised for singing psalms, which

^a All the numbers given in the following account of the temple vessels are invented by Josephus.

^b Cf. A. iii. 197.

^c Cf. A. iii. 29 note, 142 note.

^d Cf. A. iii. 163 notes.

καὶ κινύρας, ἐξ ἥλεκτρου κατεσκεύασε τετρακισ-
μύρια.

95 (9) Ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Σολομὼν εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
τιμὴν πολυτελῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς κατεσκεύασε
μηδενὸς φεισάμενος ἀλλὰ πάσῃ φιλοτιμίᾳ περὶ τὸν
τοῦ ναοῦ κόσμον χρησάμενος, ἀ καὶ κατέθηκεν ἐν
τοῖς θησαυροῖς τοῦ θεοῦ περιέβαλε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ
κύκλῳ γείσιον¹ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν
θριγκὸν² δὲ παρ' Ἑλλησι λεγόμενον εἰς τρεῖς
πήχεις ἀναγαγὼν τὸ ὑψος, εἴρξοντα μὲν τοὺς πολ-
λοὺς τῆς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσόδου, μόνοις δὲ ἀνειμένην
96 αὐτὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι σημανοῦντα. τούτου δὲ ἔξωθεν
ἱερὸν ὡκοδόμησεν ἐν τετραγώνῳ³ σχήματι στοὰς
ἐγείρας μεγάλας καὶ πλατείας καὶ πύλαις ὑψηλαῖς
ἀνεῳγμένας, ὃν ἐκάστη πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνέμων
ἐτέτραπτο χρυσέαις κλειομένη θύραις. εἰς τοῦτο
τοῦ λαοῦ πάντες οἱ διαφέροντες ἀγνείᾳ καὶ παρα-
97 τηρήσει τῶν νομίμων εἰσήσαν. θαυμαστὸν δὲ καὶ
λόγου παντὸς ἀπέφηνε μεῖζον, ὡς⁴ δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ
τῆς ὄψεως, τὸ τούτων ἔξωθεν ἱερόν μεγάλας γὰρ
ἔγχωσας φάραγγας, ἃς διὰ βάθος ἀπειρον οὐδὲ

¹ γείσιον MSP: γεισὸν E: gison Lat.

² τριγχὸν RO: θριγγὸν E.

³ ex Lat. Niese: τετραγώνῳ codd. E.

⁴ μεῖζον ὡς Hudson: μεῖζωνς codd.: μεῖζον E.

^a Cf. A. vii. 306 notes.

^b A compound of gold and silver.

^c The following unscriptural account of the temple courts etc. is probably based on Josephus's knowledge of the temple of Herod, cf. A. xv. 398 ff., B.J. v. 184 ff.

^d Apparently this corresponds to the γείσιον separating the Priests' Court from the Israelites' Court in Herod's temple, B.J. v. 226; this latter wall, however, was only one cubit high. Perhaps the height of the imagined wall in

are called *nablai* and *kinyrai*,^a he made forty thousand of electrum.^b

(9) ^c All these things Solomon prepared with great expense and magnificence to the glory of God, sparing no cost, but acting with the utmost munificence in adorning the temple, and he deposited them in the treasuries of God. He also surrounded the temple with a parapet called *geision*^d in the native tongue^e and *thrinkos*^f by the Greeks, which he raised to a height of three cubits; it was to keep the multitude from entering the sacred precinct^g and to signify that entry was permitted only to the priests. Outside of this he built another sacred precinct^h in the form of a quadrangle and erected great and wide porticoes which were entered by high gates, each of which faced one of the four quarters and was closed by golden doors. Into this precinct all the people who were distinguished by purity and their observance of the laws might enter. But wonderful and surpassing all description, and even, one might say, all sight, was the (third) sacred precinctⁱ which he made outside of these, for he filled up with earth great valleys, into which because of their immense depth

Solomon's temple has some connexion with the stone barrier (*δρύφακτος λιθινός*) of three cubits high separating the outer court from the inner court, mentioned in B.J. v. 193. This is called *sôrég* in the Mishnah, *Middoth* ii. 3.

^a That γείσιον is a Syriac word, as Weill explains, seems to me very doubtful. It looks like a diminutive of γεῖσον "coping."

^b "Coping."

^c This corresponds to the Priests' Court in Herod's temple.

^d Corresponding to the Israelites' Court in Herod's temple.

^e This corresponds to the Women's Court in Herod's temple. With the following account of the filling in of the site cf. B.J. v. 184 ff.

ἀπόνως ἐννεύσαντας ἦν ἵδεῖν, καὶ ἀναβιβάσας εἰς τετρακοσίους πήχεις τὸ ὑψος ἵσοπέδους τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ἣς ὁ ναὸς ὡκοδόμητο κατεσκεύασε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπαιθρον ὃν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν ἵσον 98 ὑπῆρχε τῷ ναῷ. περιλαμβάνει δ' αὐτὸν καὶ στοᾶς διπλᾶς μὲν τὴν κατασκευήν, λίθου δ' αὐτοφυοῦς τὸ ὑψος κίοσιν ἐπερηρεισμέναις· ὄροφαι δ' αὐτᾶς ἥσαν ἐκ κέδρου φατνώμασιν ἀνεξεσμέναι. τὰς δὲ θύρας τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ πάσας ἐπέστησεν ἔξ άργυρου.

99 (iv. 1) Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη τῶν τε οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀναθημάτων Σολομὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ συντελέσας καὶ πλούτου καὶ προθυμίας ἐπίδειξιν ποιησάμενος, ὥστε ἀ ἄν¹ τις ἵδων ἐνόμισε μόλις ἐν² τῷ παντὶ κατασκευασθῆναι χρόνῳ, ταῦτα ἐν οὕτως ὀλίγῳ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος συγκρινομένῳ³ τοῦ ναοῦ συμπερανθῆναι, γράψας τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῶν Ἐβραίων ἐκέλευσεν ἄπαντα τὸν λαὸν συναγαγεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὄφόμενόν τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ μετακομιοῦντα τὴν 100 τοῦ θεοῦ κιβωτὸν εἰς αὐτόν. καὶ περιαγγελθείσης τῆς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πᾶσιν ἀφίξεως ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ μόλις συνίασιν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Θισρί,⁴ ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων Ὑπερβερεταίω λεγομένῳ.

¹ ὥστε ἀ ἄν. Bekker: ὡς ἄν codd.

² μόλις ἐν conj. Niese (μόλις ἄν in edit.): ὡς ἐν RO: ἐν MSP.

³ Coccoji: συγκρινόμενα codd.

⁴ ex Lat. Hudson: Ἀθύρει RO: Θισρὶ M: Θισρὶ SP: Θυρὶ E.

^a Josephus follows the order of 2 Chron. and Heb. 1 Kings which mention the assembly right after the account of the temple vessels (on Josephus's omission at this point of the

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one could not without difficulty look down, and bringing them up to a height of four hundred cubits he made them level with the top of the mountain on which the temple was built; in this way the outer precinct, which was open to the sky, was on a level with the temple. And he surrounded it with double porticoes supported by high columns of native stone, and they had roofs of cedar which were smoothly finished in panels. And all the doors which he made for this sacred precinct were of silver.

(iv. 1) These works, then, and these great and beautiful buildings and offerings for the temple King Solomon completed in seven years, making such display both of wealth and zeal that the work which any beholder would think could hardly have been constructed in the whole course of time was finished in a space of time that was very short when compared with the magnitude of the temple. He then wrote^a 1 Kings viii. 1; 2 Chron. v. 2. to the leaders and elders of the Hebrews and ordered them to assemble all the people at Jerusalem in order to see the temple and join in bringing the ark into it. And although the summons to Jerusalem was sent around to all, it was hardly by the seventh month that they came together, which month is called Thisri^b by the natives and Hyperberetaios by the

building of Solomon's palace cf. § 76 note), while LXX 1 Kings introduces the passage on the assembly by the words, "And it came to pass that after Solomon had finished building the house of the Lord and his own house, after twenty years (7 years for the temple + 13 years for the palace), that King Solomon assembled, etc."

^b Conj. from Latin: mss. *Athyri*, *Thoire*—forms which are corruptions probably arising from confusion of *Thisri* with the Greco-Egyptian month *Athyris*. Josephus gives the later Heb. name *Tishri*, while Scripture uses the old Canaanite name *Ethaním*, LXX *Αθαμεῖν*, v.l. *Αθανεῖμ*.

συνέδραμε δ' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ ὁ τῆς σκηνο-
πηγίας καιρὸς ἔορτῆς σφόδρα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις
101 ἀγιωτάτης καὶ μεγίστης. βαστάσαντες οὖν τὴν
κιβωτὸν καὶ τὴν σκηνήν, ἣν Μωυσῆς ἐπήξατο, καὶ
πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν διακονίαν τῶν θυσιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ
σκεύη μετεκόμιζον εἰς τὸν ναόν. προῆγον δὲ μετὰ
θυσιῶν αὐτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας καὶ
οἱ Ληοῦται σπουδᾶις τε καὶ πολλῶν ἵερείων
αἴματι τὴν ὁδὸν καταντλοῦντες καὶ θυμιῶντες
102 ἀπειρόν τι θυμιαμάτων πλῆθος, ὡς ἄπαντα τὸν
πέριξ ἀέρα πεπληρωμένον καὶ τοῖς πορρωτάτῳ
τυγχάνουσιν ἥδυν ἀπαντᾶν, καὶ γνωρίζειν ἐπι-
δημίαν θεοῦ καὶ κατοικισμὸν κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην
δόξαν εἰς νεοδόμητον αὐτῷ καὶ καθιερωμένον
χωρίον· καὶ γὰρ οὐδέποτε θυμοῦντες οὐδὲ χορεύοντες
103 ἔως οὗ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἥλθον ἔκαμον. τούτῳ μὲν
οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν κιβωτὸν μετήνεγκαν. ὡς δ'
εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον αὐτὴν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔδει, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο
πλῆθος μετέστη, μόνοι δὲ κομίσαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς
μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Χερουβεῦν κατέθεσαν· αἱ δὲ τοὺς
104 ταρσοὺς συμπλέξασαι (καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἦσαν ὑπὸ¹
τοῦ τεχνίτου κατεσκευασμέναι), τὴν κιβωτὸν ὡς
ὑπὸ σκηνῆς τινι καὶ θόλῳ κατεσκέπασαν. εἶχε
δὲ ἡ κιβωτὸς οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἢ δύο λιθίνας πλάκας,
αἱ τοὺς δέκα λόγους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Μωυσεῖ¹
λαληθέντας ἐν Σιναΐῳ ὅρει ἐγγεγραμμένους αὐτᾶς
ἔσωζον. τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ
τὸν βωμὸν τὸν χρύσεον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρὸ

¹ Niese: Μωυσῆς codd.: Mose Lat.

* Which falls on the fifteenth of Tishri. Scripture speaks only of "the festival," Heb. *ḥag* (A.V. "feast"), but this

Macedonians. At this same time happened to fall the festival of Tabernacles,^a which is considered especially sacred and important by the Hebrews. So, then, they lifted up the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had set up, and all the vessels for the service of the sacrifices to God, and carried them into the temple. And before it went the king himself and all the people and the Levites, with sacrifices, drenching the ground with libations and the blood of numerous victims, and burning so vast a quantity of incense that all the air around was filled with it and carried its sweetness to those who were at a great distance; this was a sign of God's being present and dwelling—according to human belief—in the place which had been newly built and consecrated to Him. And indeed they did not weary of singing hymns or dancing until they reached the temple.^b This, then, was the way in which they conveyed the ark. But when it was time to bring it into the adytum, the rest of the people went away, and only the priests carried it and set it down between the two cherubim. These, which were interlocked by the tips of their wings—so they had been made by the craftsman—covered the ark as under a kind of tent or dome. And the ark held nothing but the two stone tablets which preserved the ten commandments spoken by God to Moses on Mount Sinai inscribed upon them. But the lampstand and the table and the golden altar they placed in the temple before the adytum in the

word in Josephus's time was used particularly of the festival of Tabernacles.

^a Scripture does not mention incense. The singing (but not dancing) is mentioned only in 2 Chron. and seems to have followed the deposition of the ark in the sanctuary.

The ark is brought into the temple.
¹ Kings vi. 3.

τοῦ ἀδύτου κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους, οὓς καὶ τότε
ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ κείμενοι κατεῖχον, καὶ τὰς καθ-
105 ημερινὰς θυσίας ἀνέφερον. τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον τὸ
χάλκεον ἴστησι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀντικρὺ τῆς θύρας,
ὡς ἀνοιχθείσης αὐτὸς κατὰ πρόσωπον εἶναι καὶ
βλέπεσθαι τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ τὴν τῶν θυσιῶν
πολυτέλειαν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σκεύη πάντα συναλίσας
ἔνδον εἰς τὸν ναὸν κατέθετο.

106 (2) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα διακοσμήσαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὰ
περὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐξῆλθον, ἄφνω πῦλημα νεφέλης
οὐ σκληρὸν οὐδὲ οἷον ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος ὑετοῦ γέμον
ἴσταται κεχυμένον δὲ καὶ κεκραμένον εἰς τὸν ναὸν
εἰσερῦη, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ὅψεσι τῶν ἱερέων ὡς μηδὲ
καθορᾶν ἀλλήλους ἐπεσκότει, ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις ταῖς
ἀπάντων φαντασίαιν καὶ δόξαιν παρεῖχεν ὡς τοῦ
θεοῦ κατεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ κατεσκηνωκό-
107 τος ἥδεως ἐν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης εἰχον
αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐννοίας· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολομὼν ἐξ-
εγερθείς (ἔτυχε γὰρ καθεζόμενος) ἐποιήσατο λόγους
πρὸς τὸν θεόν, οὓς τῇ θείᾳ φύσει πρέποντας ὑπ-
ελάμβανε καὶ καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ λέγειν· “σοὶ γάρ,”
εἶπεν, “οἶκον μὲν αἰώνιον, ὃ δέσποτα, καὶ ὃν
σαντῷ εἰργάσω γεγονότα τὸν οὐρανὸν οἴδαμεν
καὶ ἀέρα καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, δι’ ὃν ἀπάντων
108 οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀρκούμενος κεχώρηκας, τοῦτον δέ
σοι κατεσκεύακα τὸν ναὸν ἐπώνυμον, ὡς ἀν ἀπ’
αὐτοῦ σοι τὰς εὐχὰς θύοντες καὶ καλλιεροῦντες
ἀνάπεμπωμεν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ πεπεισμένοι δια-

¹ Cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: εἰχεν rell.

same positions which they had formerly occupied
when standing in the tabernacle, and then they
offered up the daily sacrifices. And the bronze altar
he set up before the temple opposite the door, so
that when this was opened the altar was before the
eyes (of those within the temple), and the sacred
ministrations and the splendour of the sacrifices
might be seen.^a And all the other vessels he col-
lected and deposited within the temple.

(2) And when the priests had set in order all that
concerned the ark, and had gone out, there suddenly
appeared a thick cloud, not threatening nor like a
swollen rain-cloud in the winter season, but diffused
and temperate,^b which streamed into the temple and
so darkened the sight of the priests that they could
not see one another; and it produced in the minds
of all of them an impression and belief that God had
descended into the temple and had gladly made His
abode there. And while they were occupied with
this thought, Solomon arose—for he chanced to be
seated—and addressed God in words which he con-
sidered suitable to the divine nature and fitting for
him to speak. “That Thou, O Lord,” he said, “hast
^c Cf. 23, 27.
an eternal dwelling in those things which Thou didst
create for Thyself we know—in the heaven and air
and earth and sea, through all of which Thou movest
and yet art not contained by them. But I have built
this temple to Thy name so that from it we may,
when sacrificing and seeking good omens, send up our
prayers into the air to Thee, and may ever be per-

^a The foregoing details concerning the arrangement of
the temple furniture are added by Josephus.

^b An amplification of the brief scriptural phrase “and a
(lit. “the”) cloud filled the house.”

τελοίημεν ὅτι πάρει καὶ μακρὰν οὐκ ἀφέστηκας¹. τῷ μὲν γὰρ πάντ' ἐφορᾶν καὶ πάντ' ἀκούειν οὐδὲ νῦν ὅπου σοι θέμις οἰκῶν² ἀπολείπεις τοῦ πᾶσιν ἔγγιστα εἶναι, μᾶλλον δ' ἐκάστῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ
 109 καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας συμπάρει.” ταῦτ’ ἐπιθειάσας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς λόγους, ἐμφανίζων τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὅτι Δαυΐδη τῷ πατρὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀπαντα καθὼς ἀποβέβηκεν ἥδη τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γενήσεται τὰ λείποντα δηλώσειε,
 110 καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπιθείη τὸ ὄνομα³ αὐτῷ μήπω γεγεννημένῳ καὶ τίς μέλλοι καλεῖσθαι προείποι καὶ ὅτι τὸν ναὸν οὗτος οἰκοδομήσει⁴ αὐτῷ, βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν γενόμενος· ἢ βλέποντας κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου προφητείαν ἐπιτελῇ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἡξίου καὶ περὶ μηδενὸς ἀπογινώσκειν ὃν ὑπέσχηται πρὸς εὑδαιμονίαν ὡς οὐκ ἐσομένου,
 πιστεύοντας ἐκ τῶν ἥδη βλεπομένων.
 111 (3) Ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφορᾶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν⁵ ἀνασχών “ἔργοις μέν,” εἶπεν, “οὐ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώποις ἀποδοῦναι θεῷ χάριν ὑπὲρ ὃν εὖ πεπόνθασιν· ἀπροσδεής γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ἀπάντων καὶ κρείττον τοιαύτης ἀμοιβῆς· ὃ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων

¹ + οὐ δὲ σαντῷ ROM: + a tuis sedibus Lat.: τῶν σεαυτοῦ conj. Cocceji.

² Ernesti: οἰκεῖν codd. Lat.

³ ex Lat. Ernesti: ὁικοδομήσειν ROM: οἰκοδομήσειν SP.

⁴ ex LXX Niese: δχλον codd.

^a Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, p. 19 note 2, comments on the Stoic colouring of the last phrase. Josephus does, indeed, often use Stoic terminology in describing the divine attributes, and the present text of Scripture is well suited for such amplification. For a special treatment of this

suaded that Thou art present and not far removed.^a For, as Thou seest all things and hearest all things, Thou dost not, even when dwelling here where is Thy rightful place, leave off being very near to all men, but rather art present with everyone who asks for guidance, both by night and by day.” After this solemn appeal to God he turned to address the multitude and made clear to them the power and providence of God in that most of the future events which He had revealed to David, his father, had actually come to pass, and the rest would also come about, and how God Himself had given him his name even before he was born, and had foretold what he was to be called and that none but he should build H’m a temple, on becoming king after his father’s death. And now that they saw the fulfilment of these things in accordance with David’s prophecies, he asked them to praise God and not despair of anything He had promised for their happiness, as if it were not to be, but to have faith because of what they had already seen.

(3) When the king had thus spoken to the crowd, he looked again toward the temple and, raising his right hand^b up to heaven,^c said, “Not by deeds is it possible for men to return thanks to God for the benefits they have received, for the Deity stands in need of nothing^d and is above any such recompense.

subject cf. A. Schlatter, “Wie sprach Josefus von Gott?” in *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, xv. 1, 1910.

^b Bibl. “spread his hands.”

^c Emended text; mss. “to the multitude.”

^d ἀπροσδεής is a Stoic attribute of God. For instances of similar borrowings in Jewish Greek writings see R. Marcus, “Divine Names and Attributes in Hellenistic Jewish Literature” in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 1931–1932.

Solomon
blesses the
people.
1 Kings viii.
14.

Solomon's
prayer.
1 Kings viii.
22; 2 Chron.
vi. 12.

ζώων ὑπὸ σοῦ, δέσποτα, κρείττονες γεγόναμεν,
τούτῳ τὴν σὴν εὐλογεῖν μεγαλειότητα καὶ περὶ
τῶν ὑπηργμένων εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον καὶ τὸν
112 Ἐβραίων λαὸν εὐχαριστεῖν ἀνάγκη. τίνι γὰρ
ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον ἵλασσοθαι μηνίοντα καὶ δυσμεναί-
νοντα εὔμενῇ δεξιοῦσθαι ἀξιώτερον¹ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ
φωνῇ, ἢν ἐξ ἀέρος τε ἔχομεν καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ πάλιν
ἀνιοῦσαν οἴδαμεν; χάριν οὖν ἔχειν δι’ αὐτῆς ὁμο-
λογῷ σοι περὶ τε τοῦ πατρὸς πρῶτον, δὲν ἐξ
113 ἀφανοῦς εἰς τοσαύτην ἀνήγαγες δόξαν, ἔπειθ’ ὑπὲρ
ἔμαυτοῦ πάντα μέχρι τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας ἀ
προεῦπας πεποιηκότι, δέομαι τε τοῦ λοιποῦ χορη-
γεῖν ὅσα θεῷ δύναμις ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ σοῦ τετιμη-
μένοις, καὶ τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἡμέτερον αὔξειν εἰς ἄπαν,
ώς καθωμολόγησας Δαυΐδῃ τῷ πατρὶ μου καὶ
ζῶντι καὶ παρὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ὅτι παρ’ ἡμῖν ἡ
βασιλεία μενεῖ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος αὐτὴν δια-
δοχαῖς ἀμείψει μυρίαις. ταῦτ’ οὖν ἡμῖν ἐπάρκεσον
καὶ παισὶ² τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀρετὴν ἥ σὺ χαίρεις παράσχου.
114 πρὸς δὲ³ τούτοις ἱκετεύω καὶ μοῖράν τινα τοῦ σοῦ
πνεύματος εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀποικίσαι, ώς ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ
γῆς ἡμῖν εἶναι δοκῆσ. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν οἰκη-
τήριον καὶ τὸ πᾶν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοῦτον
ὄντων κύτος, οὐχ ὅτι γε οὗτος ὁ τυχῶν ναός, ἀλλὰ
φυλάσσειν τε ἀπόρθητον ἐκ πολεμίων ώς ἴδιον εἰς
ἄπαν καὶ προνοεῖν ώς οἰκείου κτήματος παρακαλῶ.
115 καὶ ἀμαρτών ποτε ὁ λαὸς ἔπειτα πληγῇ τινι

¹ δεξιοῦσθαι ἀξιώτερον Cocceji: δεξιώτερον codd.

² πᾶσι ROM.

³ Bekker: δη codd.

But with that (gift of speech), O Lord, through which we have been made by Thee superior to other creatures, we cannot but praise Thy greatness and give thanks for Thy kindnesses to our house and the Hebrew people, for with what other thing is it more fitting for us to appease Thee when wrathful, and, when ill disposed, to make Thee gracious than with our voice, which we have from the air, and know to ascend again through this element? ^a And so, with my voice I render thanks to Thee, first for my father's sake, whom Thou didst raise from obscurity to such great glory, and next on my own behalf, for whom unto the present day Thou hast done all that Thou didst foretell. And I beseech Thee henceforth to grant whatever God has power to bestow on men esteemed by Thee, and to increase our house for ever, as Thou didst promise David, my father, both in his lifetime and when he was near death, saying that the kingship should remain among us and that his descendants should transmit it to numberless successors. These things, therefore, do Thou grant us, and to my sons give that virtue in which Thou delightest. Beside these things I entreat Thee also to send some portion of Thy spirit to dwell in the temple, that Thou mayest seem to us to be on earth as well. For to Thee even the whole vault of heaven and all its host is but a small habitation—how much less this poor temple! Nonetheless I pray Thee to guard it for ever from sacking by our enemies, as Thine own temple, and to watch over it as Thine own possession. And if ever the people sin and then because of their

^a This portion of Solomon's prayer is amplified by Josephus, while in the following he condenses the scriptural text.

κακῶται¹ διὰ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐκ σοῦ, γῆς ἀκαρπίᾳ καὶ φθορᾷ λοιμικῇ ἡ τινι τούτων τῶν παθημάτων, οἷς σὺ τὸν παραβάντας τι τῶν ὁσίων μετέρχῃ, καὶ καταφεύγῃ πᾶς ἀθροισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἵκετεύων σε καὶ σωθῆναι δεόμενος, ἐπήκοος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ὡς ἔνδον ὧν ἐλεήσῃς καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν 116 ἀπαλλάξῃς. ταύτην δὲ οὐχ Ἐβραίοις μόνον δέομαι παρὰ σοῦ τὴν βοήθειαν εἶναι σφαλεῖσιν, ἀλλὰ κανάν ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης τινὲς ἀφίκωνται κανάν ὅποθενδηποτοῦν προστρεπόμενοι καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἀγαθοῦ λιπαροῦντες, δὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκήκοος γενόμενος. 117 οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μάθοιεν πάντες ὅτι σὺ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐβουλήθης παρ' ἡμῖν κατασκευασθῆναι σοι τὸν οἶκον, ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἀπάνθρωποι τὴν φύσιν ἐσμὲν οὐδ' ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς τὸν οὐχ² ὄμοφύλους ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι κοινὴν τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ βοήθειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν ὑπάρχειν ἡθελήσαμεν.”

118 (4) Εἰπὼν ταῦτα καὶ ρύψας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὴν ὥραν προσκυνήσας, ἀναστὰς θυσίας τῷ βωμῷ προσῆγε³ καὶ γεμίσας τῶν δλοκλήρων Ἱερείων ἐναργέστατα τὸν θεὸν ἡδέως ἔγνω τὴν θυσίαν προσδεχόμενον· πῦρ γὰρ ἐξ ἀέρος διαδραμὸν καὶ πάντων ὀρώντων ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀξαν ἀπασαν τὴν θυσίαν ἀνήρπασε καὶ κατεδαίσατο.

119 ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐπιφανείας γενομένης ὁ μὲν λαὸς δῆλωσιν εἶναι τοῦτ' εἰκάσας τῆς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ διατριβῆς ἐσομένης καὶ ἡσθεὶς προσεκύνει

¹ Conj. Thackeray: *κακῷ* codd.: *pessima* Lat.

² Cocceji: οὐκ M: om. rell.

³ βωμῷ προσῆγε MSE (Zonaras): θεῷ προσῆγε P: θεῷ προσῆγε RO: *in templo obtulit* Lat.

^a Emended text.

^b This last is an apologetic variation of Scripture, 1 Kings

sin are smitten^a by some evil from Thee, by unfruitfulness of the soil or a destructive pestilence or any such affliction with which Thou visitest those who transgress any of the sacred laws, and if they all gather to take refuge in the temple, entreating Thee and praying to be saved, then do Thou hearken to them as though Thou wert within, and pity them and deliver them from their misfortunes. And this help I ask of Thee not alone for the Hebrews who may fall into error, but also if any come even from the ends of the earth or from wherever it may be and turn to Thee, imploring to receive some kindness, do Thou hearken and give it them. For so would all men know that Thou Thyself didst desire that this house should be built for Thee in our land, and also that we are not inhumane by nature nor unfriendly to those who are not of our country, but wish that all men equally should receive aid from Thee and enjoy Thy blessings.”^b

(4) Having spoken in these words, he threw himself upon the ground and did obeisance for a long time; then he arose and brought sacrifices to the altar,^c and, when he had heaped it with whole victims, he knew that God was gladly accepting the sacrifice, for a fire darted out of the air and, in the sight of all the people, leaped upon the altar and, seizing on the sacrifice, consumed it all. When this divine manifestation occurred, all the people supposed it to be a sign that God would thereafter dwell in the temple, and with joy they fell upon the ground viii. 43 b, “that all people of the earth may know thy name to reverence thee as do thy people Israel.”

^a Josephus here follows the order in 2 Chron.; in 1 Kings (viii. 54-61) Solomon blesses the people before offering sacrifice.

The sacrifices
are miracu-
lously
consumed.
¹
2 Chron. vii

πεσὼν ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐλογεῖν τε
ῆρξατο καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ταῦτὸ ποιεῖν¹ παρώρμα
δείγματα μὲν ἔχοντας ἥδη τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
120 εύμενίας, εὐχομένους δὲ τοιαῦτα ἀποβαίνειν ἀεὶ²
τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῖς καθαρὰν
ἀπὸ πάσης φυλάττεσθαι κακίας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ
θρησκείᾳ καὶ τῷ τὰς ἐντολὰς τηρεῖν ἃς διὰ
Μωυσέος αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς διαμένουσιν³.
ἔσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως εὔδαιμον τὸ Ἐβραίων ἔθνος
121 καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους μακαριώτερον. παρ-
εκάλει τε μνημονεύειν ὡς οἷς ἐκτήσατο τὰ παρ-
όντα ἀγαθὰ τούτοις αὐτὰ καὶ βέβαια ἔξειν⁴ καὶ
μείζω καὶ πλείω καταστήσειν⁵. οὐ γὰρ λαβεῖν αὐτὰ
μόνον δι' εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ
καθέξειν διὰ ταῦτα προσῆκεν ὑπολαμβάνειν· εἶναι
δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐχ οὕτως μέγα τὸ κτήσασθαι
τι τῶν οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων, ὡς τὸ σῶσαι τὰ πορι-
σθέντα καὶ μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν εἰς βλάβην αὐτῶν.
122 (5) Ο μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς διαλεχθεὶς ταῦτα πρὸς
τὸ πλῆθος διαλύει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τελέσας θυσίας
ὑπέρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων Ἐβραίων, ὡς μόσχους
μὲν καταθῦσαι μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, προβάτων
123 δὲ μυριάδας δώδεκα. τὸν γὰρ ναὸν τότε πρῶτον
ἔγευσεν ἱερουργημάτων καὶ κατευωχήθησαν ἐν
αὐτῷ πάντες σὺν γυναιξὶν Ἐβραῖοι καὶ τέκνοις,
ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν καλουμένην ἔορτὴν
πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ λαμπρῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπὶ δὶς

¹ E Lat.: εἰπεῖν codd.² Dindorf: διαμενούσης P: διαμενούσας rell.³ έξειν ed. pr.⁴ καταστήσουσιν MSP.

and did obeisance. But the king began to bless ^{1 Kings viii}
God and urged the multitude to do the like, seeing
that they now had tokens of God's goodwill toward
them, and to pray that such would be His treatment
of them always and that their minds might be kept
pure from all evil as they continued in righteousness
and worship and in observance of the commandments
which God had given them through Moses; for thus
would the Hebrew nation be happy and the most
blessed of all the races of men. And he exhorted
them to remember that in the same way in which
they had acquired their present blessings they would
also preserve them surely and would make them
greater and more numerous. For, he said, they
ought to realize that not only had they received them
because of their piety and righteousness, but that
they would also maintain them through these same
qualities, and that it is not so great a thing for men
to acquire something which they have not had before
as to preserve what is given them and be guilty of
nothing which may harm it.^a

(5) And so, when the king had thus addressed the
multitude, he dismissed the assembly after offering
sacrifices both for himself and for the Hebrews with
the slaughter of twelve thousand ^b calves and one
hundred and twenty thousand sheep, for this was the
first time that he gave the temple a portion ^c of
victims, and all the Hebrews with their women and
children feasted therein. Moreover the festival
called the Setting up of Booths (Tabernacles) was
splendidly and magnificently celebrated before the

^a Solomon's speech is somewhat amplified.^b Bibl. 22,000.^c Lit. "gave the temple a taste."

The
sacrifices
and celebra-
tion of
Tabernacles.
^{1 Kings viii.}
^{62.}

ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας ἥγαγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν ἄπαντι τῷ λαῷ κατευωχούμενος.

124 (6) Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶχεν αὐτοῖς ἀποχρώντως ταῦτα καὶ μηδὲν ἐνέδει τῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν εὔσεβείᾳ, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔκαστοι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολύσαντος ἀπῆσαν εὐχαριστήσαντες τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς τε περὶ αὐτοὺς προνοίας καὶ ὧν ἐπεδείξατο ἔργων, καὶ εὐχάριστοι τῷ θεῷ παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς εἰς πολὺν χρόνον Σολομῶνα βασιλέα, τὴν πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ παιδιᾶς ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀδοντες, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἥδονῆς ἀπόνως τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ οἴκεῖα 125 πάντας ἀνύσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσαγαγόντες καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἴστορήσαντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ θυσιῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μεγάλων καὶ ἔορτῶν μεταλαβόντες, εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν¹ ἔκαστοι πόλεις ὑπέστρεψαν. ὅναρ δὲ ἐπιφανὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐσήμαινεν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐχῆς 126 ἐπήκοον τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι, καὶ ὅτι φυλάξει τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐν αὐτῷ μενεῖ² τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτοῦ³ καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης πληθύος τὰ δίκαια ποιούσης, αὐτὸν δὲ πρῶτον ἐμμένοντα τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποθήκαις ἔλεγεν εἰς ὕψος καὶ μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας ἀνοίσειν ἀπειρον καὶ βασιλεύσειν ἀεὶ τῆς χώρας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἰουδα 127 φυλῆς προδόντα μέντοι τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ λήθην αὐτῶν ποιησάμενον καὶ ξενικοὺς θεοὺς θρησκεύειν μεταβαλόμενον⁴ πρόρριζον ἐκκόφειν καὶ μήτε τοῦ γένους τι λείφανον αὐτῶν⁵ ἔάσειν μήτε τὸν τῶν

¹ Hudson: αὐτῶν codd.

² Ernesti: μένοι codd. ³ + καὶ αὐτοῦ E.

⁴ Bekker: μεταβαλλόμενον codd.

⁵ αὐτοῦ Zonaras Lat.: αὐτὸν conj. Niese (αὐτῶν in edit.).

temple for twice seven days ^a by the king, who feasted together with all the people.

(6) And when they had had enough of these things God again appears to and had omitted nothing that was required by piety Solomon in a dream. ^{1 Kings viii 66.} toward God, the king dismissed them and they went away, each to his home ; and, giving thanks to the king for his care of them and for the display he had made, and praying to God to grant them Solomon as king for a long time, they set out on their way with joyfulness and mirth and singing hymns to God, so that by reason of their delight they all accomplished the journey homeward without fatigue. And those who had brought the ark into the temple and beheld its size and beauty and partaken of the great sacrifices and the feasts there, returned, each to his own city. But to the king a dream appeared in his sleep, which revealed to him that God had hearkened to his prayer ^b and that He would preserve the temple and would abide in it for ever, if his descendants and all the people acted righteously ; as for the king himself, God said that if he abided by his father's counsels, He would first raise him to a height and greatness of happiness beyond measure, and that those of his own line should for ever rule the country and the tribe of Judah. If, however, he should be faithless to his task and forget it and turn to the worship of foreign gods, He would cut him off root and branch and would not suffer any of their line to survive nor

^a So Heb. and several LXX MSS.; Cod. B of LXX has "seven days." The festival of Tabernacles lasted only seven days and was followed by a "closing festival" ('asereth), cf. A. iii. 244 ff.

^b Bibl. "the Lord appeared to Solomon a second time."

Ισραηλιτῶν λαὸν ἀπαθῆ παρόψεσθαι, πολέμοις δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ κακοῖς ἔξαφανίσειν μυρίους, κακὸς τῆς γῆς ἣν τοὺς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκβαλὼν ἐπή-
128 λυδας ἀλλοτρίας καταστήσειν, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τὸν νῦν οἰκοδομηθέντα καταπρησθησόμενον τοὺς ἔχθροὺς παραδώσειν καὶ διαρπαγησόμενον, κατασκάψειν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν χερσὶ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ποιήσειν μύθων ἄξια τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς κακὰ καὶ πολλῆς δι'
129 ὑπερβολὴν μεγέθους ἀπιστίας, ὡς τοὺς προσοίκους ἀκούοντας τὴν συμφορὰν θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πολυπραγμονεῦν, δι' ἣν οὕτως ἐμισήθησαν Ἐβραῖοι τῷ θεῷ, πρότερον εἰς δόξαν καὶ πλοῦτον ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ παραχθέντες, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων ἀκούειν ἔξομολογουμένων τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν πατρίων νομίμων παραβάσεις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὅπους ἀναγέγραπται.

130 (v. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴν ἐν ἔτεσιν ἐπτὰ καθὼς προειρήκαμεν γενομένην τὴν τῶν βασιλείων οἰκοδομὴν¹ κατεβάλετο, ἣν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ δέκα μόγις ἀπήρτισεν· οὐ γάρ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάζετο τρόπον ὅνπερ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν καίπερ ὃν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐργασίας καὶ παραδόξου τετυχηκός, ἔτι καὶ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος, εἰς ὃν ἐγίνετο, τοὺς προειρημένους ἔτεσιν ἔλαβε πέρας· τὰ δὲ βασίλεια πολὺ² τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ ναοῦ καταδεέστερα τυγχάνοντα τῷ μήτε τὴν ὅλην ἐκ

¹ οἰκοδομὴν MSPE.

² πολὺ τε RO: πολὺ τι Niese.

^a Bibl. "this house . . . will I cast out of my sight."

^b In Scripture the building of the palace is described directly after that of the temple, and the second appearance of God follows upon the completion of both buildings.

allow the people of Israel to go unharmed, but would utterly destroy them with wars and countless afflictions and, after driving them out of the land which He had given to their fathers, would make them aliens in a strange land, and the temple, which had only now been built, He would give over to their enemies to burn down and sack,^a and would also raze their city to the ground by the hand of their enemies, and would make the evils that should fall on them like stories which men tell, beyond belief because of their surpassing magnitude, so that when their neighbours heard of their misfortune they would wonder at it and would curiously inquire why the Hebrews were now so hated by God by whom they had formerly been raised to glory and wealth, and from the survivors they would hear the reason as these confessed their sins and their transgressions against the laws of their fathers. These things, then, it is written in Scripture, God spoke to him in his sleep.

(v. 1) ^b After the building of the temple, which, as we have said before,^c took seven years, he laid the foundations of the palace buildings, which he hardly completed in thirteen years, for it was not built with the same industry as the temple had been; the latter, though it was so great and of a workmanship so wonderful and surpassing belief, was nevertheless finished in the fore-mentioned number of years, since God, for whom it was built, also assisted in the work.^d But the palace, which was much inferior in dignity to the temple because the materials had not been pre-

^c § 99.

^d For rabbinic legends about the miraculous building of the temple see Ginzberg iv. 155.

τοσούτου χρόνου καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡτοιμάσθαι φιλοτιμίας καὶ βασιλεῦσιν οἰκητήριον ἀλλὰ μὴ θεῷ γένεσθαι, βράδιον ἡνύσθη. καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν ἄξια λόγου καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς Ἐβραίων χώρας καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὥκοδομήθη, τὴν δὲ ὅλην αὐτῶν διάταξιν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν εἰπεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, ἵν' οὗτως ἐκ τούτου στοχάζεσθαι καὶ συνορᾶν ἔχωσι τὸ μέγεθος οἱ τῇ γραφῇ μέλλοντες ἐντυχάνειν.

133 (2) Οἶκος ἦν μέγας καὶ καλὸς πολλοῖς στύλοις ἐρηρεισμένος, ὃν εἰς τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διάγνωσιν πλῆθος ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ χωρῆσαι σύνοδον ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ δίκας συνεληλυθότων κατεσκεύασεν, ἐκατὸν μὲν πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος ἐνρος δὲ πεντήκοντα τὸ δ' ὑψος τριάκοντα, κίσι μὲν τετραγώνοις ἀνειλημμένον ἐκ κέδρου πᾶσιν, ἐστεγασμένον δὲ Κορινθίως, ἰσομέτροις δὲ φλιαῖς καὶ θυρώμασι τριγλύφοις ἀσφαλῆ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ 134 κεκαλλωπισμένον. ἔτερος δὲ οἶκος ἦν ἐν μέσῳ κατὰ ὅλου τοῦ πλάτους τεταγμένος τετράγωνος¹ ἐνρος πηχῶν τριάκοντα, ἀντικρυς ἔχων ναὸν² παχέσι στύλοις ἀνατεταμένον· ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ

¹ τετράγωνος om. RO Lat.

² στοάν Weill.

^a Unscriptural details.

^b Called, in Scripture, "the house of the forest of Lebanon."

^c This unscriptural detail is, of course, an anachronism.

^d Both the Heb. and LXX of 1 Kings vii. 5 are obscure, partly because Heb. *šāqēr* may mean either "beam" (so the Targum translates) or "window" (lit. "transparency"). The word *θυρώματα* used by Josephus is found in the LXX, where it translates Heb. *mehēzâh* which seems to mean "window," but *θυρώματα* may also mean "door." It seems

pared so long before nor with the same expense,^a and because it was a dwelling for kings and not for God, was more slowly completed. Yet it too was worthy of note, and was built in a manner suitable to the prosperity of the Hebrews' country and their king; but we must describe its whole plan and arrangement, in order that those who will read this work may from this description form an idea and have some notion of its size.

(2) There was a great and beautiful hall,^b supported by many pillars, which he built to admit a great number of people to judgements and decisions of state cases and to provide room for gatherings of men who opposed each other in trials^c; it was a hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth and thirty in height, and was held up by square columns all of cedar; it was roofed in Corinthian^d style and was at the same time strengthened and ornamented with pilasters of the same size and three-grooved panels.^e And there was another hall^f in the middle of the group of buildings, extending along the whole width of the first building, which was quadrangular and thirty cubits in breadth,^f and was opposite a temple^g raised on massive pillars. In this was a magnificent

Description
of the palace
buildings.
1 Kings vii. 2
(LXX vii. 89).

useless to render here the difficult Heb. and LXX texts, which were probably as unintelligible to Josephus as to modern scholars.

^c Called, in Scripture, "the hall (A.V. "porch") of pillars."

^d Bibl. "the length thereof was fifty cubits and the breadth thereof thirty cubits."

^e Bibl. "a hall (A.V. "porch") was before them" (i.e. the pillars). For *ναὸν* "temple" Weill suggests reading *στοάν*, "porch," which, he holds, corresponds to Heb. *'ûlām*. But *'ûlām* here seems to mean "hall," and Josephus's *ναὸν* is probably an interpretation of this too general term.

ἐξέδρα διαπρεπής, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔκρινεν, ἢ παρέζευκτο κατεσκευασμένος ἄλλος οἶκος τῇ βασιλίσσῃ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὰς ἀναπαύσεις οἰκήματα μετὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόλυσιν, ἐστρωμένα πάντα σανίσι
 135 τετμημέναις ἐκ κέδρου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὠκοδομήσατο λίθοις δεκαπήχεσιν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ πριστῷ τοὺς τοίχους καὶ πολυτελεῖ κατημφίεσεν, ὃς¹ εἰς κόσμον ἱερῶν καὶ βασιλείων οἴκων θεωρίαν² γῆ μεταλλεύεται τοῖς φέρουσιν αὐτὸν τόποις ἐπαινουμένη.³
 136 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κάλλος ἐπὶ τριστιχίαν ἦν ἐνυφασμένον, τετάρτη δὲ μοῖρα γλυφέων παρεῖχε θαυμάζειν ἐπιστήμην, ὡφ' ὃν πεποίητο δένδρα καὶ φυτὰ παντοῦα σύσκια τοῖς κλάδοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκκρεμαμένοις αὐτῶν πετάλοις, ὡς ὑπονοεῦν αὐτὰ καὶ σαλεύεσθαι δι' ὑπερβολὴν λεπτότητος καλύπτοντα τὸν ἅπ' αὐτοῖς λίθον. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μέχρι τῆς στέγης χριστὸν ἦν καὶ καταπεποικιλμένον χρώμασι καὶ βαφαῖς.⁴ προσκατεσκεύασε δὲ τούτοις ἄλλα τε πρὸς τρυφὴν οἰκήματα καὶ δὴ καὶ στοὰς μηκίστας καὶ ἐν καλῷ τῶν βασιλείων κειμένας, ἐν αἷς λαμπρότατον οἶκον εἰς ἐστίασιν καὶ συμπόσια χρυσοῦ περίπλεων⁵ καὶ τάλλα δὲ ὅσα τοῦτον ἔχειν ἔδει πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐστιωμένων ὑπηρεσίαν σκεύη
 138 πάντ' ἐκ χρυσοῦ κατεσκεύαστο. δύσκολον δ' ἐστὶν καταριθμήσασθαι⁶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν

¹ κατημφίεσεν δς Hudson: κατημφίασεν δν RO: κατημφιεσμένον MSP Lat.

² Hudson: θεωρίων RO: θεωρίᾳ MSP: Τυρίων Ernesti: Βαιθώρων T, Reinach.

³ γῆ . . . ἐπαινουμένη Hudson: γῆ . . . ἐπαινουμένη (ἀπαρνουμένη RO) codd.

⁴ γραφαῖς MSP.

⁵ Cocceji: περίπλεω codd.

⁶ + καὶ διηγήσασθαι SP.

hall^a where the king sat to give judgement, and to it was joined another hall built for the queen, and the remaining chambers for eating and for resting after the discharge of public business, all of them floored with boards cut out of cedar. Some of these he built with stones of ten cubits,^b and he covered the walls with another kind of sawn stone of great value, which is mined for the adornment of temples and enhancing the appearance of royal palaces, in a region celebrated for the places that produce it.^c And the beauty of this stone was displayed in a pattern of three rows, while the fourth row made one admire the skill of the sculptors who had fashioned trees and plants of all kinds, giving shade with their branches and the leaves hanging down from them, and so exceedingly delicate that one would have imagined they actually moved and were covering the stone under them. The rest of the wall, up to the roof, was painted and enlivened with various colours and tints. And in addition to these, he built other chambers for pleasure, among them very long colonnades, situated in a beautiful part of the palace, in which was a very splendid hall for feasts and banquets, filled with gold. And the other vessels such as were needed in the hall for the service of guests at the feasts were all made of gold. But it is difficult to describe in detail the size and variety of the palace

^a Bibl. “hall (A.V. “ porch ”) of judgement.”

^b Bibl. “and the foundation was of costly stones, . . . stones of ten cubits and stones of eight cubits.”

^c Emended text.

ποικιλίαν τῶν βασιλείων, ὅσα μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ
μέγιστα οἰκήματα, πόσα δὲ τὰ τούτων ὑποδεέστερα
καὶ πόσα ὑπόγεια καὶ ἀφανῆ, τό τε τῶν ἀνειμένων
εἰς ἀέρα κάλλος καὶ τὰ ἄλση πρὸς θεωρίαν ἐπι-
τερπεστάτην καὶ θέρους ὑποφυγὴν καὶ σκέπην
139 εἶναι τοῖς σώμασιν. ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δ' εἰπεῖν, τὴν
ὅλην οἰκοδομίαν ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ κέδρου καὶ
χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πᾶσαν ἐποιήσατο, τοὺς ὄρό-
φους καὶ τοὺς τοίχους τοῖς ἔγκλειομένοις χρυσῷ
λίθοις διανθίσας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς καὶ τὸν τοῦ
140 θεοῦ ναὸν τούτοις κατηγλάισεν. εἰργάσατο δὲ
καὶ ἔξ ἐλέφαντος θρόνον παμμεγεθέστατον ἐν
κατασκευῇ βήματος ἔχοντα μὲν ἔξ ἀναβαθμούς,¹
ἐκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ἔξ ἐκατέρου μέρους δύο λέοντες
ἔφειστήκεσαν τοσούτων ἄνωθεν ἄλλων παρεστώτων.
τὸ δ' ἐνήλατον τοῦ θρόνου χεῖρες ἥσαν δεχόμεναι
τὸν βασιλέα, ἀνακέκλιτο δ' εἰς μόσχου προτομῆν
τὰ κατόπιν αὐτοῦ βλέποντος, χρυσῷ δὲ ἅπας ἦν
δεδεμένος.

141 (3) Ταῦτα Σολομὼν εἰκοσαετίᾳ κατασκευάσας,
ἐπεὶ πολὺν μὲν αὐτῷ χρυσὸν πλείω δ' ἀργυρον δ
τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς Εἴρωμος εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν
συνήνεγκεν ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἔνδα κέδρου καὶ πίτυος,
ἀντεδωρήσατο καὶ αὐτὸς μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς τὸν
Εἴρωμον σῖτόν τε κατ' ἔτος πέμπων αὐτῷ καὶ
οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον, ὃν μάλιστα διὰ τὸ νῆσον οἰκεῖν,
142 ὡς καὶ προειρήκαμεν ἦδη, χρήζων διετέλει. πρὸς
τούτοις δὲ καὶ πόλεις αὐτῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἴκοσι
μὲν τὸν ἀριθμόν, οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς Τύρου κειμένας

¹ βαθμούς RO.

^a These details are invented by Josephus; they are
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buildings, how many larger chambers there were, how many smaller ones and how many were underground and not visible, and the beauty of those parts open to the air, and the groves which gave a most delightful view and served as a refuge and shelter to the body from the heat of summer.^a To sum it up, he made the whole building of white marble, cedar, gold and silver, and decorated the roofs and walls with stones set in gold in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with them. He also had them make an immense throne of ivory in the form of a dais with six steps leading up to it, and on each of these on either side stood two lions, and there were two others at the top, standing on either side; the seat of the throne had arms to receive the king, and it rested on the head of a calf^b which faced toward the back of the throne; and the entire throne was plated^c with gold.

(3) These works Solomon completed in twenty years, and, since Eirōmos, the king of Tyre, had contributed much gold and more silver^d to their building,^e 1 Kings ix¹⁰ as well as wood of cedar and pine^f trees, he too presented Eirōmos in return with great gifts, sending him every year grain and wine and oil, of which, because, as we have already said before,^g he inhabited an island, he was always particularly in need. Beside these he made him a present of some cities in Galilee, twenty in number, which lay not far from Tyre^h;

probably based, as Weill suggests, on the arrangements of Herod's buildings.

^b So the LXX, προτομαὶ μόσχων, reading in the Heb. text *râšē ḫēgel* “heads of calves” instead of *rôš ḥāgôl* “a rounded top.”
^c Lit. “fastened.”

^d Silver is not mentioned in Scripture. ^e Cf. § 54 note.
^f § 54. ^g Bibl. “in the land of Galilee.”

Solomon's
throne.
1 Kings x.
18.

Solomon
and Hiram,
king of
Tyre.
1 Kings ix

ἔχαρίσατο, ὃς ἐπελθὼν καὶ κατανοήσας Εῖρωμος καὶ δυσαρεστήσας τὴν δωρεὰν πέμψας πρὸς Σολομῶνα μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν πόλεων ἔλεγε· κακτοτε προσηγορεύθησαν Χαβαλῶν γῆ· μεθερμηνευόμενον γὰρ τὸ χάβαλον κατὰ Φοινίκων γλώτταν οὐκ 143 ἀρέσκον σημαίνει. καὶ σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους αἰνιγματώδεις διεπέμψατο πρὸς Σολομῶνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς παρακαλῶν ὅπως αὐτῷ σαφηνίσῃ τούτους καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητουμένων ἀπαλλάξῃ. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν οὐδὲν τούτων παρῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε.

144 Μέμνηται δὲ τούτων τῶν δύο βασιλέων καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ μεταφράσας ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκων διαλέκτου τὰ Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν λέγων οὕτως· “τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιβάλου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν παρ’ αὐτοῦ νίὸς Εῖρωμος, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη πεντήκοντα τρία ἐβασίλευσε 145 τριάκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα. οὗτος ἔχωσε τὸ Εὔρυχωρον τόν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέθηκεν· ἔτι τε ὑλην ἔνδιλων ἀπελθὼν ἔκοψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λεγομένου Λιβάνου εἰς τὰς τῶν 146 ἱερῶν στέγας· καθελών τε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἱερὰ καινὰ ἀνωκοδόμησε¹ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῆς Ἀστάρ-

¹ καινὰ ἀνωκοδόμησε Niese: καὶ ναὸν ὠκοδόμησε codd.

^a Bibl. Cabul; LXX (reading *gebûl*) ὅριον “boundary.”

^b The only Semitic etymology which seems to fit this interpretation is the Aramaic root *kbl*, one meaning of which is “be barren.” Josephus’s explanation “not pleasing” is 648

but when Eirōmos went to them and looked them over, he was ill pleased with the gift and sent word to Solomon that he had no use for the cities. And from that time on they were called the Land of Chabalōn,^a for Chabalōn in the Phoenician tongue is interpreted to mean “not pleasing.”^b And the king of Tyre also sent Solomon tricky problems and enigmatic sayings, requesting him to clear them up for him and relieve his difficulties concerning the questions propounded. But, as Solomon was clever and keen-witted, none of these proved too hard for him and he successfully solved them all by the force of reason, and having discovered their meaning, brought it to light.

These two kings are also mentioned by Menander,^c who translated the Tyrian records from the Phoenician language into Greek speech, in these words: “And on the death of Abibalos, his son Eirōmos succeeded to his kingdom, who lived to the age of fifty-three and reigned thirty-four years. He it was who made the Eurychōros (Broad Place) embankment and set up the golden column in the temple of Zeus.^d Moreover he went off and cut timber from the mountain called Libanos for the roofs of the temples, and pulled down the ancient temples and erected new ones to Heracles^e

apparently based on the Scriptural phrase “and they (*i.e.* the cities) pleased him not.” One rabbinic tradition explains the name from the usual meaning of *kābul* which is “chained down”; other Jewish commentaries give an explanation which is closer to that of Josephus.

^c Cf. *Ap.* i. 116 ff. where the following excerpt is given in identical words.

^d Zeus was the Greek equivalent of the native Tyrian Baal, as Josephus calls him in *A.* ix. 138.

^e Heracles was the Greek equivalent of the Tyrian Melkart.

της, πρώτος τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνὶ· τοῖς τε Ἰτυκαίοις¹ ἐπεστρατεύσατο μὴ ἀποδιδοῦσι τοὺς φόρους καὶ υποτάξας πάλιν αὐτῷ ἀνέστρεψεν. ἐπὶ τούτου ἦν Ἀβδήμονος παῖς νεώτερος, ὃς ἀεὶ ἐνίκα² τὰ προβλήματα, ἀ ἐπέτασσε Σολομῶν ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς.”

147 μνημονεύει δὲ καὶ Δίος³ λέγων οὕτως· “Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος ὁ νιὸς αὐτοῦ Εἰρωμος ἐβασίλευσεν. οὗτος τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρη τῆς πόλεως προσέχωσε καὶ μεῖζον τὸ ἄστυ ἐποίησε καὶ τοῦ Ὁλυμπίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν καθ’ ἑαυτὸ δὲ⁴ ἐγχώσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον συνῆψε τῇ πόλει καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀνθήμασιν ἐκόσμησεν· ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὸν Λίβανον

148 ὑλοτόμησε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευήν. τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶν πέμψαι φασὶ⁵ πρὸς Εἰρωμον αἰνίγματα καὶ⁶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντα, τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρίναι

149 τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν. ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἰρωμον καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λύσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλῶσαι· εἴτα δι⁷ Ἀβδήμονά τινα Τύριον ἄνδρα τὰ προτεθέντα λύσαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαλεῖν, ἀ μὴ

¹ Gutschmid: Ἡυκαῖος RO: Ἰυκέοις SP: Ἡὐκέοις M Lat.: Τιτναῖος Eusebius ap. Syncellum.

² +λύων Eusebius.

³ Niese: Διὸς vel Διὸς codd.: Διῶν Syncellus Lat.

⁴ δὲ ex contra Apion. add. Niese.

⁵ O codd. contra Apion.: φησὶ rell.

⁶ + λύσαι RO Lat.

⁷ δὲ RO: δὴ LV codd. contra Apion.

and Astarte; and he was the first to celebrate the awakening^a of Heracles in the month of Peritius. And he undertook a campaign against the Itykaians (Uticans), who had not paid their tribute, and, when he had again made them subject to him, returned home. In his reign lived Abdēmonos, a young lad who always successfully solved the problems which were submitted to him by Solomon, the king of Jerusalem.” They are also mentioned by Diōs^b in these words: “On the death of Abibalos, his son Eirōmos became king. He it was who added embankments to the eastern parts of the city and made the town larger; and the temple of Zeus Olympios, which stood apart by itself, he joined to the city by filling up the space between them, and adorned it with dedicatory offerings of gold. He also went up to Libanos and cut timber for the building of temples. And they say that Solomon, who was tyrant of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Eirōmos and asked to receive others from him as well, proposing that he who was unable to interpret them should pay a fine to the one who did solve them. But Eirōmos, having agreed to this, was unable to solve the riddles and paid out large sums of money as a fine. Afterwards through a certain Abdēmon, a Tyrian citizen, he solved^c the riddles proposed and himself offered

^a I follow Weill in taking ἔγερσιν in this sense rather than in that of “erection” (of a temple) as Hudson, Whiston and Thackeray (in *Ap.* i. 119) do. Menander is probably referring to the celebration of a festival in honour of Melkart-Heracles as a fertility-god, cf. S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, etc. (Schweich Lectures), 1930, pp. 135 ff.

^b Cf. *Ap.* i. 113 ff. where the following extract is given in identical words.

^c Variant “Abdemon . . . solved.”

λύσαντα τὸν Σολομῶνα πολλὰ τῷ Εἰράμῳ προσ-
αποτίσαι χρήματα.” καὶ Δίος μὲν οὕτως εἴρηκεν.
 150 (vi. 1) Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἔώρα τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων
τείχη ὁ βασιλεὺς πύργων πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν δεόμενα
καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀχυρότητος (πρὸς γὰρ τὰξίωμα τῆς
πόλεως ἥγεντο δεῖν καὶ τοὺς περιβόλους εἶναι)
ταῦτα τε προσεπεσκεύασε καὶ πύργοις αὐτὰ
 151 μεγάλοις προσεξῆρεν. ὡκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ πόλεις
ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἐναρίθμους “Ασωρόν τε καὶ Μα-
γέδω,¹ τρίτην² δὲ Γάζαρα, τὴν³ τῆς Παλαιστίνων
χώρας ὑπάρχουσαν ἦν Φαραὼ⁴ ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος καὶ πολιορκήσας αἱρεῖ
κατὰ κράτος ἀποκτείνας δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐνοι-
κοῦντας αὐτὴν κατέσκαψεν, εἴτα δωρεὰν ἔδωκε τῇ
 152 αὐτοῦ θυγατρὶ Σολομῶνι γεγαμημένῃ. διὸ καὶ
ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖσαν ὄχυρὰν φύσει
καὶ πρὸς πολέμους καὶ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν μεταβολὰς
χρησίμην εἶναι δυναμένην. οὐ πόρρω δ’ αὐτῆς
 153 ἄλλας ὡκοδόμησε δύο πόλεις· Βητχώρᾳ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ
ὄνομα ἦν, ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα Βαλέθ⁵ ἐκαλεῖτο. προσ-
κατεσκεύασε δὲ ταῦταις καὶ ἄλλας εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν
καὶ τρυφὴν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσας, τῇ τε τῶν ἀέρων
εὐκρασίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὥραιοις εὐφυεῖς καὶ νάμασιν
ὑδάτων ἐνδρόσους. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον
τῆς⁶ ἐπάνω Συρίας καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐκτισεν

¹ Μαγεδών MSP Lat.² ἦν RO.³ Βελέθ RO.⁴ Niese: τὴν τρίτην codd.⁵ ην Φαραών M: Φαραώνης RO: Φαραώθης Niese.⁶ τὴν MSP.^a Or (as Thackeray renders in *Ap.* i. 115) “paid back to Hirom more than he had received.”^b Bibl. Hazor, LXX Ασσούρ; cf. A. v. 199 note.^c Bibl. Megiddo, LXX Μαγεδώ, the modern Tell el-Mutesellim on the southern edge of the Great Plain of Esdraelon,

others, which Solomon was unable to solve and paid large sums to Eirōmos in return.^a Such are the words of Dios.

(vi. 1) Now when the king saw that the walls of Solomon's fortifications. Jerusalem needed towers and other defences for security—for he thought that even the surrounding walls should be in keeping with the dignity of the city—he repaired them and raised them higher with great towers. 1 Kings ix. 15; 2 Chron. viii. 1.

He also built cities which are counted among the most powerful, Asōr^b and Magedō,^c and a third, Gazara,^d which had belonged to the country of the Philistines and against which Pharaō had marched, and after a siege had taken it by storm and after killing all its inhabitants had razed it to the ground and then had given it as a gift to his daughter, who had been married to Solomon. The king, therefore, rebuilt it also, for it was naturally strong and could be useful in war or in times of sudden change.^e And not far from it he built two other cities, the name of one being Bētchōra,^f while the other was called Baleth.^g In addition to these he built still others, which were conveniently placed for enjoyment and pleasure and were naturally favoured with a mild temperature and seasonable fruits and irrigated with streams of water. He also advanced into the desert of Upper Syria^h and, having taken possession of it, where excavations have yielded important finds dating from Solomon's times, as well as from other periods.

^b Bibl. Gezer, cf. A. v. 83 note.^c Or perhaps “revolution.”^d Bibl. Beth-horon, LXX Βαιθωρών. Scripture calls it “Beth-horon the nether,” which is the modern *Bet ‘Ur et-tahtā* about 10 miles N.W. of Jerusalem.^e Bibl. Baalath, LXX Βααλάθ (v.l. Βαλαάθ κτλ.), possibly the modern *Belain* about 2 miles N. of *Bet ‘Ur et-tahtā*.^f Variant “the desert above Syria.”

ἐκεῖ πόλιν μεγίστην δύο μὲν ἡμερῶν ὕδον ἀπὸ τῆς
ἄνω Συρίας διεστῶσαν, ἀπὸ δ' Εὐφράτου μιᾶς,
ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μεγάλης Βαβυλῶνος ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἦν τὸ
154 μῆκος. αἵτιν δὲ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν
οἰκουμένων μερῶν τῆς Συρίας ἀπωκίσθαι τὸ
κατωτέρω μὲν οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι, πηγὰς
δ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ μόνον εὑρεθῆναι καὶ φρέατα.
ταύτην οὖν τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδομήσας καὶ τείχεσιν
όχυρωτάτους περιβαλὼν Θαδάμοραν¹ ὄνομασε καὶ
τοῦτ' ἔτι νῦν καλεῖται παρὰ τοὺς Σύρους, οἱ δ'
Ἐλληνες αὐτὴν προσαγορεύουσι Πάλμυραν.²

155 (2) Σολομὼν μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα κατ'
ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν πράττων διετέλει. πρὸς δὲ
τοὺς ἐπιζητήσαντας ὅτι πάντες οἱ Αἴγυπτιών
βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ Μιναίου τοῦ Μέμφιν οἰκοδομήσαντος,
ὅς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἐγένετο τοῦ πάππου
ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου, μέχρι Σολομῶνος πλειόνων ἐτῶν
ἡ τριακοσίων καὶ χιλίων μεταξὺ διεληλυθότων
Φαραὼθαι ἐκλήθησαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ μετὰ τοὺς³ ἐν τῷ
μεταξὺ χρόνους⁴ ἀρξαντος βασιλέως Φαραὼθου τὴν
προσηγορίαν λαβόντες, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην εἰπεῖν,
ἴνα τὴν ἄγνοιαν αὐτῶν ἀφέλω καὶ ποιήσω τοῦ
ὄνοματος φανερὰν τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι⁵ Φαραὼ κατ'
156 Αἴγυπτίους βασιλέα σημαίνει. οἷμαι δ' αὐτοὺς

¹ Θαδάμορα SP¹LV: Thadamar Lat.

² ex Lat. ed. pr. Nieſe: Παράμαλλαν ROSPLV: Παρα-
μάλχαν M.

³ μετὰ τοὺς MSPV: μετ' αὐτοὺς RO: μετὰ τοὺς L: κατ' αὐτοὺς
Gutschmid.

⁴ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνους SP: τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις rell.

⁵ Gutschmid: δὲ codd.

^a Bibl. Tadmor, lxx (2 Chron.) Θεδμόρ (v.l. Θοδμόρ), is
about 100 miles E. of Homs on the Orontes and about 160
654

founded there a very great city at a distance of two days' journey from Upper Syria and one day's journey from the Euphrates, while from the great Babylon the distance was a journey of six days.^a Now the reason for founding the city so far from the inhabited parts of Syria was that further down there was no water anywhere in the land and that only in this place were springs and wells to be found. And so, when he had built this city and surrounded it with very strong walls, he named it Thadamora,^a as it is still called by the Syrians, while the Greeks call it Palmyra.

(2) Such, then, were the activities which King <sup>The name
“Pharaoh.”</sup> Solomon at that time was carrying on. Now to those who ask why all the Egyptian kings from Minaias, the builder of Memphis, who lived many years before our forefather Abraham, down to Solomon—an interval of more than one thousand three hundred years^b—were called Pharaōthai, taking this name from Pharaōthēs, the first king to reign after the period intervening,^c I have thought it necessary to explain—in order to dispel their ignorance and make clear the reason for the name—that *Pharaō* in Egyptian signifies “king.”^d But I believe that

miles W. of Werdi on the Euphrates; from here it is a distance of more than 200 miles down the river to Babylon.

^b On the interval of time between Abraham and Solomon cf. § 61 note.

^c Apparently the period before Minaias (Menes), reputed founder of the United Kingdom, is meant, but the text is uncertain. Weill thinks the last phrase is an interpolation.

^d According to F. Ll. Griffith in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 819, the Egyptian word *pr'o*, meaning “great house,” was originally applied to the royal estate rather than to the person of the king and only came into common use as a title at the time of the New Kingdom (c. 1600 B.C.).

ἐκ παιδων ἄλλοις χρωμένους ὄνόμασιν, ἐπειδὰν βασιλεῖς γένωνται τὸ σημαῖνον αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξουσίαν κατὰ τὴν πάτριον γλώτταν μετονομάζεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας βασιλεῖς ἄλλοις ὄνόμασι καλούμενοι πρότερον, ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν ἔλαβον, Πτολεμαῖοι προσηγορεύθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτοκράτορες ἐκ γενετῆς ἀπ' ἄλλων χρηματίσαντες ὄνομάτων Καίσαρες καλοῦνται, τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτοῖς θεμένης, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἐκλήθησαν τούτοις ἐπιμένοντες. νομίζω δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτον τὸν Ἀλικαρνασέα διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ Μιναίαν τὸν οἰκοδομήσαντα Μέμφιν τριάκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους βασιλεῖς Αἴγυπτίων γενέσθαι λέγοντα μὴ δηλώσαι αὐτῶν τὰ ὄνόματα, ὅτι 158 κοινῶς Φαραὼθαι ἐκαλοῦντο· καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν τούτων τελευτὴν γυναικὸς βασιλευσάσης λέγει τοῦνομα Νικαύλην καλῶν, δηλῶν ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀρρένων βασιλέων τὴν αὐτὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχειν δυναμένων, τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὐκέτι κοινωνεῖν ἐκείνης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν αὐτῆς τὸ φύσει δεῆσαν 159 ὄνομα. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἡμῶν βιβλίοις εὖρον ὅτι μετὰ Φαραὼθην τὸν Σολομῶνος πενθερὸν οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς τοῦτο τοῦνομα βασιλεὺς Αἴγυπτίων ἐκλήθη, καὶ ὅτι ὕστερον ἥκε πρὸς Σολομῶνα ἡ προειρημένη γυνὴ βασιλεύουσα τῆς Αἴγυπτου καὶ τῆς Αἴθιοπίας. περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτης μετ' οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν· νῦν δὲ τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, ἵνα παραστήσω τὰ ἡμέτερα βιβλία καὶ τὰ παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις περὶ πολλῶν ὁμολογοῦντα.¹

¹ ὁμοφωνοῦντα SPLV.

from childhood they had other names, and that when they became kings they changed them for that name which in their ancestral tongue signifies their royal authority. For so also the kings of Alexandria were first called by other names, but, when they assumed the kingship, were named Ptolemies after the first king. And the Roman emperors also, who from their birth are known by other names, are called Caesars, receiving this title from their princely office and rank, and do not keep the names by which their fathers called them. And I think it was for this reason that Herodotus of Halicarnassus, when he says^a that there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Minias, who built Memphis, did not mention their names, because they were all in common called Pharaōthai. For, after the death of these kings, a woman ruled as queen, and he gives her name as Nikaulē,^b making it clear that while the male kings could all have the same name, the woman could not share this, and for that reason he mentioned her by the name that naturally belonged to her. And I myself have discovered in the books of our own country that after the Pharaōthēs who was Solomon's father-in-law no king of Egypt was ever again called by this name,^c and that later the afore-mentioned woman as queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon. Now about her we shall write very shortly.^d But I have mentioned these matters at this point in order to make plain that our books in many things agree with those of the Egyptians.

^a Apparently a reference to the sketch of Egyptian history in Herod. ii. 99 ff.

^b The name is given as Nitocris in our texts of Herodotus.

^c Josephus overlooks the Scriptural reference to Pharaoh Necho, 2 Kings xxiii. 29 and elsewhere.

^d In § 165.

160 (3) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολομὼν τοὺς ἔτι τῶν Χαναναίων οὐχ ὑπακούοντας, οἵ ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ διέτριβον ὅρει καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Ἀμάθης,¹ ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενος φόρον αὐτοῖς προσέταξε, καὶ πρὸς τὸ θητεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς οἰκετικὰς χρείας ἐκτελεῖν καὶ πρὸς γεωργίαν κατ' ἔτος ἐξ αὐτῶν 161 ἐπελέγετο. τῶν γὰρ Ἐβραιῶν οὐδεὶς ἐδούλευεν (οὐδὲ² ἦν εὐλογον ἔθνη πολλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδωκότος αὐτοῖς ὑποχείρια, δέον ἐκ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι τὸ θητικόν, αὐτοὺς κατάγειν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα), ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐν ὅπλοις ἐφ' ἄρμάτων καὶ ἵππων 162 στρατευόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ δουλεύοντες διῆγον. τῶν δὲ Χαναναίων, οὓς εἰς τὴν οἰκετείαν ἀπήγαγεν, ἄρχοντας ἀπέδειξε πεντακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, οἵ τὴν ὅλην αὐτῶν ἐπιτροπὴν εἰλήφεσαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πραγματείας, ἐφ' ἃς³ αὐτῶν ἔχρηζεν.

163 (4) Ἐναυπηγήσατο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ Αἴγυπτιακῷ κόλπῳ σκάφη πολλὰ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐν τινι τόπῳ λεγομένῳ Γασιωνγάβελ οὐ πόρρω Αἰλανῆς⁴ πόλεως, ἢ νῦν Βερενίκη καλεῖται· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ χώρα τὸ πρὸν Ἰουδαίων ἦν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄρμοζούσης εἰς τὰς ναῦς δωρεᾶς παρ' Εἰρώμουν 164 τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως· ἄνδρας γὰρ αὐτῷ κυβερνήτας καὶ τῶν θαλασσίων ἐπιστήμονας ἐπεμψεν ἴκανούς, οἵς ἐκέλευσε πλεύσαντας μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων

¹ EV: Ἀμαθῆς L: Ἀμμάθης (-ῆς SP) rell.: Amathi Lat.

² Niese: ἂς ἀν codd.

³ Hudson: Ἰλάνεως RO: Ἰλανῆς MS(P)V: Ἐλάνης E: Hilana Lat.

(3) King Solomon also reduced to subjection those Solomon's of the Canaanites who were still unsubmissive, that military exploits. is, those who lived on Mt. Libanos and as far as 1 Kings ix. Amathē,^a and imposed a tribute upon them and raised 20; 2 Chron. viii. 7. a yearly levy from them to be his serfs and perform menial tasks and till the soil. But of the Hebrews no one was a slave—nor was it reasonable, when God had made so many nations subject to them, from among whom they ought to raise their force of serfs, that they themselves should be reduced to that condition—but they all bore arms and served in the field on chariots and horses rather than lead the lives of slaves. And over the Canaanites, whom he had reduced to domestic slavery, he appointed five hundred and fifty^b officers, who received full charge of them from the king, so as to instruct them in those tasks and activities for which he needed them.

(4) The king also built many ships in the Egyptian gulf^c of the Red Sea at a certain place called Gasiōn-gabel^d not far from the city of Ailanē,^e which is now called Berenikē. For this territory formerly belonged to the Jews. Moreover he obtained a present suitable to the needs of his ships from Eirōmos, the king of Tyre, who sent him pilots and a goodly number of men skilled in seamanship, and these Solomon ordered to sail along with his own stewards to the

^a Bibl. Hamath, cf. A. i. 138 note. Scripture enumerates “all the people who were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites.”

^b So 1 Kings; 2 Chron. 250.

^c The modern Gulf of Akabah.

^d Bibl. Ezion-geber (*Eṣyón geber*), LXX cod. B 'Εμαεσειῶν Γάβερ, cod. A Γασιών Γάβερ.

^e Bibl. Eloth, LXX 1 Kings Αἰλάθ, 2 Chron. Αἰλάμ.

οίκονόμων εἰς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Σώφειραν νῦν δὲ χρυσῆν γῆν καλούμενην (τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐστιν αὗτη) χρυσὸν αὐτῷ κομίσαι. καὶ συναθροίσαντες ὡς τετρακόσια τάλαντα πάλιν ἀνεχώρησαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

165 (5) Τὴν δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τότε βασιλεύουσαν γυναικα σοφίᾳ διαπεπονημένην καὶ τὰλλα θαυμαστὴν ἀκούουσαν τὴν Σολομῶνος ἀρετὴν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐπιθυμία τῆς ὄψεως αὐτοῦ ἐκ¹ τῶν ὁσημέραι περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥγαγε· πεισθῆναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς (ἥν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ φευδεῖ δόξῃ συγκατατίθεσθαι καὶ μεταπεῖσαι πάλιν, ὅλη γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπαγγέλλοντο κεῖται) θέλουσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν διέγνω, καὶ μάλιστα² τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ βουλομένη λαβεῖν πεῖραν αὐτῇ,³ προτείνασα καὶ λῦσαι τὸ ἄπορον τῆς διανοίας δεηθεῖσα, ἥκεν⁴ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ πλούτου παρασκευῆς· ἐπηγάγετο γὰρ καμήλους χρυσίου μεστὰς καὶ ἀρωμάτων ποικίλων καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν. ὡς δὲ ἀφικομένην αὐτὴν ἥδεως ὁ βασιλεὺς προσ-

¹ Niese: καὶ codd. Lat.

² καὶ μάλιστα Niese: μάλιστα καὶ ROM: μάλιστα SP.

³ Exc. Bekker: αὐτῇ ROSP: αὐτῇ M.

⁴ ἥκεν οὖν M Lat.: ἥκε δ' Exc. Bekker.

^a So Luc. and LXX 2 Chron.; bibl. Ophir, LXX 1 Kings Σωφῆρα.

^b Cf. Isa. xiii. 12, Ps. xlv. 9, Job xxii. 24 et al.

^c The actual location of Ophir is a matter of speculation. Some modern scholars agree with Josephus in locating it in or near India.

^d 1 Kings Heb. and Luc. 420, LXX 120; 2 Chron. Heb. and LXX 450.

^e Scripture calls her "Queen of Sheba." Sheba was a

land anciently called Sōpheir,^a but now the Land of Gold^b; it belongs to India.^c And when they had amassed a sum of four hundred^d talents they returned again to the king.

(5) Now the woman who at that time ruled as queen of Egypt and Ethiopia^e was thoroughly trained in wisdom and remarkable in other ways, and, when she heard of Solomon's virtue and understanding, was led to him by a strong desire to see him which arose from the things told daily about his country. For, wishing to be convinced by experience and not merely by hearsay—which is likely to give assent to a false belief and then convince one of the opposite, since it depends wholly on those who bring reports—she decided to go to him; and being very desirous of herself making trial of his wisdom by propounding questions and asking him to solve their difficult meaning, she came to Jerusalem with great splendour and show of wealth. For she brought with her camels laden with gold and various spices and precious stones. And the king received her gladly on her

kingdom in S.W. Arabia, cf. Gen. x. 28, Job vi. 19 and Mt. xii. 42 ("the Queen of the South"). Rabbinic tradition describes Sheba as a land of sorcerers somewhere in the East, and Ginzberg vi. 292 thinks it "possible that the substitution of Egypt for Sheba by Josephus . . . is to be ascribed to the fact that in the Haggadah Egypt is the land of magic and witchcraft *par excellence*." But Josephus probably knew of some native Egyptian or Ethiopic tradition which connected the queen of the Arabian kingdom with Egypt and Ethiopia (cf. Isa. xlivi. 3). This tradition which he got from Herodotus or some other Greek source (cf. §§ 158 f.) is found in Ethiopic literature and states that Menelik, the first king of Abyssinia, was a son of Solomon and Makkeda, whom they identify with the Queen of Sheba. For a discussion of this subject see J. B. Coulbeaux, *Histoire de l'Abyssinie*, i. 108 ff.

The Queen
of Sheba
visits
Solomon.
1 Kings x. 1;
2 Chron. ix.
1.

εδέξατο, τά τε ἄλλα περὶ αὐτὴν φιλότιμος ἦν καὶ τὰ προβαλλόμενα σοφίσματα ῥᾳδίως τῇ συνέσει καταλαμβανόμενος θᾶττον ἡ προσεδόκα τις ἐπ-
 168 ελύετο. ἡ δὲ ἔξεπλήσσετο μὲν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Σολομῶνος, οὗτως ὑπερβάλλουσαν αὐτὴν καὶ τῆς ἀκονομένης τῇ πείρᾳ κρείττω καταμαθοῦσα, μάλιστα δὲ ἔθαύμαζε τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ τε κάλλους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους οὐχ ἥπτον δὲ τῆς διατάξεως τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ πολλὴν τοῦ
 169 βασιλέως καθεώρα φρόνησιν. ὑπερεξέπληγττε δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ τε οἶκος ὁ δρυμὸν ἐπικαλούμενος Λιβάνου καὶ ἡ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν δείπνων πολυτέλεια καὶ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διακονίας ἡ τε τῶν ὑπηρετούντων ἐσθῆς καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐπιστήμης αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν διακονίαν εὐπρεπές, οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτελούμεναι τῷ θεῷ θυσίαι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Λησούτῶν περὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιμελές.
 170 ταῦθ' ὅρωσα καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπερεθαύμαζε, καὶ κατα-
 σχεῖν οὐ δυνηθεῖσα τὴν ἔκπληξιν τῶν βλεπομένων, φανερὰν ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν θαυμαστικῶς διακειμένην· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα προήχθη λόγους εἰπεῖν, ὡφ' ὧν ἡλέγχθη σφόδρα τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τοῖς προ-
 171 ειρημένοις ἡττημένη· “πάντα μὲν γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ δι' ἀκοῆς εἰς γνῶσιν ἐρχόμενα μετ' ἀπιστίας παραγίνεται, τῶν δὲ σῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν αὐτός τε ἔχεις ἐν σαυτῷ, λέγω δὲ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ ὧν ἡ βασιλεία σοι δίδωσιν, οὐ ψευδῆς ἄρα ἡ φήμη πρὸς ἡμᾶς διηλθεν, ἀλλ' οὖσα ἀληθῆς πολὺ καταδεεστέραν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ-
 172 ἐφηνεν ἡς ὅρῳ νῦν παροῦσα· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἀκοὰς πείθειν ἐπεχείρει μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων οὐχ οὕτως ἐποίει γνώριμον, ὡς ἡ ὄψις αὐτὸ-

arrival and was studious to please her in all ways, in particular by mentally grasping with ease the ingenious problems she set him and solving them more quickly than anyone could have expected. But she was amazed at Solomon's wisdom when she realized how extraordinary it was and how much more excellent upon trial than what she had heard about it. She especially admired the palace for its beauty and size and, no less, for the arrangement of the buildings, for in this she saw the great wisdom of the king. But she was more than amazed at the hall called the Forest of Libanos and the lavishness of the daily meals and his table-ware and service and the apparel of his attendants, as well as the decorum, combined with skill, of their serving; and not least the sacrifices daily offered to God and the care bestowed on them by the priests and Levites. Seeing these things day by day she admired them beyond measure, and was not able to contain her amazement at what she saw, but showed clearly how much admiration she felt, for she was moved to address the king in words which revealed how greatly overcome were her feelings by the things we have described. “All things indeed, O King,” she said, “that come to our knowledge through hearsay are received with mistrust, but concerning the good things that are yours, both those which you possess in your own person, I mean your wisdom and prudence, and those which the kingship gives you, it was by no means a false report that reached us; on the contrary, though it was true, it indicated a prosperity far below that which I see, now being here. For the report attempted only to persuade our ears but did not make known the dignity of your state as fully as seeing it and being in

The Queen
of Sheba
praises
Solomon.
1 Kings x. 6;
2 Chron. ix.
7.

καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνίστησιν. ἐγὼ γοῦν¹
οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπαγγελλομένους διὰ πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος
ῶν ἐπυνθανόμην πιστεύουσα, πολλῷ πλείω τούτων
173 ιστόρηκα. καὶ μακάριόν τε τὸν Ἐβραίων λαὸν
εἶναι κρίνω δούλους τε τοὺς σοὺς καὶ φίλους, οἵ
καθ' ἡμέραν τῆς σῆς ἀπολαύουσιν ὄψεως καὶ τῆς
σῆς σοφίας ἀκροώμενοι διατελοῦσιν. εὐλογήσειεν
ἄν τις τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπήσαντα τὴνδε τὴν χώραν καὶ
τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας οῦτως, ὥστε σὲ ποιῆσαι
βασιλέα."

174 (6) Παραστήσασα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων πῶς
αὐτὴν διέθηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἔτι καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς
τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῆς ἐποίησε φανεράν· εἴκοσι μὲν
γὰρ αὐτῷ τάλαντα ἔδωκε χρυσίου ἀρωμάτων τε
πλῆθος ἀσυλλόγιστον καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν². λέ-
γουσι δ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὄποβαλσάμου ρίζαν,
ἥν ἔτι³ νῦν ἡμῶν ἡ χώρα φέρει, δούσης ταύτης τῆς
175 γυναικὸς ἔχομεν. ἀντεδωρήσατο δ' αὐτὴν πολλοῖς
καὶ Σολομὼν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μάλισθ' ὡν κατ' ἐπι-
θυμίαν ἔξελέξατο· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ὃ τι δεηθείσῃ λα-
βεῖν οὐ παρέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐτοιμότερον ὡν αὐτὸς κατὰ
τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχαριζετο προαιρεσιν ἀπερ ἐκείνη τυχεῖν
ἥξιον προϊέμενος, τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐπεδείκνυτο.
καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας βα-
σίλισσα ὡν προειρήκαμεν τυχοῦσα καὶ μεταδοῦσα
πάλιν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν
ὑπέστρεψε.

176 (vii. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν κομισθέντων

¹ ἐγὼ γοῦν Ο: ἐγωγ' οὖν rell.

² λίθων πολυτελῶν Niese: λιθον πολυτελῆ codd.: λιθους πολυ-
τελεῖς ex Lat. Hudson.

³ + καὶ SP.

its presence showed it to be. I, for my part, did not believe the things reported because of the multitude and greatness of what I heard about them, and yet I have witnessed here things far greater than these. Fortunate do I hold the Hebrew people to be, and your servants and friends as well, who daily enjoy the sight of you and continually listen to your wisdom. Let us bless God who has so well loved this country and its inhabitants as to make you their king."

(6) And, after she had shown by her words how Solomon she felt toward the king, she revealed her feelings and the still more clearly by her gifts, for she gave him Queen of Sheba exchange twenty^a talents of gold and an incalculable quantity gifts. of spices and precious stones; and they say that we have the root of the opobalsam, which our country 1 Kings x. 10; 2 Chron ix. 9. still bears,^b as a result of this woman's gift. In return Solomon also presented her with many fine gifts, in particular with those which she selected as most desirable, for there was nothing which he did not give when she asked to have it; on the contrary, he showed his magnanimity by giving up whatever she asked for more readily than he presented gifts to her of his own choice. And so the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, having obtained the gifts we have mentioned and given others to the king from among her possessions, returned to her own country.

(vii. 1) ^cAbout that same time there were brought

^a Bibl. 120.

^b Cf. B.J. iv. 469 on the balsam of Jericho, and A. ix. 7 on the balsam of Engedi on the Dead Sea.

^c Scripture introduces the following passage before completing the account of the queen's visit with her departure. Josephus changes the order by completing her story before turning to the subject of Solomon's imports.

ἀπὸ τῆς χρυσῆς καλουμένης γῆς λίθου πολυτελοῦς¹ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἔύλων πευκίνων, τοῖς ἔύλοις εἰς ὑποστήριγμα τοῦ τε ναοῦ καὶ τῶν βασιλείων κατεχρήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μουσικῶν ὄργάνων κατασκευὴν κινύρας τε καὶ νάβλας, ὅπως ὑμνῶσιν οἱ Ληονῖται τὸν θεόν· πάντων δὲ τῶν πώποτε κομισθέντων αὐτῷ τὰ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν 177 ἐνεχθέντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει διέφερεν. ὑπολάβῃ δὲ μηδεὶς ὅτι τὰ τῆς πεύκης ἔύλα τοῖς νῦν εἶναι λεγομένοις καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν πιπρασκόντων τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ καταπλήξει τῶν ὀνουμένων λαμβάνουσίν ἔστι παραπλήσια. ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἴδεαν ἐμφερῆ τοῖς συκίνοις γίνεται, λευκότερα 178 δέ ἔστι καὶ στίλβει πλέον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν² πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τὴν διαφορὰν ἀγνοῆσαι μηδὲ τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθοῦς πεύκης, ἐπεὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως χρείαν ἐμνήσθημεν αὐτῆς, εὑκαιρον εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον δηλῶσαι νομίσαντες εἰρήκαμεν.

179 (2) 'Ο δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ σταθμὸς τοῦ κομισθέντος αὐτῷ τάλαντα ἔξακόσια καὶ ἔξήκοντα καὶ ἔξ, μὴ συγκαταριθμουμένου καὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ὠνηθέντος μηδ'³ ὥν οἱ τῆς Ἀραβίας τοπάρχαι καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπεμπον αὐτῷ δωρεῶν.³ ἔχώνευσε

¹ λίθων πολυτελῶν SP Lat.² οὖν om. ROM.³ δῶρον RO: δώρων Niese.^a Bibl. Ophir, cf. § 114.^b So LXX in 2 Chron., 1 Kings Heb. 'almuggim (A.V. "almug"), LXX πελεκητά "hewn," 2 Chron. Heb.

to the king from the country called the Land of Gold ^a The precious stones and pine ^b wood, which wood he used products of Ophir. as supports ^c for the temple and the palace and for 1 Kings x. the construction of musical instruments, *kinyrai* and 11; 2 Chron. *nablai*,^d with which the Levites might sing hymns to ix. 10. God. And the wood that was delivered on that day far surpassed in size and beauty any that had ever been brought to him before. But let no one suppose that the pine wood was like that which is now called pine and which receives this name from men who sell it as such in order to dazzle purchasers, for that we speak of was similar in appearance to the wood of fig-trees, but was whiter and more gleaming.^e This much, then, we have said in order that no one may remain ignorant of the nature of genuine pine and its difference from other kinds ; and, as we have spoken of the use which the king made of it, it seemed in place and an act of kindness to explain more fully.

(2) The weight of the gold that was brought to Solomon's wealth. him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not includ- 1 Kings x. ing what was brought by the merchants or the gifts 14; 2 Chron. ix. 13. which the governors and the kings of Arabia^f sent to him.^g And this gold he melted down to make

'algummim. It is not known what kind of tree the almug was, but many scholars identify it with red sandal-wood, which comes from the islands near India.

^h So LXX translates Heb. *mis'ad* (A.V. "pillars") in 1 Kings ; in 2 Chron. LXX has ἀναβάσεις "steps" for Heb. *mesillōth* "paths" (?) (A.V. "terraces").

ⁱ On these instruments cf. A. vii. 306 notes.

^j These details about the rare wood are, of course, unscriptural.

^k So 2 Chron. ; in 1 Kings Heb. has 'ereb, a word of doubtful meaning here, which Targum translates by "allies," and LXX, reading 'ēber, has τοῦ πέραν "of the (country) beyond."

^l Every year, according to Scripture.

δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰς διακοσίων κατασκευὴν θυρεῶν
180 ἀνὰ σίκλους ἀγόντων ἔξακοσίους. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ
ἀσπίδας τριακοσίας ἀγούσης ἑκάστης χρυσίου μνᾶς
τρεῖς· ἀνέθηκε δὲ ταύτας φέρων εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν
δρυμῶνα Λιβάνου καλούμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὰ ἐκπώματα διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου τὰ πρὸς τὴν
ἔστιασιν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα φιλοτεχνῶν¹ κατεσκεύασε
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῶν σκευῶν δαψίλειαν χρυσέαν
181 ἅπασαν ἐμηχανήσατο· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ὅ τις ἀργύρῳ
ἐπίπρασκεν ἢ πάλιν ἐωνεῖτο· πολλαὶ² γὰρ ἦσαν
νῆσοι,³ ἃς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ Ταρσικῇ λεγομένῃ
θαλάττῃ καταστήσας παραγαγεῖν⁴ εἰς τὰ ἐνδοτέρω
τῶν ἐθνῶν παντοίαν ἐμπορίαν προσέταξεν, ὥν
ἐξεμπολούμένων ἀργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς ἐκομίζετο
τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πολὺς ἐλέφας Αἰθίοπές τε καὶ
πίθηκοι. τὸν δὲ πλοῦν ἀπιοῦσαί τε καὶ ἐπαν-
ερχόμεναι τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἤννον.

182 (3) Φήμη δὲ λαμπρὰ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν χώραν
περιήρχετο διαβοῶσα τὴν Σολομῶνος ἀρετὴν καὶ
σοφίαν, ὡς τούς τε πανταχοῦ βασιλεῖς ἐπιθυμεῖν
εἰς ὅψιν αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι, τοῖς λεγομένοις δι'
ὑπερβολὴν ἀπιστοῦντας, καὶ δωρεαῖς μεγάλαις
183 προσεμφανίζειν τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδὴν. ἐπειπον
γὰρ αὐτῷ σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἀλουργεῖς
ἐσθῆτας καὶ ἀρωμάτων γένη πολλὰ καὶ ἵππους

¹ Niese: φιλοτέχνων RO Lat. (vid.): φιλοτέχνως MSP.
² ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ RO Lat. ³ Dindorf: ναῦς codd.

⁴ ἀπάγειν MSP.

^a So Heb. and LXX 2 Chron.; LXX 1 Kings has δπλα
“weapons.” ^b LXX 1 Kings 300.

^c So 1 Kings; 2 Chron. 300 (shekels). The mina (Heb.
mānēh) was equal to 60 shekels.

two hundred shields^a weighing six hundred^b shekels apiece. He also made three hundred bucklers, each weighing three minae.^c And he brought them to be set up in the hall called the Forest of Libanos. Furthermore he made drinking-cups of gold and precious stone^d for the use of guests with the greatest art and fashioned an abundance of other vessels all of gold, as no one sold or bought anything for silver.^e For the king had many ships stationed in the Sea of Tarsus,^f as it was called, which he ordered to carry all sorts of merchandise to the inland nations, and from the sale of these there was brought to the king silver and gold and much ivory and Ethiopians^g and apes. The sea voyage, going and returning, took three years.

(3) ^h And so glowing a report was circulated ^{Gifts sent to Solomon;} through the whole country round about, proclaiming his horses and chariots. Solomon's virtue and wisdom, that everywhere the kings desired to see him with their own eyes, not crediting what had been told them because of its extravagance, and to give further evidence of their regard for him by their costly presents. Accordingly, they sent him vessels of gold and silver and sea-purple^a garments and many kinds of spices and

^a Unscriptural detail.

^b Scripture says, “there was no silver (in the vessels), for it was accounted as nothing in the days of Solomon.”

^c Bibl. Tarshish, LXX Θαρσεῖς, Targum “Africa.” Most modern scholars identify Tarshish with Tartessos in Spain, not with Tarsus in Cilicia as does Josephus.

^d Heb. *tukkiyim*, LXX *ταύρων*, both meaning “peacocks”; *tukkiyim* may, as Weill suggests, have been misread by Josephus as *kussiyim* “Ethiopians.”

^e LXX at this point (after 1 Kings x. 22) has a passage on Solomon's fortifications and conquests, which is given earlier in the Heb. (1 Kings ix. 15 ff.), cf. § 150.

καὶ ἄρματα καὶ τῶν ἀχθοφόρων ἡμιόνων ὅσους
καὶ ρώμη καὶ κάλλει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψιν εὗ
διαθήσειν ἐπελέγοντο, ὥστε τοῖς οὖσιν αὐτῷ πρό-
τερον ἄρμασι καὶ ἵπποις ἐκ τῶν πεμπομένων
προσθέντα ποιῆσαι τὸν μὲν τῶν ἄρμάτων ἀριθμὸν
τετρακοσίοις περισσότερον (ἥν γὰρ αὐτῷ πρότερον
χίλια), τὸν δὲ τῶν ἵππων δισχιλίοις (ὑπῆρχον γὰρ
184 αὐτῷ δισμύριοι ἵπποι). ἥσκηντο δ' οὗτοι πρὸς
εὔμορφίαν καὶ τάχος, ὡς μήτ' εὐπρεπεστέρους
ἄλλους εἶναι συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς μήτε ὀκυτέρους,
ἀλλὰ καλλίστους τε πάντων ὄρᾶσθαι καὶ ἀπαρ-
185 αμίλλητον αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν ὁξύτητα. ἐπεκόσμουν
δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες νεότητι μὲν πρῶτον
ἀνθοῦντες ἐπιτερπεστάτῃ, τὸ δὲ ὑψος ὄντες περί-
οπτοι καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχοντες, μηκίστας
μὲν καθειμένοι χαίτας ἐνδεδυμένοι δὲ χιτῶνας τῆς
Τυρίας πορφύρας. ψῆγμα δὲ χρυσοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν
αὐτῶν ἐπέσηρθον ταῖς κόμαις, ὡς στίλβειν αὐτῶν
τὰς κεφαλὰς τῆς αὐγῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον
186 ἀντανακλωμένης. τούτων περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων δὲ
βασιλεὺς καθωπλισμένων καὶ τόξα ἐξηρτημένων
ἔφ' ἄρματος αὐτὸς ὀχούμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἡμι-
εσμένος ἐσθῆτα πρὸς αἰώραν ἔθος εἶχεν ἐξορμᾶν.
ἥν δέ τι χωρίον ἀπὸ δύο σχοίνων Ἱεροσολύμων, δὲ
καλεῖται μὲν Ἡτάν, παραδείσοις δὲ καὶ ναμάτων

^a Heb. has merely 1400, without indicating how many he had formerly; LXX cod. B "four thousand horses for chariots," cod. A and Luc. (2 Chron.) "forty thousand horses for chariots."

horses and chariots and as many mules for carrying burdens as could be counted on to please the king's eye by their strength and beauty, so that, with the addition of these that were sent to the chariots and horses he formerly had, he increased the number of his chariots by four hundred—previously he had a thousand ^a—and the number of his horses by two thousand—he already had twenty thousand ^b horses. These were trained for beauty of form and for speed, so that there were none more handsome or swifter to compare with them, but they were most beautiful of all in appearance and were also unrivalled in swiftness. A further adornment to them were their riders, who, in the first flower of a youth that was most delightful to see, and of a conspicuous height, were much taller than other men; they let their hair hang down to a very great length and were dressed in tunics of Tyrian purple. And every day they sprinkled their hair with gold dust so that their heads sparkled as the gleam of the gold was reflected by the sun. With these men about him dressed in armour and equipped with bows, the king himself was accustomed to mount his chariot, clothed in a white garment, and go out for a ride.^c Now there was a certain spot two *schoinoi* ^d distant from Jerusalem, which is called Étan,^e delightful for, and

^b Bibl. 12,000 horsemen; Heb. *pārāšim*, however, may mean "horses" as well as "horsemen."

^c This peculiar meaning of *aiώρα* is established by the use of *aiωρούμενος* below and the same verb in A. xviii. 185 *aiωρεῖτο* μὲν Τιβέριος ἐπὶ φορετού *κείμενος*.

^d Between 8 and 10 miles.

^e Probably the same place as Etam (Etamē in § 246), LXX *Aitámu*, *Aitáv*, the modern 'Ain 'Atān about 5 miles S.W. of Bethlehem; it is mentioned in the list of Rehoboam's fortified cities.

ἐπιρροαῖς ἐπιτερπὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ πλούσιον· εἰς τοῦτο τὰς ἔξόδους αἰωρούμενος ἐποιεῖτο.

- 187 (4) Θείᾳ δὲ περὶ πάντα χρώμενος ἐπινοίᾳ τε καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ λίαν ὥν φιλόκαλος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄδῶν ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὰς ἀγούσας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα βασιλειον οὖσαν λίθῳ κατέστρωσε μέλανι, πρός τε τὸ ῥάστρωνη¹ εἶναι τοῖς βαδίζονσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ δηλοῦν τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς 188 ἡγεμονίας. διαμερίσας δὲ τὰ ἄρματα καὶ διατάξας, ὥστε ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τούτων ἀριθμὸν ὠρισμένον ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐτήρησεν ὀλίγα, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ταύτας ἄρμάτων προσηγόρευεν. τοῦ δ' ἀργυρίου τοσοῦτον ἐποίησε² πλῆθος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὁ βασιλεύς, ὃσον ἦν καὶ τῶν λίθων, καὶ τῶν κεδρίνων ἔνδιλων οὐ πρότερον ὅντων, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν δένδρων τῶν συκαμινίνων, ὥν³ πληθύει 189 τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις Αἰγύπτου κομίζουσιν αὐτῷ πιπράσκειν τὸ μὲν ἄρμα σὺν ἵπποις δυσὶν ἔξακοσίων δραχμῶν ἀργυρίου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς τῆς Συρίας βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πέραν Εὐφράτου διέπεμπεν αὐτούς.
- 190 (5) Γενόμενος δὲ πάντων βασιλέων ἐνδοξότατος

¹ Niese: ῥάστην codd.

² ἐποιήσατο RO.

³ ὅν add. Niese.

^a This whole passage (§§ 184-187) is an addition to Scripture.

^b So Heb.; LXX “gold and silver.”

^c Heb. “a chariot came up and went out of Egypt for six hundred (shekels) of silver, and a horse for a hundred and fifty”; LXX “and the export went up from Egypt, a chariot for a hundred (shekels) of silver, and a horse for fifty (shekels) of silver.” Josephus takes a shekel as equal to four Attic drachmas (*A. iii.* 194), so that the price of 150 shekels given in the LXX for a chariot with one horse

abounding in, parks and flowing streams, and to this place he would make excursions, mounted high on his chariot.

(4) Exercising a divine thoughtfulness and zeal in all things and being an ardent lover of beauty, he did not neglect the roads either, but those leading to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, he paved with black stone, both for the convenience of wayfarers and in order to show the greatness of his wealth and power.^a And he divided the chariots and disposed them in such a way that there was a definite number of them in every city, while he himself kept only a few about him; and these cities he called Cities of Chariots. As for silver,^b the king made it as plentiful in Jerusalem as were stones, and cedar-wood, which had not been found there before, he made as plentiful as the sycamore-trees with which the plains of Judea abound. He also gave orders to the merchants of Egypt to bring and sell him a chariot with two horses for six hundred drachmas^c of silver, which he himself sent^d to the kings of Syria and those beyond the Euphrates.^e

(5) But though he had been the most illustrious of

would be equal to 600 drachmas. In making 600 drachmas the price of a chariot with two horses, Josephus combines the Heb. and LXX texts, as Weill has noted.

^a The bibl. text (1 Kings x. 29) is obscure and does not make clear who exported the horses to the east. Heb. has *beyādām hōsī’ū* “by their hand they sent them out,” apparently referring to “the king’s merchants” mentioned in vs. 28; LXX, reading *beyādām* as *bayyām* “by sea,” has *κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔξεπορεύοντο*. With the other textual difficulties in the bibl. verse we need not deal, as they do not bear on Josephus’s text.

^b Bibl. “for all the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Syria (Heb. Aram).”

Solomon's
chariot
cities and
horse
trading.

¹ Kings x. 26
(LXX x. 29);
² Chron. ix.
^{25.}

καὶ θεοφιλέστατος καὶ φρονήσει καὶ πλούτῳ δι-
ενεγκὼν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἐβραίων ἀρχὴν
ἐσχηκότων, οὐκ ἐπέμεινε τούτοις ἄχρι τελευτῆς,
ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν τὴν τῶν πατρίων ἔθισμῶν
φυλακὴν οὐκ εἰς ὅμοιον οἷς προειρήκαμεν αὐτοῦ
191 τέλος κατέστρεψεν, εἰς δὲ γυναικας ἐκμανεῖς καὶ
τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἀκρασίαν, οὐ ταῖς ἐπιχωρίοις
μόνον ἡρέσκετο, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
ἔθνων γῆμας Σιδωνίας καὶ Τυρίας καὶ Ἀμμανί-
τιδας καὶ Ἰδουμαίας παρέβη μὲν τοὺς Μωυσέος
νόμους, ὃς ἀπηγόρευσε συνοικεῖν ταῖς οὐχ ὁμο-
192 φύλοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνων ἥρξατο θρησκεύειν θεούς,
ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι χαριζόμενος,
τοῦτο ἀντὸν ὑπειδομένου¹ τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ² προ-
ειπόντος μὴ γαμεῖν τὰς ἀλλοτριοχώρους, ἵνα μὴ
τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιπλακέντες ἔθεσι τῶν πατρίων ἀπο-
στῶσι, μηδὲ τοὺς ἐκείνων σέβωνται³ θεοὺς παρέντες
193 τιμᾶν τὸν ἴδιον. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν κατημέλησεν
ὑπενεχθεὶς εἰς ἡδονὴν ἀλόγιστον Σολομών, ἀγα-
γόμενος δὲ γυναικας ἀρχόντων καὶ διασήμων
θυγατέρας ἐπτακοσίας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ παλλακὰς
τριακοσίας, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως
τῶν Αἴγυπτίων θυγατέρα, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκρατεῖτο
πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὥστε μιμεῖσθαι τὰ παρ' ἐκείναις, καὶ
τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας ἡναγκάζετο παρέχειν
αὐταῖς δεῖγμα τὸ βιοῦν ὡς αὐταῖς πάτριον ἦν,
194 προβαινούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ
διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀσθενοῦντος ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὴν
μνήμην τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἔτι μᾶλλον

¹ Dindorf: ὑπειδομένου codd.² καὶ om. ROM.³ σέβωσι RSP Exc.

all kings and most beloved by God, and in understanding and wealth surpassed those who had ruled over the Hebrews before him, he did not persevere in this way until his death, but abandoned the observance of his fathers' customs and came to an end not at all like what we have already said about him, for he became madly enamoured of women and indulged in excesses of passion ; not satisfied with the women of his own country alone, he married many from foreign nations as well, Sidonians,^a Tyrians,^b Ammanites and Idumaeans,^c thereby transgressing the laws of Moses who forbade marriage with persons of other races,^d and he began to worship their gods to gratify his wives and his passion for them—which is the very thing the lawgiver foresaw when he warned ^{1 Kings xi}¹ the Hebrews against marrying women of other countries lest they might be entangled with foreign customs and fall away from those of their fathers, and worship the gods of these women while neglecting to honour their own God. But Solomon, carried away by thoughtless pleasure, disregarded these warnings and took as wives seven hundred women, the daughters of princes and nobles, and three hundred concubines, and beside these the daughter of the king of Egypt ; and he was very soon prevailed upon by them to the extent of imitating their ways, and was forced to give a sign of his favour and affection for them by living in accordance with their ancestral customs. As he advanced in age, and his reason became in time too feeble to oppose to these the memory of his

^a So Heb. ; LXX omits.^b Not mentioned in Scripture, but perhaps a corruption of LXX Σύρας.^c Scripture adds Moabites and Hittites.^d Cf. Ex. xxxiv 16, Deut. vii. 3, xxiii. 3.

Solomon's foreign wives.

τοῦ μὲν ἰδίου θεοῦ κατωλιγώρησε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν
 195 γάμων τῶν ἐπεισάκτων τιμῶν διετέλει. καὶ πρὸ¹
 τούτων δὲ ἀμαρτεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτυχε καὶ σφαλῆναι
 περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν νομίμων, ὅτε τὰ τῶν χαλκῶν
 βοῶν ὄμοιώματα κατεσκεύασε τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ θαλάττῃ
 τῷ ἀναθήματι καὶ τῶν λεόντων τῶν περὶ τὸν
 θρόνον τὸν ἰδίον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ὅσιον
 196 εἰργάσατο. κάλλιστον δ' ἔχων καὶ οἰκεῖον παρά-
 δειγμα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου
 δόξαν, ἦν αὐτῷ συνέβη καταλιπεῖν διὰ τὴν πρὸς
 τὸν θεὸν εὔσεβειαν, οὐ μιμησάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ
 ταῦτα δὶς αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπουργούς φα-
 νέντος καὶ τὸν πατέρα μιμεῖσθαι παραινέσαντος
 197 ἀκλεῶς ἀπέθανεν. ἦκεν οὖν εὐθὺς ὁ προφήτης
 ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμφθείς, οὕτε λανθάνειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ²
 τοῖς παρανομήμασι λέγων οὗτον ἐπὶ πολὺ χαιρήσειν
 τοῖς πραττομένοις ἀπειλῶν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντος μὲν οὐκ
 ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπεὶ τῷ πατρὶ
 Δαυΐδῃ τὸ θεῖον ὑπέσχετο διάδοχον αὐτὸν ποιήσειν
 198 ἐκείνου, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ταῦτα
 διαθήσειν, οὐχ ἄπαντα μὲν τὸν λαὸν ἀποστήσας
 αὐτοῦ, δέκα δὲ φυλὰς παραδοὺς αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ,
 δύο δὲ μόνας καταλιπὼν τῷ υἱώνῳ τῷ Δαυΐδου
 δι' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον, ὅτι τὸν θεὸν ἡγάπησε, καὶ διὰ
 τὴν πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἐν ᾧ ναὸν ἔχειν ἐβουλήθη.

^a Neither Scripture nor rabbinic tradition imputes any sin to Solomon in making these vessels and images. Tradition does, however, find fault with his amassing of gold and silver, cf. Ginzberg iv. 129. Perhaps Josephus has chosen these two examples of wrongdoing in preference to mentioning the altars which Solomon built in Jerusalem to Ammonite and Moabite gods. 1 Kings xi. 7.

own country's practices, he showed still greater disrespect for his own God and continued to honour those whom his wives had introduced. But even before this there had been an occasion on which he sinned and went astray in respect of the observance of the laws, namely when he made the images of the bronze bulls underneath the sea which he had set up as an offering, and those of the lions around his own throne, for in making them he committed an impious act.^a And though he had a most excellent and near example of virtue in his father and in the glory which his father was able to leave behind him because of his piety toward God, he did not imitate him—not even after God had twice appeared to him in his sleep and exhorted him to imitate his father,—and so he died ingloriously. For at once there came a prophet^b sent by God, who told him that his unlawful acts had not escaped Him, and threatened that he should not long continue in his course with impunity but that, while in his lifetime he should not be deprived of his kingdom since the Deity had promised his father David to make him his successor, on his death He would cause this to befall Solomon's son and, while not taking all the people away from him, would deliver ten tribes to his servant^c and leave only two^d to David's grandson for the sake of David himself, because he had loved God, and for the sake of Jerusalem, in which He wished to have a temple.

^b Here, as elsewhere (cf. A. vii. 72, 294), Josephus introduces a prophet where Scripture represents God as speaking to a certain person directly; a rabbinic tradition agrees with Josephus in mentioning the prophet Ahijah as God's spokesman on this occasion.

^c Jeroboam, cf. § 205.

^d Bibl. "one tribe" (Judah), but cf. § 207 note.

Solomon is warned of God's displeasure.
1 Kings xi. 11.

199 (6) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Σολομὼν ἥλυησε καὶ σφοδρῶς συνεχύθη πάντων αὐτῷ σχεδὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐφ' οἷς ζηλωτὸς ἦν εἰς μεταβολὴν ἔρχομένων πονηράν. οὐ πολὺς δὲ διῆλθε χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ κατήγγειλεν ὁ προφήτης αὐτῷ τὰ συμβησόμενα καὶ πολέμιον εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἥγειρεν ὁ θεὸς "Ἄδερον¹ μὲν ὄνομα τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τῆς ἔχθρας 200 λαβόντα τοιαύτην· παῖς οὗτος ἦν, Ἰδουμαῖος γένος ἐκ βασιλικῶν σπερμάτων. καταστρεψαμένου δὲ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἰωάβου τοῦ Δαυΐδου στρατηγοῦ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ φέρειν δπλα δυναμένους διαφθείραντος μησὶν ἔξι,² φυγὴν ἦκε πρὸς 201 Φαραώνα τὸν Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν ὑποδεξάμενος³ οἶκόν τε αὐτῷ δίδωσι καὶ χώραν εἰς διατροφήν, καὶ γενόμενον ἐν ἡλικίᾳ λίαν ἥγαπα, ὡς καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ δοῦναι πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὄνομα Θαφίνην, ἔξι ἡς αὐτῷ νιὸς γενόμενος τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως παισὶ 202 συνανετράφη.⁴ ἀκούσας οὖν τὸν Δαυΐδον θάνατον ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ καὶ τὸν Ἰωάβον προσελθὼν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Φαραώνος ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀνακρίνοντος τίνος ἐνδεῆς ḥν ἢ τί παθὼν ἐσπούδακε καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν, ἐνοχλῶν πολλάκις καὶ παρακαλῶν τότε μὲν οὔκ 203 ἀφείθη· κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρόν, καθ' ὃν ἥδη Σολομῶνι τὰ πράγματα κακῶς ἔχειν ἥρχετο διὰ τὰς προειρημένας παρανομίας καὶ τὴν ὄργὴν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ Φαραώνος

¹ ed. pr.: Ἀδέραν R: Ἀδεραν OM (Exc.): Ἀδερ SPE: Adher Lat.

² μησὶν ἔξι ROM: μόνος οὗτος SP: μησὶν ἔξι, μόνος οὗτος Naber. ³ δεξάμενος RO. ⁴ συνετράφη RO.

(6) When Solomon heard this, he was grieved and sorely troubled at the thought that almost all the good things for which he was envied were changing for the worse. Nor did a long time elapse after the prophet's announcement to him of what was coming, but immediately God set up an enemy against him, named Aderos,^a who had the following reason for his enmity. He was a child of royal lineage of Idumean race when Joab, David's commander, subdued Idumea^b and within six months destroyed all those who were of fighting age and able to bear arms; and he fled and came to Pharaō, king of Egypt, who received him kindly and gave him a dwelling and land to sustain him. And when he grew up, Pharaō loved him so much that he gave him in marriage his own wife's sister, named Thaphinē,^c and by her he had a son, who was brought up together with the children of the king. Now when Aderos heard in Egypt of the death of both David and Joab, he went to Pharaō and asked him for permission to go to his native country. But the king inquired what he lacked or what had befallen him that he was anxious to leave him, and, although Aderos frequently pressed him and pleaded with him, he did not at that time obtain his release.^d But at the time when things were already beginning to go ill for Solomon because of the unlawful acts we have mentioned and God's anger on their account, Pharaō gave his consent

^a Cf. LXX Ἀδέρος: bibl. Hadad.

^b Cf. A. vii. 109 note.

^c Bibl. Tahpenes, LXX Θεκεμείνας: this was the name of the queen, not her sister's name.

^d Amplification.

Hadad
(Adados) the
Edomite
rebels
against
Solomon.
1 Kings xi.
14.

δ "Αδερος ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν· καὶ μὴ δυ-
νηθεὶς αὐτὴν ἀποστῆσαι τοῦ Σολομῶνος, κατείχετο
γὰρ φρουραῖς πολλαῖς καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐλεύθερος δι'
αὐτὰς οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀδείας ὁ νεωτερισμός, ἅρας ἐκεῖθεν
204 εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο. συμβαλὼν δ' ἐκεῖ τινι
‘Ράζῳ¹ μὲν τοῦνομα τὸν δὲ τῆς Σωφηνῆς ἀπο-
δεδρακότι βασιλέᾳ Ἀδραάζαρον δεσπότην ὄντα καὶ
ληστεύοντι τὴν χώραν, εἰς φιλίαν αὐτῷ συνάψας
ἔχων τε² περὶ αὐτὸν στῦφος ληστρικὸν ἀναβαίνει,
καὶ κατασχὼν τὴν ἐκεῖ Συρίαν βασιλεὺς αὐτῆς ἀπο-
δείκνυται καὶ κατατρέχων τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν
γῆν ἐποίει κακῶς καὶ διήρπαζε Σολομῶνος ζῶντος
ἔτι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδέρου συνέβαινε
πάσχειν τοὺς Ἐβραίους.

205 (7) Ἐπιτίθεται δὲ Σολομῶνι καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων
τις Ἱεροβόαμος υἱὸς Ναβαταίου, κατὰ προφητείαν
πάλαι γενομένην αὐτῷ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπελπίσας.
Παῖδα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθέντα
καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ παιδευόμενον ὡς εἶδε γενναῖον
καὶ τολμηρὸν Σολομῶν ὄντα τὸ φρόνημα, τῆς τῶν
τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας ἐπιμελητὴν κατέστησεν, ὅτε
206 τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τὸν κύκλον περιέβαλεν. οὕτως
δὲ τῶν ἔργων προενόησεν, ὥστε ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐ-
τὸν ἀπεδέξατο καὶ γέρας αὐτῷ στρατηγίαν ἐπὶ

¹ Πααξάρῳ MSP.

² ἔχων τε Niese: ἔχοντι codd.: ἔχων τι Naber.

^a So LXX; Heb. omits Hadad's return.

^b So cod. A of the LXX, and certain ancient versions; Heb. abruptly turns from the subject of Hadad, after telling of his appeal to Pharaoh, and proceeds with the story of Rezon, 1 Kings xi. 23.

^c Bibl. Rezon, LXX Ἔσρωμ (v.l. Ναξρών, Παξρών κτλ.), Luc. Εσρών.

and Aderos came to Idumea.^a And not being able to cause it to revolt from Solomon—for it was occupied by many garrisons and because of them a revolution was not a matter of free choice nor without peril,—he removed from there and went to Syria.^b There falling in with a certain person named Razos,^c who had run away from his master Adraazaros,^d the king of Sophēnē,^e and was pillaging the country, he joined forces with this man and with a band of robbers under him went up country and, taking possession of that part of Syria,^f was proclaimed king thereof^g; and he overran the country of the Israelites, damaging it and plundering it while Solomon was still alive. Such, then, were the injuries which the Hebrews were fated to suffer at the hands of Aderos.

(7) There also rose up against Solomon one of his own countrymen, Jeroboam the son of Nabataios,^h who had faith in his chances of success because of a prophecy that had been made to him long before. For he had been bereaved of his father when still a child and was brought up by his mother, and Solomon, seeing that he was of a noble and daring spirit, appointed him overseer of the building of the walls when he surrounded Jerusalem with defences. And so well did he supervise the work that the king marked him with his approval and as a reward gave him the

^a Cf. Luc. Ἀδραάζαρ; bibl. Hadadezer, LXX Ἀδράζαρ (v.l. Ἀδαδέξερ).

^b Bibl. Zobah (*Sôbâh*), LXX Σουβά; on Sophene cf. A. vii. 99 note.

^c Damascus, in Scripture.

^d According to Scripture, it was Rezon who became king of Damascus, while Hadad became king of Edom.

^e Bibl. Nebat, LXX Ναβάτ (v.l. Ναβάθ).

τῆς Ἰωσήπου φυλῆς ἔδωκεν. ἀπερχομένῳ δὲ τῷ
‘Ιεροβοάμῳ κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τῶν ‘Ιερο-
σολύμων συνεβόλησε¹ προφήτης ἐκ πόλεως μὲν
Σιλὼ Ἀχίας² δὲ ὄνομα. καὶ προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν
ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ μικρὸν ἀπονεύσας εἰς τι
χωρίον, εἰς ὃ³ παρῆν μηδὲ εἰς ἄλλος. σχίσας δὲ
εἰς δώδεκα φάρση τὸ ἴματιον, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτὸς περι-
βεβλημένος, ἐκέλευσε τὸν ‘Ιεροβόαμον λαβεῖν τὰ
δέκα, προειπὼν⁴ ὅτι ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς βούλεται καὶ
σχίσας τὴν Σολομῶνος ἀρχὴν τῷ παιδὶ μὲν τῷ
τούτου διὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαυΐδην γεγενημένην ὁμο-
λογίαν αὐτῷ μίαν φυλὴν καὶ τὴν ἔξῆς αὐτῆς δίδωσι,
“σοὶ δὲ τὰς δέκα Σολομῶνος εἰς αὐτὸν ἔξαμαρ-
τόντος καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων θεοῖς
αὐτὸν ἐκδεδωκότος. εἰδὼς οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν δι’ ἥν
μετατίθησι τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀπὸ Σολομῶνος ὁ
θεὸς δίκαιος εἶναι πειρῶ καὶ φύλαττε τὰ νόμιμα,
προκειμένου σοι τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν
θεὸν τιμῆς ἄθλου μεγίστου τῶν ἀπάντων, γενή-
σεσθαι τηλικούτῳ ἡλίκον οἰσθα Δαυΐδην γενόμενον.”
209 (8) Ἐπαρθεὶς οὖν τοῖς τοῦ προφήτου λόγοις
‘Ιεροβόαμος φύσει θερμὸς ὡν νεανίας καὶ μεγάλων
ἐπιθυμητῆς πραγμάτων οὐκ ἡρέμει. γενόμενος δ’
ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ μεμνημένος τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀχία
δεδηλωμένων εὐθὺς ἀναπείθειν ἐπεχείρει τὸν λαὸν
ἀφίστασθαι Σολομῶνος καὶ κινεῖν καὶ παράγειν⁵

¹ συνήντησε M²SPE Zonaras.

² E: Ἀχία (-ᾶ SP Zonaras) codd. Lat.

³ δὲ μὴ SP.

⁴ προειπὼν SP.

⁵ ed. pr.: αὐτῆς MSP: ἦν αὐτὸς RO.

⁶ Niese: ταράττειν ROS²P: παράττειν M: παραττάτειν S¹:
contraderet Lat.: περιάγειν Naber.

command over the tribe of Joseph.^a Now, as Jeroboam on that occasion was going out of Jerusalem, there met him a prophet from the city of Silō, named Achias,^b and, having greeted Jeroboam, he led him away from the road and went aside a little distance to a spot where there was no one else.^c Then, tearing the cloak which covered him into twelve pieces, he bade Jeroboam take ten of them, announcing that such was God’s will and that He had torn apart the kingdom of Solomon, giving one tribe and that adjoining it to his son^d because of the promise He had made to David, “while to you He has given ten tribes, since Solomon has sinned against Him and gone over wholly to his wives and their gods. Now that you know the reason why God has changed and has set His mind against Solomon, try to be righteous and observe the laws, for there awaits you the greatest of all rewards for piety and honour shown to God, which is to become as great as you know David to have been.”

(8) Elated, therefore, by the prophet’s words, Jeroboam,^e who was a youth of ardent nature and ambitious of great things, did not remain idle. And when he entered upon his command and called to mind what had been revealed by Achias, he at once attempted to persuade the people to turn away from Solomon and to start a revolt and transfer the supreme

^a Bibl. “appointed him in charge of all the forced labour (A.V. “charge”; LXX ἀρσεις “burdens”) of the house of Joseph.”

^b Bibl. Ahijah (*’Ahīyāh*), LXX Ἀχείας (v.l. Ἀχία).

^c Amplification of 1 Kings xi. 29.

^d Cf. LXX “two tribes shall be for him”; Heb. “one tribe shall be for him”; cf. § 197 note, 221 note.

210 εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. μαθὼν δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν¹ Σολομῶν ἔζητει συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. φθάσας δὲ γνῶναι τοῦτο Ἱεροβόαμος πρὸς Ἰσακον φεύγει τὸν Αἴγυπτιῶν βασιλέα, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Σολομῶνος τελευτῆς ἐκεῖ μείνας τό τε μηδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν ἐκέρδησε καὶ 211 τὸ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φυλαχθῆναι. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Σολομῶν ἥδη γηραιὸς ὃν βασιλεύσας μὲν ὄγδοοήκοντα ἔτη, ζήσας δὲ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα· θάπτεται δὲ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἅπαντας ὑπερβαλῶν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τε καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φρονήσει τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας, εἰ μὴ ὅσα γε πρὸς τὸ γῆρας ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπατηθεὶς παρηνόμησε· περὶ ὃν καὶ τῶν δι’ αὐτὰς κακῶν συμπεσόντων Ἐβραίοις εὐκαιρότερον ἔξομεν² διασαφῆσαι.

212 (viii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σολομῶνος τελευτὴν διαδεξαμένου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥοβοάμου, ὃς ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀμμανίτιδος ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ γεγονὼς Νοομᾶς τοῦνομα, πέμψαντες εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ τῶν ὅχλων ἄρχοντες ἐκάλουν τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον. ἀφικομένου δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς Σίκιμα πόλιν καὶ Ῥοβόαμος εἰς αὐτὴν παραγίνεται· δέδοκτο γάρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε συνελθοῦσι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα· προσελθόντες οὖν οἱ τε ἄρχοντες αὐτῷ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ Ἱεροβόαμος παρ-

¹ ἐπιβολὴν Niese, Naber.
² εὐκαιρ. ἔξομεν R.O.: εἰς καιρὸν ἔτερον ἔδοξε μοι MSP.

^a These details are not found in the Heb., in which Ahijah's message is immediately followed by Solomon's attempt to kill Jeroboam; they are based on the LXX addition, 1 Kings xii. 24 b.

^b Bibl. Shishak, LXX Σουσακείμ; the name appears as Isōkos in § 253, and as Sūsakos in A. vii. 105.

power to him.^a But when Solomon learned of his intention and his plot, he sought to arrest him and execute him. Jeroboam, however, hearing of this in time, fled to Isakos,^b the king of Egypt, and remained with him until Solomon's death, thereby gaining the two-fold advantage of escaping harm from Solomon and being preserved for the kingship.^c Then Solomon died at a good old age, having reigned for eighty^d years and lived for ninety-four,^e and was buried in Jerusalem. He surpassed all other kings in good fortune, wealth and wisdom, except that as he approached old age he was beguiled by his wives into committing unlawful acts. Concerning these acts and the misfortunes which befell the Hebrews on their account we shall find a more convenient occasion to write fully.^f

(viii. 1) After the death of Solomon, his son Rehoboam (Roboamos)^g who was borne to him by an Ammanite woman named Nooma,^h succeeded to his kingdom, and the leaders of the common people immediately sent to Egypt to summon Jeroboam. But when he came to them at the city of Sikima,ⁱ Roboamos also arrived there, for it had been decided by the Israelites to assemble there and proclaim him king. So the leaders of the people and Jeroboam went to him and

^a These last remarks are an addition to Scripture.

^b Bibl. 40. As Weill notes, Josephus's figure is more consistent with the Scriptural statement, 1 Kings xi. 4, about Solomon's old age.

^c Cf. § 2 note.

^d Apparently a reference to §§ 253 ff. on Shishak's invasion of Palestine.

^e Cf. LXX Ῥοβοάμ: bibl. Rehoboam.

^f So LXX in 2 Chron. xii. 13; bibl. Naamah, LXX 1 Kings Μααχάμ (v.l. Νααμά).

^g Bibl. Shechem, cf. A. v. 69 note.

εκάλουν λέγοντες ἀνεῖναι τι τῆς δουλείας αὐτοῖς καὶ γενέσθαι χρηστότερον τοῦ πατρός· βαρὺν γὰρ ὑπ’ ἐκείνω ζυγὸν αὐτοὺς ὑπενεγκεῖν· εὐνούστεροι δὲ ἔσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσειν τὴν δουλείαν
 214 διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἢ διὰ τὸν φόβον. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρινεῖσθαι¹ περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῦσιν ὑποπτος μὲν εὐθὺς γίνεται μὴ παραχρῆμα ἐπινεύσας αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἡδονήν, πρόχειρον γὰρ ἡξίουν εἶναι τὸ χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐν νέῳ, ἐδόκει δ’ ὅμως καὶ τὸ βουλεύσασθαι τῷ² μὴ παραυτίκα ἀπειπεῖν ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἔχεσθαι.
 215 (2) Συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς πατρώους φίλους ἐσκο-
 πεῖτο μετ’ αὐτῶν ποδαπὴν δεῖ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπό-
 κρισιν πρὸς τὸ πλήθος. οἱ δ’, ἀπερ εἴκος τοὺς εὔνους καὶ φύσιν ὄχλων εἰδότας, παρήνοντον αὐτῷ φιλοφρόνως ὅμιλῆσαι τῷ λαῷ καὶ δημοτικώτερον ἢ κατὰ βασιλείας ὄγκον· χειρώσεοθαι³ γὰρ οὕτως εἰς εὔνοιαν αὐτόν, φύσει τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀγαπώντων τὸ προσηνές καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν ἵστημον τῶν βασι-
 216 λέων. ὁ δ’ ἀγαθὴν οὕτως καὶ συμφέρουσαν ἵσως πρὸς τὸ πᾶν, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς γε⁴ τὸν τότε καιρὸν ὅτ’ ἔδει γενέσθαι βασιλέα γνώμην ἀπεστράφη τοῦ θεοῦ ποιήσαντος, οἷμαι, κατακριθῆναι τὸ συμφέρον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ· καλέσας δὲ μειράκια τὰ συντεθραμμένα καὶ τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτοῖς συμβουλίαν εἰπών,
 217 τί δοκεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε λέγειν. τὰ δέ,

¹ ex Lat. Niese: ἀποκρινασθαι ROE: ἀποκρινεσθαι MSP.

² Niese: τοῦ codd.

³ ed. pr.: χειρώσασθαι codd.

⁴ ed. pr.: τε codd.

^a These remarks on the people’s response are an addition to Scripture.

urged him to lighten their bondage somewhat and to be more lenient than his father, for, they said, the yoke they had borne under him had been heavy indeed, and they would be better disposed toward him and accept servitude more willingly if treated with kindness than if made to fear him. But when he said that in three days he would give them an answer to their request, he immediately roused their suspicions by not assenting to their wishes on the spot, for they held kindness and friendliness to be an easy matter, especially for a young man. Nevertheless the fact of his deliberating and not refusing them on the instant seemed to offer some ground for good hope.^a

(2) He then called together his father’s friends Rehoboam’s harsh answer to the people. 1 Kings xii. 6; 2 Chron. x. 6. and considered with them what kind of answer he should give the multitude. And they, as was to be expected of men of kindly disposition and acquainted with the nature of crowds, advised him to speak to the people in a friendly spirit and in more popular style than was usual for the royal dignity, for in this way he would secure their goodwill, since subjects naturally liked affability in their kings and to be treated by them almost as equals.^b But this advice, which was so good and beneficial, perhaps for all occasions, or, if not for all, at any rate for that particular occasion, he rejected; and it was God, I believe, who caused him to condemn what should have been of benefit to him. He then called together the young men who had been brought up with him and, after telling them what the advice of the elders had been, bade them say what they thought he should do. So

^b In Scripture the elders advise Rehoboam to be the people’s servant.

οῦτε γὰρ ή νεότης¹ οῦτε ὁ θεὸς ἡφίει νοεῖν τὰ κρείττω, παρήνεσαν ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ λαῷ τὸν βραχύτατον² αὐτοῦ δάκτυλον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὁσφύος εἶναι παχύτερον καὶ, εἰ σκληροῦ λίαν ἐπειράθησαν ἐκείνου, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι πεῖραν δυσκόλου· καὶ εἰ μάστιξιν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ἔνουθέτει, σκορπίοις τοῦτο ποιήσειν αὐτὸν προσ-
218 δοκῶν. τούτοις ἡσθεὶς³ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δόξας προσ-
ήκειν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξιώματι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ὡς συνῆλθεν ἀκουσόμενον τὸ πλῆθος τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν, μετεώρου τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ὄντος καὶ λέγοντος ἀκοῦσαι τι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσπουδακότος, οἰομένου δέ τι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, τὴν τῶν μειρα-
κίων αὐτοῖς συμβουλίαν, παρεὶς τὴν τῶν φίλων, ἀπεκρίνατο. ταῦτα δ' ἐπράττετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ἵνα λάβῃ τέλος ἀ προεφήτευσεν
'Αχιας.

219 (3) Πληγέντες δ' ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων⁴ καὶ ἀλγή-
σαντες ὡς ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῖς εἱρημένοις ἥγανάκτησαν καὶ μέγα πάντες ἐκβοήσαντες οὐκέτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι συγγενὲς πρὸς Δαυΐδην καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔφασαν τὴν ἡμέραν· παραχωρεῖν δ' αὐτῷ μόνον⁵ τὸν ναὸν δὲ πάππος αὐτοῦ κατ-

¹ Theodoretus: βραχύτερον codd. E Lat.

² πεισθεῖς Naber.

³ + ὡς ὑπὸ σιδήρου MSP: + velut opere Lat.

⁴ ed. pr.: μόνῳ codd. E.

^a Josephus, like the LXX in 2 Chron. and some LXX mss.
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they, whom neither their youth nor God permitted to discern a better course, advised him to reply to the people that his little finger^a was thicker than his father's loins and, if they had found his father excessively harsh, they would experience much more unpleasant treatment from himself; if his father had chastised them with whips, they should expect him to do the same with scorpions.^b With this advice the king was pleased, thinking such an answer proper to the royal dignity; and, when the multitude assembled on the third day to hear him speak, all the people were excited and anxious to hear what the king might say, supposing that it would be something friendly.^c But, ignoring the counsel of his (older) friends, he answered them as the young men had advised. This came about in accordance with the will of God, in order that what Achias had prophesied might be accomplished.^d

(3) Struck a cruel blow by these words^e and hurt ^{The} northern tribes as though actually experiencing what he had spoken of doing, they became indignant and all cried out in revolt from Reboam. 1 Kings xii. 16; 2 Chron. x. 16.

in 1 Kings, supplies δάκτυλος in rendering the Heb. which has *qotoni*, "my little" (sc. part, i.e. finger).

^b Josephus uses the LXX word translating Heb. *agrabim*, here probably meaning some sort of club with barbed points. J. Strachan in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 419, compares the Roman *scorpio* "described by Isidore as *virga nodosa et aculeata*."

^c This last sentence, describing the people's attitude, is an addition to Scripture.

^d Cf. §§ 206 ff.

^e Variant adds "as if by a sword."

220 εσκεύασεν εἰπόντες καταλεύψειν ἡπείλησαν. οὗτως δ' ἔσχον πικρῶς καὶ τὴν ὄργὴν ἐτήρησαν, ὡς πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων Ἀδώραμον, ἵνα καταπραῦνῃ καὶ συγγνόντας τοῖς εἰρημένοις, εἴ τι προπετὲς ὑπὸ νεότητος¹ καὶ δύσκολον ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ποιῆσῃ² μαλακωτέρους, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν,
221 ἀλλὰ βάλλοντες αὐτὸν λίθοις ἀπέκτειναν. τοῦτ' ἴδων Ῥοβόαμος καὶ νομίσας αὐτὸν βεβλῆσθαι τοῖς λίθοις, οἷς τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος, δείσας μὴ καὶ ἔργῳ πάθῃ τὸ δεινὸν ἐπιβὰς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ἄρματος ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰούδα φυλὴ καὶ ἡ Βενιαμῖτις χειροτονοῦσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν Δαυΐδου παίδων ἀποστὰν τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον ἀπέδειξε τῶν πραγμάτων κύριον.
222 Ῥοβόαμος δὲ ὁ Σολομῶνος παῖς ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας τῶν δύο φυλῶν, ἃς εἶχεν ὑπηκόους, οἵσις τε ἦν λαβὼν ὀκτωκαΐδεκα παρ' αὐτῶν στρατοῦ μυριάδας ἐπιλέκτους ἔξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον καὶ τὸν λαόν, ὅπως πολεμήσας ἀναγκάσῃ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ.
223 κωλυθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου³

¹ ὑπὸ νεότητος om. RO.

² Niese: ποιῆσεν codd.

³ + Σαμαῖα Zonaras Lat.

^a This is based on 1 Kings xii. 16, "Now see to thine own house, David," LXX νῦν βσκε (2 Chron. βλέπε) τὸν οἰκὸν σου, Δαυΐδ. Josephus apparently takes οἰκον in the sense of "temple," a meaning which is common in 1 Kings and elsewhere. The Targum translates "Now rule over the men of thy house, David."

^b Bibl. Adoram, LXX 1 Kings Ἀδωνιράμ, 2 Chron. Ἀδωράμ; cf. A. vii. 293.

^c Scripture says nothing of any speech made by Adoram; cf. 1 Kings xii. 18 (2 Chron. x. 18), "Then King Rehoboam 690

had built,^a they threatened to desert him. So bitter did they feel toward him and so great was the anger they nourished that, when he sent Adōramos,^b who was in charge of the levies, to appease them and soften their mood by persuading them to forgive what he had said if there had been in it anything rash or ill-tempered owing to his youth, they did not let him speak but threw stones at him and killed him.^c Roboamos, seeing this and imagining himself the target of the stones with which the crowd had killed his minister, was afraid that he might actually suffer this dreadful fate^d and immediately mounted his chariot and fled to Jerusalem. Although the tribes of Judah and Benjamin elected him king,^e the rest of the populace from that day revolted from the sons of David and proclaimed Jeroboam head of the state. Then Roboamos, the son of Solomon, held an assembly of the two tribes which remained subject to him, and was prepared to take from their number an army of a hundred and eighty thousand^f chosen men and march out against Jeroboam and his people in order to force him by war to be his servant; but he was prevented by God through the prophet^g from

sent Adoram, who was over the tribute; and all Israel stoned him with stones, that he died."^h

^d This explanation of Rehoboam's flight is an amplification of Scripture.

^e Josephus consistently ignores (cf. §§ 197, 207) the contradiction in Scripture, 1 Kings xii., between vs. 20 (omitted in 2 Chron.) which says that only the tribe of Judah followed Rehoboam, and vs. 21 in which Judah and Benjamin are both said to be under his rule.

^f So 2 Chron. and Heb. 1 Kings; LXX 1 Kings 120,000.

^g Scripture, 1 Kings xii. 22 (2 Chron. xi. 2), gives his name as Shemaiah, LXX Σαμαῖα. This name is found in the Lat. translation of Josephus and in Zonaras's excerpt.

ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον τοὺς ὁμοφύλους πολεμεῦν οὗτος ἔλεγε καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαιρεσιν τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ἀποστάσεως γεγενημένης, οὐκέτ' ἐξῆλθε.¹ διηγήσομαι² δὲ πρῶτον, ὅσα Ἱεροβόαμος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς ἔπραξεν, εἴτα δὲ τούτων ἔχόμενα τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλέως γεγενημένα δηλώσομεν· φυλαχθείη γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἄχρι παντὸς τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ εὐτακτον.

225 (4) Ὁ τοίνυν Ἱεροβόαμος οἰκοδομήσας βασιλειον ἐν Σικίμῃ πόλει ἐν ταύτῃ τὴν δίαιταν εἶχε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ ἐν Φανουὴλ πόλει λεγομένῃ. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἔορτῆς ἐνίστασθαι μελλούσης λογισάμενος ὡς ἐὰν ἐπιτρέψῃ τῷ πλήθει προσκυνῆσαι τὸν θεὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πορευθέντι καὶ ἐκεῖ τὴν ἔορτὴν διαγαγεῖν, μετανοῆσαν ἵσως καὶ δελεασθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καταλεύψει μὲν αὐτόν, προσχωρήσει δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ βασιλεῖ, καὶ κινδυνεύσει τούτου γενομένου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐπιτεχνᾶται τι 226 τοιοῦτον· δύο ποιήσας δαμάλεις χρυσᾶς καὶ οἰκοδομήσας ναῖσκους τοσούτους ἕνα μὲν ἐν Βηθὴλῃ πόλει, τὸν ἔτερον δὲ ἐν Δάνῃ, ἥ δ' ἔστι πρὸς τὰς πηγαῖς τοῦ μικροῦ Ἰορδάνου, τίθησι τὰς δαμάλεις

¹ οὐ κατεξῆλθε M: οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθε Naber.

² ante διηγήσομαι lacunam statuit Niese.

^a Nevertheless we read in 1 Kings xv. 6 "and there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days of his life," a discrepancy which Josephus ignores. Some LXX mss. also omit the latter verse.

^b Bibl. Shechem, cf. A. v. 69 note.

^c So LXX; bibl. Penuel. Scripture says that he "built

undertaking the campaign—for he said that it was not right to make war on one's countrymen, especially as the revolt of the multitude had taken place in accordance with the purpose of God,—and so he did not march out.^a I shall now relate, first the acts of Jeroboam, the king of Israel, and then in what follows we shall tell what happened in the reign of Roboamos, the king of the two tribes. For in this way an orderly arrangement can be preserved throughout the history.

(4) Jeroboam, then, built a palace in Sikima^b and made his dwelling there; he also constructed a palace in a city called Phanuel.^c But not long after, when the festival of Tabernacles was about to take place,^d he reflected that, if he permitted the people to go to Jerusalem to worship God and to celebrate the festival there, they might perhaps repent and be captivated by the temple^e and the ceremonies performed in it and so desert him and go over to their former king; and that, if this happened, he would be in danger of losing his life. He therefore devised the following plan. Making two golden heifers^f and building shrines for both, one in the city of Bethel and the other in Dan—this being near the sources of the Little Jordan,^g—he

Shechem . . . and built Penuel," which Jewish commentators take to mean "repaired" or "fortified." Josephus avoids the difficulty of referring to the building of already existing sites by inserting the word "palace" in each case.

^a The festival is not mentioned at this point in Scripture, cf. § 230 note.

^b δελεάζειν, lit. "ensnare," usually has the meaning "seduce"; bibl. "their hearts shall be turned again to their Lord."

^c Josephus, like the LXX, uses δαμάλεις which is feminine; Heb. *eglē* "calves."

^d Unscriptural detail; for the site cf. A. v. 178 note.

^b Jeroboam builds a sanctuary at Bethel.
^c 1 Kings xii. 25.

ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις πόλεσι ναΐσκων, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὰς δέκα φυλὰς ὃν αὐτὸς ἦρχεν ἐδημηγόρησε τούτους ποιησάμενος 227 τοὺς λόγους· “ ἄνδρες ὅμοφυλοι, γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς νομίζω τοῦτο, ὅτι πᾶς τόπος ἔχει τὸν θεὸν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἀποδεδειγμένον χωρίον ἐν ᾧ πάρεστιν, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ τε ἀκούει καὶ τοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐφορᾷ. ὅθεν οὖ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν ἐπείγειν ὑμᾶς εἰς ‘Ιεροσόλυμα πορευθέντας εἰς τὴν τῶν ἔχθρῶν 228 πόλιν μακρὰν οὔτως ὁδὸν προσκυνεῖν· ἀνθρωπος γάρ κατεσκεύακε τὸν ναόν, πεποίηκα δὲ κάγῳ δύο χρυσᾶς δαμάλεις ἐπωνύμους τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν Βηθήλῃ πόλει καθιέρωσα τὴν δ' ἐν Δάρῃ, ὅπως ὑμῶν οἱ τούτων ἔγγιστα τῶν πόλεων κατ- ακημένοι προσκυνῶσιν¹ εἰς αὐτὰς ἀπερχόμενοι τὸν θεόν. ἀποδείξω δέ τινας ὑμῖν καὶ ἵερεῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ Ληονίτας, ἵνα μὴ χρείαν ἔχητε τῆς Ληονίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ τῶν νιῶν Ἀαρῶνος, ἀλλ' ὁ βουλόμενος ὑμῶν ἵερεὺς εἶναι προσενεγκάτω μόσχον τῷ θεῷ καὶ κριόν, διὰ τοῦ πρῶτον ἵερέα 229 φασὶν Ἀαρῶνα πεποιηκέναι.” ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐξηπάτησε τὸν λαὸν καὶ τῆς πατρίου θρησκείας ἀποστάντας ἐποίησε παραβῆναι τοὺς νόμους. ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένετο τοῦτο τοῖς Ἐβραιοῖς καὶ τοῦ πολέμῳ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων αἰχμαλωσίᾳ περιπεσεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

¹ προσκυνήσωσιν MSP.

^a Jeroboam's speech down to "worship God" is an
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placed the heifers in either of the shrines in the cities mentioned and, having called together the ten tribes over which he ruled, harangued them in the following words ^a: “ Fellow-countrymen, I think you know that every place has God in it and that there is no one spot set apart for His presence, but everywhere He hears and watches over His worshippers.^b Therefore I do not think I should now urge you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, the city of our enemies, in order to worship. For it was a man that built that temple; and I too have made two golden heifers bearing the name of God and I have consecrated them, one in the city of Bethel and the other in Dan, in order that those of you who live nearest either of these cities may go to them and worship God. I shall appoint for you priests and Levites^c from your own number, in order that you may have no need of the tribe of Levi and the sons of Aaron, but let him among you who wishes to be a priest offer up to God a calf and a ram, as Aaron, the first priest, is said to have done.^d” By these words he misled the people and caused them to abandon the worship of their fathers and transgress the laws. This was the beginning of the Hebrews' misfortunes and led to their being defeated in war by other races and to their falling captive. But of these things we shall write in the proper place.^e

amplification of 1 Kings xii. 28, “ It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem; behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.”

^b Cf. §§ 107 ff.

^c The Levites are not mentioned in Scripture.

^d Cf. Lev. xvi. 3. In Scripture Jeroboam makes no reference to this priestly ceremony.

^e A. ix. 277 ff.

230 (5) Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ βούλομενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Βηθήλῃ ταύτην ἀγαγεῖν, ὥσπερ ἔώρταζον καὶ αἱ δύο φυλαὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οἰκοδομεῖ μὲν θυσιαστήριον πρὸ τῆς δαμάλεως, γενόμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβαίνει σὺν τοῖς ἴδιοις ἱερεῦσι. μέλλοντος δ' ἐπιφέρειν τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ὀλοκαυτώσεις ἐν ὅψει τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων προφήτης Ἰάδων ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ πέμψατο, ὃς σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούοντος εἶπε τάδε πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους· “ὁ θεὸς ἔσεσθαί τινα προλέγει ἐκ τοῦ Δαυΐδου γένους Ἰωσίαν ὄνομα, ὃς ἐπὶ σοῦ θύσει τοὺς ψευδιερεῖς τοὺς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν γενησομένους καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν λαοπλάνων τούτων καὶ ἀπατεώνων καὶ ἀσεβῶν ἐπὶ σοῦ καύσει. ἵνα μέντοι γε πιστεύσωσιν οὗτοι τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔξειν, σημεῖον αὐτοῖς προερῶ γενησόμενον· ῥαγήσεται τὸ θυσιαστήριον παραχρῆμα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πιμελὴ τῶν ἱερέων ἐπὶ γῆν χυθήσεται.” ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Ἱεροβόαμος ἔξέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα κελεύων συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν. ἐκ-

^a Scripture dates Jeroboam's festival on the 15th of the eighth month, which would be exactly a month after the traditional celebration of the festival of Tabernacles. Josephus is, perhaps, more logical in making Jeroboam's celebration coincide with that in Jerusalem, but Jewish commentators justify the Biblical text (*cf.* 1 Kings xii. 33, “in the month which he had devised of his own heart”) by explaining that Jeroboam wished either deliberately to alter the older custom or to avoid entirely alienating the Judaeans, by giving them an opportunity of visiting his sanctuary after they had observed the festival at Jerusalem in the seventh month.

(5) When the festival came round in the seventh ^a A prophet rebukes Jeroboam month, Jeroboam, wishing to observe it himself in Bethel just as the two tribes were celebrating it in Jerusalem, built an altar before the heifer and, having made himself high priest,^b went up to the altar with his own priests. But as he was about to offer the sacrifices and the whole burnt-offerings ^c in the sight of all the people, there came to him from Jerusalem a prophet named Jadōn,^d whom God had sent, and, standing in the midst of the multitude and in the hearing of the king, addressed the altar in these words: “God has foretold that there shall be one of the line of David, named Josias, who will sacrifice upon you the false priests living in his time and will burn upon you the bones of these misleaders of the people, these impostors and unbelievers. Furthermore, that these people may believe that so it will be, I shall foretell to them a sign that will be given. The altar shall be broken in an instant and all the fat of the victims on it shall be spilled upon the ground.” Roused to fury by these words of the prophet, Jeroboam stretched out his hand to order his arrest. But

^b Scripture says merely that he himself made the offering.

^c Apparently Josephus takes Heb. *yā’al* as a *hiphîl* (causative) form meaning “offered the burnt-offering (*ōlāh*)”, while LXX, taking it as a *qal* (intransitive) form meaning “went up,” has ἀνέβη. Or possibly the “whole burnt-offerings” in Josephus’s text may be an interpretation of Heb. *haqtir* (LXX ἐπιθύσαι; A.V. wrongly “burn incense”) which implies the offering of various kinds of sacrifice including the burnt-offering.

^d The name is not found in 1 Kings, but *cf.* 2 Chron. ix. 29 which mentions “the visions of Iddo (LXX Ἰωῆλ) the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat”; rabbinic tradition also identifies the unnamed prophet of 1 Kings with Iddo (*Yēdi*, v.l. *Yēdō*).

τεταμένη δ' ἡ χεὶρ εὐθέως παρείθη καὶ οὐκέτ' ἵσχε ταύτην¹ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ νεναρκηκυῖαν καὶ νεκρὰν εἶχεν ἀπηρτημένην. ἐρράγη δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κατηνέχθη πάντα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ,
234 καθὼς προεὗπεν ὁ προφήτης. μαθὼν δὲ ἀληθῆ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ θείαν ἔχοντα πρόγνωσιν παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναζωπυρῆσαι τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἴκετευσε τὸν θεὸν τοῦτ' αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ὁ δὲ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἀπολαβούσης χαίρων ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸν προφήτην παρεκάλει δειπνῆσαι
235 παρ' αὐτῷ. Ἰάδων δ' ἔφησεν οὐχ ὑπομένειν εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ γεύσασθαι ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει· τοῦτο γάρ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἀπειρηκέναι καὶ τὴν ὅδὸν ἦν ἥλθεν ὅπως μὴ δι' αὐτῆς ποιήσηται τὴν ἐπιστροφήν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἄλλης ἔφασκεν· τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἐθαύμαζεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἐγκρατείας, αὐτὸς δ' ἦν ἐν φόβῳ, μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων οὐκ ἀγαθὴν ὑπονοῶν.
236 (ix.) Ἡν δέ τις ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβύτης πονηρὸς ψευδοπροφήτης, διν εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ Ἱεροβόαμος ἀπατώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἥδονήν λέγοντος. οὗτος τότε μὲν κλωνήρης ἦν διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ γήρας ἀσθένειαν, τῶν δὲ παιῶν αὐτῷ δηλωσάντων τὰ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων προφήτου καὶ
237 τῶν σημείων τῶν γενομένων, καὶ ὡς παρεθεῖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν δεξιὰν Ἱεροβόαμος εὐξαμένου πάλιν ἐκείνους ζῶσαν ἀπολάβοι, δείσας μὴ παρευδοκιμῆσειν αὐτὸν ὁ ξένος παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πλείονος

¹ ἵσχεν αὐτὴν M : ἵσχυσεν αὐτὴν SP.

^a The last sentence is an addition to Scripture.

^b Targum and Old Latin version of Scripture also have "false prophet"; Heb. and LXX "a certain old prophet."

no sooner was his hand stretched out than it was paralysed and he no longer had the power to draw it back to himself but found it hanging numb and lifeless. And the altar was broken and everything on it was swept to the ground, as the prophet had foretold. Then, having learnt that the man was telling the truth and possessed divine foreknowledge, he begged him to pray that God bring back life to his right hand. So the prophet entreated God to grant him this prayer, and Jeroboam, overjoyed when his hand regained its natural use, asked the prophet to dine with him. But Jadōn said that he dare not enter his house nor taste bread or water in that city, for God had forbidden this to him as well as to return by the road on which he had come, saying he must go by another. The king admired him for his self-control but was himself in a state of fear, suspecting from what had been foretold to him a change in his fortunes that would not be for his good.^a

(ix.) Now there was in that city a wicked old man, ^{The false prophet of Bethel deceives Jadon.} whom Jeroboam held in honour, being deceived by the things he said to please him. At that time the man was bed-ridden through the infirmity of old age,^c but his sons told him about the prophet who had come from Jerusalem and the signs that had been given, and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been paralysed, he had it restored to life through the prophet's prayer. Then the old man, fearing that the stranger might find more favour with the king than himself and enjoy greater honour,^d

^c These details about the old prophet's infirmity and Jeroboam's favour are unscriptural.

^d This explanation of the old prophet's motives is an addition to Scripture.

ἀπολαύοι τιμῆς, προσέταξε τοῖς παισὶν εὐθὺς ἐπιστρώσασι τὸν ὄνον ἔτοιμον πρὸς ἔξοδον αὐτῷ παρασκευάσαι. τῶν δὲ σπεύσαντων δὲ προσετάγησαν ἐπιβὰς ἐδίωξε τὸν προφήτην καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀναπανόμενον ὑπὸ δένδρῳ δασεῖ¹ καὶ σκιὰν ἔχοντι δρυὸς εὐμεγέθους ἡσπάσατο πρῶτον, εἰτ' ἐμέμφετο μὴ παρ' αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντα καὶ ξενίων μεταλαβόντα. τοῦ δὲ φῆσαντος κεκωλύσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεύσασθαι παρά τινι τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει, “ἄλλ' οὐχὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ πάντως,” εἶπεν, “ἀπηγόρευκέ σοι τὸ θεῖον παραθέσθαι τράπεζαν· προφήτης γάρ είμι κάγὼ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σοι κοινωνὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν θρησκείας, καὶ πάρειμι νῦν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ πεμφθεὶς ὅπως ἀγάγω σε πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἔστιασόμενον.” ὁ δὲ ψευσαμένω πεισθεὶς ἀνέστρεψεν· ἀριστώντων δὲ ἔτι καὶ φιλοφρονούμενων δὲ θεὸς ἐπιφαίνεται τῷ Ἱάδωνι καὶ παραβάντα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν ἐλεγεν· καὶ ποδαπήν ἐδήλου· λέοντα γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπερχομένῳ συμβαλεῖν ἐφραζεν, ὑφ' οὗ διαφθαρήσεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πατρώοις μνήμασι ταφῆς ἀμοιρήσειν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐγένετο οἷμαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ὅπως μὴ προσέχοι τοῖς τοῦ Ἱάδωνος λόγοις Ἱεροβόαμος ἐληλεγμένῳ ψεύδει.² πορευομένῳ τοίνυν τῷ Ἱάδωνι πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συμβάλλει λέων καὶ κατα-

¹ βαθεὶ MSP Lat.

² M: ψευδῆ Ο: ψευδεῖ rell.: ἐληλεγμένου ψεῦδος ed. pr.: ὡς ἐληλεγμένου ψευδοῦς ex Lat. conj. Niese.

^a Unscriptural details; bibl. “under a terebinth” (or “oak”).

^b Unscriptural detail.

^c In Scripture, God does not reveal the manner of his death nor mention the lion.

ordered his sons to saddle his ass at once and make it ready for his departure. So they made haste to do as they were ordered, and he mounted it to ride in pursuit of the prophet; when he came upon him resting under a tree that was thick with leaves and gave as much shade as a huge oak,^a he first greeted him and then proceeded to blame him for not entering his house and partaking of his hospitality. But the other said that he had been forbidden by God to taste food in the house of anyone in that city, whereupon he replied, “But not in my house, at least, did the Deity forbid you to have food served to you. For I too am a prophet, sharing with you in the same worship of Him, and I am now here having been sent by Him to bring you to my house as my guest.” Thereupon the prophet, believing his lies, returned. But, as they were eating the midday^b meal and conversing in a friendly manner, God appeared to Jadōn and said that he should suffer punishment for transgressing His commands; and He revealed what the punishment would be, saying that as he went on his way a lion would meet him and destroy him^c and that he should be deprived of burial^d in the tombs of his fathers. This came about, I think, in accordance with the will of God, in order that Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadōn, who had been convicted of lying.^e And so, as Jadōn was journeying back to Jerusalem,^f a lion did meet him and pulled

^a With ταφῆς ἀμοιρήσειν cf. the Sophoclean phrase ταφῆς ἀμοιρον, *Ajax* 1326.

^b This explanation of God's motive in causing the prophet's death is an addition to Scripture.

^c Scripture does not mention Jerusalem, cf. 1 Kings xiii. 24 “and he went away.”

The prophet
Jadon
disobeys
God and is
punished.
¹ Kings
xiii. 19.

σπάσας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήνους ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄνον οὐδὲν ὅλως ἔβλαψε, παρακαθεζόμενος δ' ἐφύλασσε κάκευνον καὶ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου σῶμα, μέχρις οὐ τινες τῶν ὁδοιπόρων ἴδοντες ἀπῆγγειλαν 242 ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῷ ψευδοπροφήτῃ. ὁ δὲ τοὺς νίοὺς πέμψας ἐκόμισε τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολυτελοῦς κηδείας ἡξίωσεν ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς παισὶ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθανόντα σὺν ἐκείνῳ θάψαι, λέγων ἀληθῆ μὲν εἶναι πάνθ' ὅσα προεφήτευσε κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, ὑβρισθήσεσθαι δ' αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν οὐδὲν σὺν ἐκείνῳ ταφεῖς, τῶν ὀστῶν οὐ γνωρισθησομένων.¹ 243 κηδεύσας οὖν τὸν προφήτην καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς νίοῖς ἐντειλάμενος πονηρὸς ὡν καὶ ἀσεβῆς πρόσεισι τῷ Ἱεροβοάμῳ καὶ “τί δήποτ’ ἐταράχθης,” εἰπών, “ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἀνοίγοντος λόγων;” ὡς τὰ περὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα διηγήσαθ’ ὁ βασιλεύς, θεῖον ἀληθῶς καὶ προφήτην ἄριστον ἀποκαλῶν, ἥρξατο ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἀναλύειν κακουργῶν² καὶ πιθανοῖς περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων χρώμενος λόγοις βλάπτειν αὐτῶν τὴν 244 ἀλήθειαν. ἐπεχείρει γὰρ πείθειν αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπὸ κόπου μὲν ἡ χεὶρ αὐτῷ ναρκήσειε βαστάζουσα τὰς θυσίας, εἴτ' ἀνεθεῖσα πάλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπανέλθοι φύσιν, τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον καινὸν ὄν καὶ δεξάμενον θυσίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ῥαγείη

¹ R: γνωρισθησομένων OMSP.

² κακουργῶν om. Lat., secl. Niese.

^a Bibl. “and the ass stood by it (i.e. the corpse) and the lion stood by the corpse.”

him off his beast and killed him ; to the ass he did no harm at all but lay down beside him and guarded him as well as the prophet's corpse,^a until some wayfarers saw them and came to the city to tell the false prophet. Thereupon he sent his sons and brought the body into the city and, having honoured it with a costly funeral,^b instructed his sons to bury him also, when he was dead, with the prophet, saying that everything was true which he had prophesied against that city and the altar and the priests and the false prophets, but that he himself would suffer no mutilation after death if he were buried together with the prophet, as their bones could not be told apart. And so, after burying the prophet and giving his sons these instructions, being a wicked and impious man he went to Jeroboam and said,^c “Why, I should like to know, were you The false prophet reassures Jeroboam. disturbed by that foolish fellow's words ? ” And, when the king told him what had happened to the altar and his own hand, and spoke of him as a truly divine and excellent prophet, the old man began to weaken this opinion of him with cunning and, by giving a plausible explanation of the things that had happened, to impair their true significance ; for he attempted to persuade him that his hand had been numbed by the fatigue of carrying the sacrifices and then, after being rested, had again returned to its natural condition, and that the altar, being new and having received a great many large victims, had fallen

^b The “costly” funeral is an unscriptural detail.

^c The whole of the following speech (§§ 243–245) is an addition to Scripture, probably put in by Josephus, as Weill suggests, to explain why Jeroboam continued in his evil course, cf. 1 Kings xiii. 33 “After this thing Jeroboam turned not from his evil way.”

καὶ πέσοι διὰ βάρος τῶν ἐπενηγμένων. ἔδήλου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ τὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα προειρηκότος ὡς ὑπὸ λέοντος ἀπώλετο· "οὗτος οὐδὲ ἐν οὕτ' εἶχεν οὕτ' ἐφθέγξατο προφήτου." 245 ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πείθει τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τελέως ἀποστρέψας ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἔργων καὶ δικαίων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσεβεῖς πράξεις παρώρμησεν. οὗτος δ' ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὸ θεῖον καὶ παρηνόμησεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο καθ' ἡμέραν ζητεῖν ἢ τί καινὸν καὶ μιαρώτερον τῶν ἥδη τετολμημένων ἔργασηται. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἱεροθόαμον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω.

246 (x. 1). Ὁ δὲ Σολομῶνος νίος Ῥοβόαμος ὁ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλεύς, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ὀκοδόμησε πόλεις ὄχυράς τε καὶ μεγάλας Βηθλέεμ καὶ Ἡταμὲ καὶ Θεκωὲ καὶ Βηθσοὺρ καὶ Σωχὼ καὶ Ὀδολλὰμ καὶ Εἴπαν καὶ Μάρισαν¹ καὶ τὴν Ζιφὰ καὶ Ἀδωραὶμ καὶ Λάχεις καὶ Ἀζηκὰ² καὶ

¹ Niese: Μάρησαν RO(M)SP¹: Μάρισσαν P²: Marisam Lat.

² Hudson: Ζηκὰ codd.

^a Josephus here departs from the order of events found in Scripture, which continues, xiv. 1 ff., with the story of Jeroboam, and does not mention Rehoboam until vs. 21. The account given in §§ 246 ff. follows 2 Chron.

^b Some LXX mss. have Βαιθσεέμ = Beth-shemesh.

^c Bibl. Etam, LXX Αἰτάμ (v.l. Ἀπάν, cf. note h below); cf. § 186 note. ^d So LXX; bibl. Tekoa.

^e Bibl. Beth-zur (*Béth-Sîr*), LXX Βαιθσουρά; formerly thought to be the modern *Burj es-Sur*, it has recently been identified by Père Abel and Albright with *Khirbet et-Tubeiqah*, c. 7 miles N. by W. of Hebron.

^f Bibl. Soco (A.V. Shoco), LXX Σοκχώθ (v.l. Σοκχώ); cf. A. vi. 170 note.

^g Bibl. Adullam; cf. A. vi. 247 note.

^h Bibl. Gath, LXX Γέθ. Eipan in Josephus's text seems to be a corrupt form of a doublet of Etam mentioned above (cf. 704

down from the weight of the things laid upon it. He then told him of the death of the man who had given these prophetic signs and how he had lost his life when attacked by a lion. Thus, he said, there was nothing of a prophet either in his person or in what he had spoken. By these words he convinced the king, and, having wholly turned his thoughts away from God and from holy and righteous deeds, he urged him on to impious acts. And so greatly did he outrage the Deity and transgress His laws that every day he sought to commit some new act more heinous than the reckless acts he was already guilty of. So much concerning Jeroboam it may suffice us, for the present, to have written.

(x. 1) ^a Now Solomon's son Roboamos, who was, as we have said before, king of the two tribes, built the strong and large cities of Bethlehem,^b Ἐταμ,^c Θεκόη,^d ² Chron. Bethsur,^e Σόχο,^f Οδολλαμ,^g Ειπαν,^h Μαρισα,ⁱ Ζιφά,^j Χρον. xi. 5. Adoraim,^k Λαχεις,^l Αζέκα,^m Σαραμ,ⁿ Ελόμ,^o and

LXX v.l. Ἀπάν). Weill rightly remarks that it is strange to find a Philistine city among the cities fortified by Rehoboam.

ⁱ Bibl. Mareshah, LXX Μαρεισά; it is identified by Albright with the modern *Tell Sandahanna*, c. a mile S. of *Beit Jibrin* (Eleutheropolis), in the low hill country near the Philistine border.

^j Bibl. Ziph, LXX Ζειφ; cf. A. vi. 275 note.

^k The modern *Dûra*, 6 miles W.S.W. of Hebron.

^l Bibl. Lachish, usually identified with the modern *Tell el-Hes*, 18 miles from the sea in the latitude of Hebron, but now thought to be *Tell ed-Duweir*, several miles further east.

^m Usually identified with the modern *Tell Zakariyeh*, c. 15 miles due W. of Bethlehem (on the map); cf. A. vi. 170 note.

ⁿ Bibl. Zorah (*Sorâh*), LXX Σαραά, the modern *Sarah*, 15 miles due W. of Jerusalem on the map.

^o Bibl. Aijalon (*Ayyâlôn*), LXX Αλαλών (v.l. Αλδών), the modern *Yalô*, 15 miles N.W. of Jerusalem.

247 Σαρὰμ καὶ Ἡλῶμ καὶ Χεβρῶνα. ταύτας μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φυλῇ καὶ κληρουχίᾳ¹ πρώτας ὡκοδόμησε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας μεγάλας ἐν τῇ Βενιαμίτιδι κληρουχίᾳ, καὶ τειχίσας φρουράς τε κατέστησεν ἐν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἡγεμόνας, σῦτόν τε πολὺν καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον τά τε ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς² διατροφὴν ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων δαψιλῶς ἀπέθετο, πρὸς δὲ τούτους θυρεοὺς καὶ σιρομάστας εἰς πολλὰς μυριάδας. συνῆλθον δὲ οἱ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἱερεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ Ληονῖται καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι τοῦ πλήθους ἥσαν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, καταλιπόντες αὐτῶν τὰς πόλεις, ἵνα θρησκεύσωσιν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὸν θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἡδέως εἶχον προσκυνεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὰς δαμάλεις ἃς Ἱεροβόαμος κατεσκεύασε· καὶ ηὔξησαν τὴν Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείαν ἐπ' ἕτη 249 τρία. γῆμας δὲ συγγενῆ τινα καὶ τρεῖς ποιησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας ἥγετο ὕστερον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀφαλώμου θυγατρὸς Θαμάρης Μαχάνην ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὴν οὖσαν συγγενῆ· καὶ πᾶς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄρρην αὐτῷ γίνεται, ὃν Ἀβίαν προσηγόρευσεν. τέκνα δὲ εἶχεν³ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων γυναικῶν πλειόνων, ἀπασῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔστερξε τὴν Μαχάνην. 250 εἶχε δὲ τὰς μὲν νόμῳ συνοικούσας αὐτῷ γυναικας ὀκτωκαΐδεκα παλλακὰς δὲ τριάκοντα, καὶ νιοὶ μὲν αὐτῷ γεγόνεισαν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι θυγατέρες δ' ἔξηκοντα. διάδοχον δὲ ἀπέδειξε τῆς βασιλείας τὸν

¹ Ἰουδαίᾳ . . . κληρουχίᾳ RO: Ἰουδα κληρουχίᾳ rell. Lat.: καὶ κληρουχίᾳ secl. Niese.

² τὰ πρὸς Niese: πρὸς codd.

³ τέκνα δὲ εἶχεν ed. pr.: τέκνα δὲ codd.: τεκνοὶ δὲ Niese.

• Bibl. "very many."

Hebron. These, which were in the tribe and territory of Judah, he built first; and he also constructed other large cities in the territory of Benjamin, and, having walled them about, set garrisons and captains in all of them and in each of the cities stored much grain, wine and oil and an abundance of other things needed for sustenance, and, in addition to these, shields and barbed lances amounting to many tens of thousands.^a Then there came to him at Jerusalem priests from among all the Israelites, and Levites and any others of the people who were good and righteous men and had left their own cities to worship God in Jerusalem, for they would not submit to being forced to worship the heifers which Jeroboam had made. And they added strength to Jeroboam's kingdom for three years. Now he had married a kinswoman,^b by whom he had three children, and later took another wife named Machanē,^c whose mother was Absalom's daughter Thamarē^d and who was also related to him. By her he had a son, whom he named Abias.^e He also had children by many other wives, but he loved Machanē best of all. He had eighteen lawful wives and thirty^f concubines, and there were born to him twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters. As his successor to the kingdom he appointed Abias, his son

^b Named Mahalath, 2 Chron. xi. 18; her father was a son of David.

^c Bibl. Maachah, LXX Μααχά.

^d Cf. A. vii. 190 note, 243 note.

^e Bibl. Abijah ('Abiyāh), LXX Ἄβια.

^f So cod. B LXX; Heb. and most LXX MSS. have 60.

ἐκ τῆς Μαχάνης Ἀβίαν καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῷ
καὶ τὰς ὄχυρωτάτας πόλεις ἐπίστευσεν.

251 (2) Αἴτιον δ' οἵμαι πολλάκις γίνεται κακῶν καὶ
παρανομίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων
μέγεθος καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον αὐτῶν τροπή¹. τὴν
γὰρ βασιλείαν αὐξανομένην οὕτω βλέπων Ῥοβόα-
μος εἰς ἀδίκους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐξετράπη πράξεις, καὶ
τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας κατεφρόνησεν, ὡς καὶ τὸν
ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαὸν μιμητὴν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀνομημάτων.
252 συνδιαφθείρεται γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἥθη τοῖς
τῶν ἡγεμόνων τρόποις, καὶ ὡς ἔλεγχον τῆς ἐκείνων
ἀσελγείας τὴν αὐτῶν σωφροσύνην παραπέμποντες
ὡς ἀρετὴ ταῖς κακίαις αὐτῶν ἐπονται· οὐ γὰρ
ἔνεστιν ἀποδέχεσθαι δοκεῖν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἔργα
253 μὴ ταῦτα πράττοντας. τοῦτο τοίνυν συνέβαινε
καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥοβοάμῳ τεταγμένοις ἀσεβοῦντος
αὐτοῦ καὶ παρανομοῦντος σπουδάζειν μὴ προσ-
κρούσωσι τῷ βασιλεῖ θέλοντες εἶναι δίκαιοι. τι-
μωρὸν δὲ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβρεων διθεὸς ἐπιπέμπει
τὸν Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέα Ἰσωκον,² περὶ οὖν πλα-
νηθεὶς Ἡρόδοτος τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ Σεσώστρει
254 προσάπτει. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Ἰσωκος πέμπτῳ ἔτει
τῆς Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείας ἐπιστρατεύεται μετὰ
πολλῶν αὐτῷ μυριάδων· ἄρματα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ
χίλια καὶ διακόσια τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἡκολούθει, ἵππεων
δὲ μυριάδες ἔξι, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδες τεσσαράκοντα.
τούτων τοὺς πλείστους Λίβυς ἐπήγετο καὶ

¹ ῥοπή conj. Niese.

² Σούσακον MSPĒ: Sisoch Lat.

^a According to Scripture, Rehoboam placed his other sons in charge of the fortified cities.

by Machanē, and entrusted to him his treasures and his strongest cities.^a

(2) But often, I think, a cause of men's falling ^{Rehoboam's} degeneracy. into evil ways and lawlessness lies in the greatness ^{2 Chron.} of their affairs and in the improvement of their ^{xii. 1 ;} position. So, for example, Roboamos, seeing how ^{1 Kings} greatly his kingdom had increased in strength, was misled into unjust and impious acts and showed disrespect for the worship of God, so that even the people under his rule began to imitate his unlawful deeds. For the morals of subjects are corrupted simultaneously with the characters of their rulers, and they do not allow their own moderation to remain a reproach to their rulers' intemperance but follow their evil ways as if they were virtues, since it is impossible to show approval of the acts of kings except by doing as they do.^b This, then, was the case with the people governed by Roboamos, who, when he acted impiously and in violation of the laws, were careful not to give offence to the king by wishing to be righteous. But, as an avenger of the outrage to Him, God sent the Egyptian king Isōkos,^c about whom Herodotus was in error in attributing his acts to Sesōstris.^d For it was this Isōkos who in the fifth ^{Shishak} year of Roboamos's reign marched against him with ^(Isokos) invades ^{2 Chron. xii} many tens of thousands, and there followed him one ^{Palestine.} thousand two hundred chariots, sixty thousand horse-^{2 ; 1 Kings} men and four hundred thousand foot-soldiers.^e Most of these men whom he brought were Libyans and

^b These reflections are, of course, an amplification of Scripture.

^c Bibl. Shishak; cf. § 210 note.

^d Cf. § 260 note.

^e The number of foot-soldiers is not given in Scripture, which says merely "people without number."

255 Αἰθίοπας. ἐμβαλὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἐβραιῶν καταλαμβάνεται¹ τὰς ὄχυρωτάτας τῆς Ροβοάμου βασιλείας πόλεις ἀμαχητὶ καὶ ταύτας ἀσφαλισάμενος ἔσχατον ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις.

(3) Ἐγκεκλεισμένου τοῦ Ροβοάμου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν Ἰσώκου στρατείαν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰκετευόντων δοῦναι νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν, 256 οὐκ² ἐπεισαν τὸν θεὸν ταχθῆναι μετ' αὐτῶν· ὃ δὲ προφήτης Σαμαίας ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἀπειλεῖν ἐγκαταλεύφειν αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν θρησκείαν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες εὐθὺς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνέπεσον καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι σωτῆριον ὄρωντες ἔξομολογεῖσθαι πάντες ὥρμησαν ὅτι δικαίως αὐτοὺς ὃ θεὸς ὑπερόψεται γενομένους περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσεβεῖς 257 καὶ συγχέοντας τὰ νόμιμα. κατιδῶν δ' αὐτοὺς ὃ θεὸς οὗτω διακειμένους καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀνθρομολογουμένους οὐκ ἀπολέσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπειρόπειρον, ποιήσειν μέντοι γε τοῖς Αἴγυπτίοις ὑποχειρίους, ἵνα μάθωσι πότερον ἀνθρώπῳ δουλεύειν ἐστὶν ἀπονώτερον ἢ θεῷ. παραλαβὼν δὲ Ἰσώκος ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν, δεξαμένου Ροβοάμου διὰ τὸν φόβον, οὐκ ἐνέμεινε ταῖς γενομέναις συνθήκαις, ἀλλ' ἐσύλησε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐξεκένωσε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς βασιλικούς, χρυσούς καὶ ἀργύρους μυριάδας ἀναριθμήτους βαστάσας 258 καὶ μηδὲν δλῶς ὑπολιπών. περιεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς χρυσοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας, ἃς κατεσκεύασε

¹ καταλαμβάνει τε RO.

² ἀλλ' οὐκ ROM.

^a Scripture adds the Sukkiim, LXX Τρωγλοδύται. Mardonius in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 627, suggests that the LXX rendering "Troglodytes" was due to the fact that a place called Sūchē was one of the cities in the country

Ethiopians.^a So then, after invading the country of the Hebrews, he seized the strongest cities of Roboamos's kingdom without a battle and, having secured them with garrisons, at last advanced upon Jerusalem.

(3) Although Roboamos and the multitude, who were shut up in the city by the advance of Isōkos's army, entreated God to grant them victory and deliverance,^b they did not prevail upon God to side with them. Then the prophet Samaias^c told them that God threatened to abandon them just as they had abandoned their worship of Him. When they heard this, their spirits at once fell and, no longer seeing any hope of deliverance, they all hastened to acknowledge that God might justly turn away from them since they had acted impiously toward Him and had violated His ordinances. But when God saw them in this state of mind and confessing their sins, He said to the prophet that He would not destroy them but would, nevertheless, make them subject to the Egyptians, in order that they might learn which was the easier task, whether to serve man or God. And when Isōkos took the city without a battle, Roboamos admitting him because he feared him, he did not abide by the terms of the agreement they had made,^d but sacked the temple, emptied the treasuries of God and the king, and carried off untold amounts of gold and silver, leaving not a single thing behind. He also removed the golden shields and bucklers, of the Troglodytes, and cites Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 172 and Strabo xvi. 3. 8.

^b Amplification of Scripture, which says merely "Rehoboam and the princes of Judah . . . were gathered together in Jerusalem because of Shishak."

^c So most LXX mss. (cod. B Σαμιαῖος); bibl. Shemaiah.

^d No agreement is mentioned in Scripture.

Shishak
sacks
Jerusalem.
² Chron.
xii. 5.

Σολομὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐκ εἴασε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς χρυσᾶς φαρέτρας, ἃς ἀνέθηκε Δαυίδης τῷ θεῷ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Σωφηνῆς βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας 260 ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα. μέμνηται δὲ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας καὶ δ' Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς Ἡρόδοτος περὶ μόνον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πλανηθεὶς ὄνομα, καὶ ὅτι ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐπῆλθεν ἔθνεσι καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίαν ἐδουλώσατο λαβὼν ἀμαχητὶ 261 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. φανερὸν δ' ἐστὶν ὅτι τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος βούλεται δηλοῦν κεχειρωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· ἐπάγει γὰρ ὅτι στήλας κατέλιπεν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀμαχητὶ παραδόντων ἑαυτὸὺς αἰδοῖα γυναικῶν ἐγγράφας· ‘Ροβόαμος δ' αὐτῷ παρέδωκεν ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς ἀμαχητὶ 262 τὴν πόλιν. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπας παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομήν· “Φοίνικες γὰρ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὅμολογοῦσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι.” δῆλον οὖν ἐστιν ὅτι μηδένες ἄλλοι περιτέμνονται τῶν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Σύρων ἢ μόνοι ἡμεῖς. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἔκαστοι λεγέτωσαν ὁ τι ἀν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ.

263 (4) Ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ Ἰσάκου ‘Ροβόαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν χρυσέων θυρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων χάλκεα ποιήσας τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν παρέδωκε τοῖς τῶν βασιλείων φύλαξιν. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ μετὰ στρατηγίας ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι λαμπρότητος διάγειν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ πολλῆ καὶ δέει πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐχθρὸς ὥν Ἱερο-

^a This detail is based on the LXX addition to 1 Kings xiv. 26; this, however, has δόρατα "spears" instead of φαρέτρας "quivers." Cf. A. vii. 104 note.

which King Solomon had made, nor did he overlook the golden quivers which David had set up as an offering to God after taking them from the King of Sophēnē.^a This done, he returned to his own country. This expedition is also mentioned by Herodotus of Halicarnassus, who was in error only about the king's name and in saying that he marched against many other nations and reduced Palestinian Syria to slavery after capturing the inhabitants without a battle.^b Now it is evident that it is our nation which he means to refer to as subdued by the Egyptians, for he adds that their king left behind, in the country of those who had surrendered without a battle, pillars on which he had female sex-organs engraved.^c But it was Roboamos, our king, who surrendered the city without a battle. Herodotus also says that the Ethiopians had learned the practice of circumcision from the Egyptians, "for the Phoenicians and the Syrians in Palestine admit that they learned it from the Egyptians." Now it is clear that no others of the Syrians in Palestine practise circumcision beside ourselves. But concerning these matters everyone may speak as he sees fit.

(4) Now when Isōkos had withdrawn, King Robo-
amos, in place of the golden shields and bucklers,
<sup>The end of
Rehoboam.
2 Chron. xii.
10; 1 Kings
xiv. 27.</sup>
made an equal number of bronze and delivered them to the guards of the palace. And instead of leading the life of an illustrious commander and a brilliant statesman, he reigned in great quiet and fear, being all his days an enemy of Jeroboam. He

^b Herod. ii. 102 ff. The latter part of the citation from Herodotus appears also in Ap. i. 168.

^c Indicating, according to Herod., that his enemies were as weak as women.

264 βοάμω. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ βιώσας ἕτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτά, βασιλεύσας δ' αὐτῶν ἐπτακαίδεκα, τὸν τρόπον ἀλαζών ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνόητος καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς πατρώοις φίλοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέσας· ἐτάφη δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταῖς θήκαις τῶν βασιλέων. διεδέξατο δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀβίας, ὅγδοον ἥδη καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἱερο-
265 βοάμου τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλεύοντος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος· τὰ δὲ περὶ Ἱεροβόαμον ἀκόλουθα τούτων ἔχομεν πῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον διεξελθεῖν· οὗτος γὰρ οὐδὲ διέλιπεν οὐδὲ τὴν ἡρέμησεν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξυβρίζων, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ὄρῶν βωμοὺς ἀνιστὰς καὶ ἵερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ἀποδεικνὺς διετέλει.

266 (xi. 1) Ταῦτα δ' ἔμελλεν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τάσε-
βήματα καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκην εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν καὶ πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς γενεᾶς τρέψειν τὸ θεῖον. κάμνοντος δ' αὐτῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ παιδός, ὃν Ὁβίμην ἐκάλουν, τὴν γυναικαν αὐτοῦ προσέταξε τὴν στολὴν ἀποθεμένην καὶ σχῆμα λαβοῦσαν ἴδιωτικὸν πορευθῆναι πρὸς Ἀχίαν
267 τὸν προφήτην· εἶναι γὰρ θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προειπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς βασι-
λείας αὐτῷ τοῦτον δεδηλωκέναι· παραγενομένην δ' ἐκέλευσε περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνακρίνειν ὡς ξένην, εἰ διαφεύξεται τὴν νόσον. ἡ δὲ μετασχηματισα-
μένη, καθὼς αὐτῇ προσέταξεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἥκεν εἰς
268 Σιλὼ πόλιν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ διέτριβεν ὁ Ἀχίας. καὶ μελλούσης εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσιέναι τὰς ὄψεις ἡμαρωμένου διὰ τὸ γῆρας, ἐπιφανεῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀμφό-

* According to Scripture, he began to reign at the age of
714

died at the age of fifty-seven, after a reign of seventeen years ^a; he was a man of boastful and foolish nature, who, by not heeding his father's friends, lost his royal power. He was buried in Jerusalem in the tombs of the kings and was succeeded on the throne by his son Abias in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes. This, then, is the end of Roboamos's history. But now in what follows we have to relate the events of Jeroboam's reign and how he ended his life. For he did not cease nor desist from outraging God, but all the time continued to erect altars on the high mountains and to appoint priests from among the common people.

(xi. 1) These impieties, however, and the punishment attendant on them, the Deity was at no far distant time to visit upon both his own head and the heads of all his line. For when, at that time, his son, whom they called Obimē,^b was ill, he ordered his wife to remove her robe and put on the dress of a simple woman and go to the prophet Achias,^c who was, he said, a man with a wonderful power of foretelling the future and who had indeed revealed to him that he would be king. He bade her go and inquire, as if she were a stranger, whether the child would survive his illness. So she changed her dress, as her husband had ordered her,^d and came to the city of Silō, where Achias was living. And as she was about to enter the house of the prophet, whose eyes were dim from age, God appeared to him and forty-one; thus he would have been fifty-eight years old at his death.

^a Bibl. Abijah ('Abiyāh), LXX Ἄβια.

^b Bibl. Ahijah; cf. § 206 note.

^c Josephus omits the Scriptural details of the gifts she brought the prophet.

Jeroboam sends his wife to consult the prophet Ahijah about their son's illness.
1 Kings xiv. 1.

τερα αὐτῷ μηνύει τὴν τε Ἰεροβοάμου γυναικα
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένην καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ ὧν πάρεστιν
269 ἀποκρίνασθαι. παριούσης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν
οἰκίαν ὡς ἴδιώτιδος καὶ ξένης ἀνεβόησεν “ εἴσελθε,
ὦ γύναι Ἰεροβοάμου· τί κρύπτεις σαυτήν; τὸν
γὰρ θεὸν οὐ λανθάνεις, ὃς ἀφιξομένην τέ μοι φανεῖς
ἔδήλωσε καὶ προσέταξε τίνας ποιήσομαι τοὺς
λόγους. ἀπελθοῦσα οὖν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα φράζε
270 αὐτὸν¹ ταῦτα λέγειν· ‘ ἐπεὶ σε μέγαν ἐκ μικροῦ
καὶ μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐποίησα καὶ ἀποσχίσας τὴν
βασιλείαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυΐδου γένους σοὶ ταύτην
ἔδωκα, σὺ δὲ τούτων ἡμνημόνησας καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν
θρησκείαν καταλιπὼν χωνευτοὺς θεοὺς κατασκευά-
σας ἔκείνους ἐτίμας;² οὕτω σε πάλιν καθαιρήσω
καὶ πᾶν ἔξολέσω σου τὸ γένος καὶ κυσὶ καὶ ὅρνισι
271 βορὰν ποιήσω γενέσθαι. βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἔξεγείρεται
τις ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ παντός, ὃς οὐδένα ὑπολείψει
τοῦ Ἰεροβοάμου γένους· μεθέξει³ δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας
καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐκπεσὸν τῆς ἀγαθῆς γῆς καὶ δια-
σπαρὲν εἰς τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου τόπους, ὅτι τοῖς
τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσεβήμασι κατηκολούθησε καὶ τοὺς
ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γενομένους προσκυνεῖ θεοὺς τὴν ἐμὴν
272 θυσίαν ἐγκαταλιπόν.’ σὺ δέ, ὦ γύναι, ταῦτ’ ἀπ-
αγγελοῦσα⁴ σπεῦδε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα. τὸν δὲ νιὸν
καταλήψῃ τεθνηκότα· σοῦ γὰρ εἰσιούσης εἰς τὴν
πόλιν ἀπολείψει τὸ ζῆν αὐτόν. ταφήσεται δὲ
κλαυσθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς κοινῷ τιμηθεὶς
πένθει· καὶ γὰρ μόνος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεροβοάμου

¹ ex Lat. conj. Niese: αὐτῷ codd.

² M Exc.: τιμήσας RO: ἐτίμησας SPE: τιμᾶς Suidas.

³ E Lat.: μεθέξει codd. Exc.

⁴ Niese: ἀπαγγέλλουσα ROSP: παραγγέλλουσα M Exc.

told him both that Jeroboam's wife had come to him and how he was to answer what she had come there to ask. So, when the woman entered the house in the guise of a commoner and a stranger, he cried out, “ Come in, wife of Jeroboam ! Why do you disguise yourself ? For your coming here is not unknown to God, who has appeared to me and revealed your coming, and has instructed me in the things I am to say. Return, therefore, to your husband and tell him that God has spoken as follows. ‘ Just as I made you great when you were a little man, indeed were nothing, and took the kingdom away from David's line to give it to you—of which things you have been Ahijah foretells the doom of Jeroboam's line. ^{1 Kings xiv. 7.} unmindful and have given up worshipping me, to make gods of molten metal, and have honoured them,—so too I will again put you down and will utterly destroy all your line and will make them the prey of dogs and birds. For a certain one will be set up by me as king over all this people, and not one of Jeroboam's line will he leave alive. The people too shall share this punishment by being driven from their good land and scattered over the country beyond the Euphrates,^a because they have followed the impious ways of the king and worship the gods made by him, abandoning their sacrifices to me.’ And you, woman, hasten to your husband and tell him these things. But your son you will find dead, for, as you enter the city, his life will leave him. And, when he is buried, he shall be wept for by all the people and honoured with general mourning, for of all of Jeroboam's line

^a Bibl. “ the river.” Josephus, like the Targum, takes this to mean, as it frequently does in Scripture, the Euphrates river.

273 γένους ἀγαθὸς οὗτος ἦν." ταῦτ' αὐτοῦ προφητεύσαντος ἐκπηδήσασα ἡ γυνὴ τεταραγμένη καὶ τῷ τοῦ προειρημένου παιδὸς θανάτῳ περιαλγήσ, θρηνοῦσα διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν τοῦ τέκνου κοπτομένη τελευτὴν ἀθλία τοῦ πάθους ἥπειγετο κακοῖς ἀμηχάνοις καὶ σπουδῇ μὲν ἀτυχεῖ χρωμένη διὰ τὸν οὐτὸν αὐτῆς (ἔμελλε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπειχθεῖσα θάττον ὄψεσθαι νεκρόν), ἀναγκαίᾳ δὲ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ παραγενομένη τὸν μὲν ἐκπεπινευκότα καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης εὗρε, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πάντα ἀπήγγειλεν.

274 (2) Ἱεροβόαμος δ' οὐδενὸς τούτων φροντίσας πολλὴν ἀθροίσας στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱεροβοάμου παῖδα τῶν δύο φυλῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενον Ἀβίαν ἔξεστράτευσε πολεμήσων· κατεφρόνει γὰρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τὴν ἔφοδον τὴν Ἱεροβοάμου πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐ κατεπλάγη, γενόμενος δ' ἐπάνω καὶ τῆς νεότητος τῷ φρονήματι καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ πολεμίου, στρατιὰν ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἀπήντησε τῷ Ἱεροβοάμῳ εἰς τόπον τινὰ καλούμενον ὄρος Σαμαρῶν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἔγγὺς αὐτοῦ 275 τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην εὐτρέπιζεν. ἦν δ' ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ μυριάδες τεσσαράκοντα, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμου στρατιὰ διπλασίων ἐκείνης. ὡς δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀντιπαρετάσσετο καὶ συμβαλεῖν ἔμελλε, στὰς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος Ἀβίας τόπου καὶ τῇ χειρὶ κατασείσας, τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸν Ἱεροβόαμον ἀκοῦσαι 276 πρῶτον αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἤξιώσε. γενομένης δὲ

he alone was good." When he had prophesied these things, the woman rushed out, thrown into confusion and deeply grieved at the death of the son spoken of ; along the way she lamented and beat her breast at the thought of the child's approaching end, and wretched over her misfortune and beset by irremediable woe, she pressed on with a haste that meant ill luck for her son—for the more she hurried, the sooner she was destined to see him dead—but was necessary on her husband's account.^a And, when she arrived, she found the child breathing his last, as the prophet had said ; and she told the king everything.

(2) But Jeroboam took no thought of these things, ^{Jeroboam prepares for war with Abijah of Judah. 2 Chron. xiii. 2.} and, collecting a large army, led it out to make war on Abias, the son of Roboamos, who had succeeded his father as king of the two tribes and whom Jeroboam despised on account of his youth. And, when the other heard of Jeroboam's approach, he was not dismayed, but, with a spirit rising above his youth and the hopes of the enemy, raised an army from among the two tribes and confronted Jeroboam at a place called Mount Samarōn,^b near which he encamped and prepared for battle. His force amounted to four hundred thousand, while Jeroboam's army was twice as large. Now, as the armies were drawn up against each other, ready for action and the hazards of war, and were about to engage, Abias, who stood on an elevated spot, motioned with his hand and asked the people and Jeroboam first to hear him in quiet ; and,

^a Amplification of the brief Scriptural statement, "And Jeroboam's wife arose and departed and came to Tirzah."

^b Bibl. Zemaraim (*Semārayim*), LXX Σεμαράιμ; its site is unidentified.

σιωπῆς ἥρξατο λέγειν· “ ὅτι μὲν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ θεὸς Δαυὶδη καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ κατένευσεν εἰς ἄπαντα χρόνον, οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς ἀγνοεῖτε· θαυμάζω δὲ πῶς ἀποστάντες τούμου πατρὸς τῷ δούλῳ Ἱεροβοάμῳ προσέθεσθε καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου πάρεστε νῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλεύειν κεκριμένους πολεμήσοντες καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρησόμενοι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πλείω μέχρι νῦν Ἱερο-
277 βόαμος ἀδίκως ἔχει. ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἶμαι ταύτης¹ αὐτὸν ἀπολαύσειν ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ δοὺς καὶ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος δίκην τῷ θεῷ παύσεται τῆς παρανομίας καὶ τῶν ὑβρεων, ἃς οὐδιαλέλοιπεν εἰς αὐτὸν ὑβρίζων καὶ ταύτα ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀναπεπικώς, οἵ μηδὲν ἀδικηθέντες ὑπὸ τούμου πατρός, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐκκλησιάζων ὡμίλησεν, ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν συμβούλια πεισθείσι, ἐγκατελίπετε τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἐκεῖνον, ταῖς δ’ ἀληθείαις αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνουν
278 νόμων ἀπεσπάσατε. καίτοι συνεγνωκέναι καλῶς εἶχεν ὑμᾶς οὐ λόγων μόνον δυσκόλων ἀνδρὶ νέῳ καὶ δημαγωγίας ἀπείρω, ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ πρὸς τι δυσχερὲς ἡ νεότης αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ ἀμαθία τῶν πραττομένων ἐξῆγεν ἔργον, διά τε Σολομῶνα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς ἐκείνου παραίτησιν γὰρ εἴναι δεῖ τῆς τῶν ἐκγόνων ἀμαρτίας τὰς τῶν
279 πατέρων εὐποιίας. ὑμεῖς δ’ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλογίσασθε οὔτε τότε οὔτε νῦν, ἀλλ’ ἥκε² στρατὸς ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς τοσοῦτος· τίνι καὶ πεπιστευκὼς περὶ τῆς

¹ καὶ ταύτης RO.² ἥκετε MSP.

when silence was obtained, he began to speak, saying, ^{Abijah's protest against Jeroboam's invasion. 2 Chron. xiii. 4.}
 “ That God has granted the sovereignty to David and his descendants for all time, not even you are unaware. I wonder, therefore, how you could revolt from my father and go over to his servant Jeroboam, and have now come here with him to make war on those who were chosen by God to reign, and to deprive them of the royal power which still remains to them, for the larger part of the realm Jeroboam has until now been unjustly holding. But I do not believe that he will enjoy possession of this for very long, but, when he has paid God the penalty for what he has done in the past, he will end his transgressions and the insults which he has never ceased to offer Him, persuading you to do the same. As for you who were never wronged in any way by my father, but because, following the advice of wicked men, in a public assembly he spoke in a manner that displeased you,—you deserted him, as it seemed, but in reality you have separated yourselves from God and His laws. And yet it would have been fair for you to forgive not only the unpleasant words of a man so young and inexperienced in governing people, but also any further disagreeable act to which his youth and his ignorance of public affairs might have led him, for the sake of his father Solomon and the benefits you have received from him. For the merits of the fathers should be a palliation of the sins of their children.⁴ You, however, took no account of these things either then or now, but have brought this great army of yours against us ; and in what does

⁴ This argument is not found in Scripture. On the late biblical doctrine of the “ merits of the fathers ” cf. R. Marcus, *Law in the Apocrypha*, p. 14.

νίκης; ἥτις ταῖς χρυσαῖς δαμάλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρῶν βωμοῖς, ἃ δείγματα τῆς ἀσεβείας ἔστιν ὑμῶν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς θρησκείας; ἥτο πλῆθος ὑμᾶς εὐέλπιδας ἀπεργάζεται τὴν ἡμετέραν στρατιὰν 280 ὑπερβάλλον; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἥτισοῦν² ἵσχὺς μυριάδων στρατοῦ μετ' ἀδικημάτων πολεμοῦντος· ἐν γὰρ μόνῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην ἐλπίδα τοῦ κρατεῦν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀποκεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἥτις ἔστι παρ' ἡμῖν τετηρηκόσιν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὸν ἴδιον θεὸν σεβομένοις, ὃν οὐ χείρες ἐποίησαν ἐξ ὑλῆς φθαρτῆς οὐδὲ ἐπίνοια πονηροῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ὅχλων ἀπάτῃ κατεσκεύασεν, ἀλλ' ὃς ἔργον ἔστιν αὐτοῦ 281 καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀπάντων. συμβούλεύω τοιγαροῦν ὑμῖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν μεταγνῶναι καὶ λαβόντας ἀμείνω λογισμὸν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολεμεῖν καὶ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὸ προαγαγὸν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μέγεθος εὑδαιμονίας γνωρίσαι.”

282 (3) Ταῦτα μὲν Ἀβίας διελέχθη πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος· ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος λάθρᾳ τινὰς τῶν στρατιῶν Ἱεροβόαμος ἐπεμψε περικυκλωσομένους τὸν Ἀβίαν ἐκ τινῶν οὐ φανερῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου μερῶν. μέσου δ' αὐτοῦ περιληφθέντος τῶν πολεμίων ἥ μὲν στρατιὰ κατέδεισε καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνέπεσεν, ὁ δ' Ἀβίας παρεθάρρυνε καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐν τῷ θεῷ παρεκάλει· τοῦτον γὰρ οὐ κεκυκλώσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ ὄμοι πάντες ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν τῶν ἱερέων τῇ σάλπιγγι σημανάντων ἀλαλάξαντες 283 ἔχώρησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἔθρανσε

¹ ex Lat. Niese: ἥ codd. E.

² Naber: οὐδὲ ἥτις οὐν SP: οὐ δή τις RO: οὐ δή τις οὐν M.

it place its hope of victory? Is it, perhaps, in the golden heifers and the altars on the mountains, which are proofs of your impiety and not by any means of your devoutness? Or is it your numbers, which far exceed those of our army, that make you confident? But there is no strength whatever in many tens of thousands when an army fights in an unjust cause. For it is only in justice and piety toward God that the surest hope of conquering one's adversaries is bound to lie, and this belongs to us who have from the beginning observed the laws and worshipped our own God, whom no hands have formed out of perishable matter and no wicked king has cunningly made to deceive the populace, but who is His own work and the beginning and end of all things. I advise you, therefore, even now to repent and adopt the better plan of ceasing from warfare and to respect the rights of your country and the power which has led you on to so great a height of prosperity.”^a

(3) Such was the speech which Abias made to the people. But, while he was still speaking, Jeroboam secretly sent some of his soldiers to surround Abias from certain parts of the camp that were not observed. And, when he was caught in the enemy's midst, his army was alarmed and their spirits sank, but Abias encouraged them and urged them to put their hope in God, saying that He was not encircled by the enemy.^b And all of them together called upon God to be their ally and, when the priests had sounded the trumpets, they rushed upon the enemy with an exultant shout.

Abijah's
victory
over
Jeroboam
^{2 Chron.}
xiii. 13.

^a Josephus greatly amplifies the speech of Abijah.

^b The Judaeans' discouragement and Abijah's exhortation are unscriptural details.

τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τὰς ἀκμὰς αὐτῶν ἔξελυσεν ὁ θεός, τὴν δὲ Ἀβίᾳ στρατιὰν ὑπερτέραν ἐποίησεν· ὅσος γάρ οὐδέποτ' ἐμνημονεύθη φόνος ἐν πολέμῳ γεγονέναι οὕθ' Ἑλλήνων οὕτε βαρβάρων, τοσούτους ἀποκτείναντες τῆς Ἱεροβοάμου δυνάμεως θαυμαστὴν καὶ διαβόητον νίκην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν ἡξιώθησαν· πεντήκοντα γάρ μυριάδας τῶν ἔχθρῶν κατέβαλον καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν διήρπασαν τὰς ὁχυρωτάτας ἑλόντες κατὰ κράτος, τὴν τε Βηθήλην καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν Ἰσανὰν καὶ τὴν 285 τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς.¹ καὶ Ἱεροβόάμος μὲν οὐκέτι μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἥτταν ἵσχυσεν ἐφ' ὅσον Ἀβίας περιῆν χρόνον. τελευτὴ δ' οὗτος ὀλίγον τῇ νίκῃ χρόνον ἐπιζήσας ἐτῇ βασιλεύσας τρία, καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταῖς προγονικαῖς θήκαις, ἀπολείπει δὲ οὐσίας μὲν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι θυγατέρας δὲ ἑκκαΐδεκα. πάντας τούτους ἐκ γυναικῶν δεκα- 286 τεσσάρων ἐτεκνώσατο. διεδέξατο δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ οὖτος² Ἀσανος· καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ νεανίσκου Μαχαία τοῦνομα. τούτου κρατοῦντος εἰρήνης ἀπέλαυνεν ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπὶ ἐτη δέκα.

287 (4) Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀβίαν τὸν Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ Σολομῶνος οὕτως παρειλήφαμεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Ἱεροβόάμος ὁ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλεύς, ἄρξας ἐτῇ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι. διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ

¹ καὶ . . . αὐτῆς om. RO Lat.² + αὐτοῦ RO.

^a The phrase “such . . . was never recorded to have been made” is reminiscent of Thucydides ii. 47.

^b On this phrase cf. A. vii. 309.^c Bibl. Jeshanah (*Yešānāh*), LXX *Kard*, Luc. Ἰεσανᾶ.

Then God crushed the spirit of the enemy and broke their strength, while He made Abias's army stronger. Such a slaughter was never recorded to have been made^a in any war of Greeks or barbarians as they made in slaying the soldiers of Jeroboam when they were permitted by God to win so wonderful and celebrated a victory,^b for they struck down five hundred thousand of their foes and plundered their strongest cities after taking them by storm; these were Bethel and its province and Isana^c and its province.^d And Jeroboam, after this defeat, was never again powerful so long as Abias lived. The Abijah's death. ^{2 Chron.} ^{xiv. 1} latter, however, lived only a short time beyond his victory, dying after a reign of three years, and was buried in Jerusalem in the tomb of his forefathers; ^{(Heb. xiii. 28).} he left behind twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters. All these children he had by fourteen wives.^e And he was succeeded on the throne by his son Asanos,^f this youth's mother being named Machaia.^g During his government the land of the Israelites^h enjoyed peace for ten years.

(4) Such, then, is the account we have received concerning Abias, the son of Roboamos the son of Solomon. Now Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, also died, after ruling twenty-two years.ⁱ He was

^a Scripture adds the city of Ephraim, LXX Ἐφρᾶν. On the variant account (2 Chron. xvii. 2) that Asa, the son of Abijah, captured these cities cf. § 393 note.

^b In Scripture, Abijah's wives and children are mentioned before his death.

^c Bibl. Asa, LXX Ἄσα.

^d Bibl. Maachah, LXX Μααχά. Weill understands Josephus's text to mean that Asa's mother was associated with him on the throne.

^e A slip for “the two tribes” or “Jerusalem”; Asa was king of Judah.

^g 1 Kings xiv. 20.

παῖς Νάβαδος¹ δευτέρου ἔτους ὥδη τῆς βασιλείας
 Ἀσάνου διεληλυθότος. ἦρξε δὲ² ὁ τοῦ Ἱερο-
 βοάμου παῖς ἐτη δύο, τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ
 288 τὴν πονηρίαν ἐμφερήσ αὖν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς
 δυσὶν ἔτεσι στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Γαβαθῶνα πόλιν
 Παλαιστίνων οὖσαν πολιορκίᾳ λαβεῖν αὐτὴν προσ-
 ἐμενεν· ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δ' ἐκεῖ ὑπὸ φίλου τινὸς
 Βασάνου³ ὄνομα Σειδοῦ⁴ δὲ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκει,
 δις μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παρα-
 289 λαβὼν ἀπαν τὸ Ἱεροβοάμου γένος διέφθειρε. καὶ
 συνέβη κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν τοὺς μὲν ἐν
 τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἱεροβοάμου συγγενῶν ἀποθανόντας
 ὑπὸ κυνῶν σπαραχθῆναι καὶ δαπανηθῆναι, τοὺς
 δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὑπὸ ὄρνιθων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἱερο-
 βοάμου οἶκος τῆς ἀσέβείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀ-
 νομημάτων ἀξίαν ὑπέσχε δίκην.

290 (xii. 1) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς Ἀσανος
 ἦν τὸν τρόπον ἀριστος καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον
 ἀφορῶν καὶ μηδὲν μήτε πράττων μήτ' ἐννοούμενος
 δι μὴ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν εἶχε καὶ τὴν τῶν νομίμων
 φυλακὴν τὴν ἀναφοράν. κατώρθωσε δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ⁵
 βασιλείαν ἐκκόψας εἰ τι πονηρὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ
 291 καθαρεύσας ἀπάσης κηλίδος. στρατοῦ δ' εἶχεν
 ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν ὡπλισμένων θυρεὸν καὶ σιρο-

¹ Νάδαβος S: Nadab Lat.

² δὲ ROSP.

³ Ο: Βασσάμον R: Βοσάμον MSP.

⁴ Εἴδου M: Εἴλου S: Ἰλου PE: Μαχείλου ed. pr. (Lat.?).

⁵ Niese: αὐτοῦ codd. E.

^a Variant Nadabos; bibl. Nadab, LXX Ναδάβ (v.l. Ναβάτ).

^b So LXX; bibl. Gibbethon, perhaps to be identified with

succeeded by his son Nabados^a in the second year of the reign of Asanos. And the son of Jeroboam, who ruled two years, resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In the course of these two years he led an army against Gabathōn,^b a city belonging to the Philistines, and undertook a long siege to capture it. But he was killed as the victim of a plot formed by one of his friends named Basanēs,^c the son of Seidos,^d who took over the royal power after Asanos's death and destroyed the entire family of Jeroboam. And so it came about, in accordance with the prophecy of God, that some of Jeroboam's kin met death in the city and were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, while others died in the fields and were eaten by birds.^e Thus did the house of Jeroboam suffer fitting punishment for his impiety and lawlessness.

(xii. 1) But Asanos, the king of Jerusalem, was of ^{The king of Ethiopia attacks Asa.} an excellent character, looking to the Deity for guidance and neither doing nor thinking anything ^{2 Chron. xiv. 2 (Heb. xiv. 1).} that did not show due regard for piety and the observance of the laws. He put his kingdom in order by cutting away whatever evil growths were found in it and cleansing it from every impurity.^f And he had an army of picked men, three hundred thousand from the modern Qibbia, c. 5 miles N. of Modin, in the low hill country W. of Ephraim.

^f Bibl. Baasha, LXX Βαασά. Scripture does not call him a friend of Nadab.

^a The variants Eilos, Macheilos are possibly corruptions of LXX Βελαάν, the name of his father's family, not given in the Heb.; bibl. Ahijah, LXX Ἄχεια.

^b These details (cf. § 270) are not referred to in Scripture at this point, 1 Kings xv. 29.

^c Josephus passes over the Scriptural statement about the idols and altars of strange gods removed by Asa (cf. § 297 note).

μάστην¹ ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς μυριάδας τριάκοντα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ἀσπίδας φορούντων
292 καὶ τοξοτῶν μυριάδας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ δέκα ἔτη βασιλεύοντος στρατεύει μεγάλῃ δυνάμει Ζαραῖος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας βασιλεὺς ἐνενήκοντα μὲν πεζῶν μυριάσιν ἵππεων δὲ δέκα τριακοσίοις δ' ἄρμασι. καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Μαρίσας, ἔστι δ' αὗτη τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς, ἐλάσαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως ἀπήντησεν
293 "Ασανος, καὶ ἀντιπαρατάξας αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν τινὶ φάραγγι Σαφαθὰ² λεγομένῃ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἄπωθεν, ὡς κατεῖδε τὸ τῶν Αἰθιόπων πλῆθος, ἀναβοήσας νίκην ἥτει παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἐλεῖν μυριάδας τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλῳ τινὶ θαρσήσας ἐλεγεν ἢ τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείᾳ δυναμένῃ καὶ τοὺς ὀδίγους ἀπεργάσασθαι κρείτους τῶν πλειόνων καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τῶν ὑπερεχόντων ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸς μάχην τῷ Ζαραίῳ.
294 (2) Ταῦτα λέγοντος Ἀσάνου νίκην ἐσήμαινεν ὁ θεός, καὶ συμβαλὼν μετὰ χαρᾶς τῶν προδεδηλωμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνει τῶν Αἰθιόπων καὶ τραπέντας εἰς φυγὴν ἐδίωξεν ἄχρι τῆς Γεραρίτιδος χώρας. ἀφέμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγὴν τῶν πόλεων³ (ἥλω γὰρ ἡ Γεράρων) ἔχώρησαν καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς

¹ θυρεῷ καὶ σειρομάστη Naber cum cod. Vat. ap. Hudson.

² M Lat.: Σαβαθὰ RO: Σαφαθὰ SP.

³ πολεμιῶν M: τῆς πόλεως Bekker.

^a So LXX; Heb. and Luc. 280,000.

^b Scripture does not explicitly state at what period of Asa's reign the Ethiopian invasion occurred, but in 2 Chron. xiv. 1 it is said that "in his days the land had rest for ten years."

^c Cf. Luc. Ζαραῖ; bibl. Ζερά (Ζερά), LXX Ζάρε.

the tribe of Judah armed with shields and barbed lances, and two hundred and fifty thousand^a from the tribe of Benjamin carrying round shields and bows. Now he had been reigning for ten years^b when Zaraios,^c the king of Ethiopia, marched against him with a large force consisting of nine hundred thousand foot-soldiers, one hundred thousand horsemen^d and three hundred chariots. And when he had marched as far as the city of Marisa^e—this being in the tribe of Judah—, Asanos met him with his own force and drew up his army over against him in a certain valley called Saphatha,^f not far from the city. But on seeing the Ethiopian host he cried aloud and prayed to God for victory and the destruction of many myriads of the enemy, for, he said, in nothing else than His help,^g which can make the few triumph over the many, and the weak over the strong, would he put his trust when going out to meet Zaraios in battle.

(2) While Asanos spoke these words, God gave a sign that he would be victorious, and so, with joy at what had been foretold by God,^h he encountered the foe and slew many of the Ethiopians; and those who turned to flee he pursued as far as the territory of Gerar.ⁱ Then they left off slaughtering and proceeded to plunder the cities—Gerar had already been taken—and the camp of the enemy, so that they

^a Bibl. "with a host of a thousand thousand"; the separate numbers of infantry and cavalry are not given.

^b Bibl. Mareshah, cf. § 246 note.

^c Bibl. Zephathah (*Sephāthāh*); LXX, reading *sāphōnāh*, "to the north," has *kara* *βορρᾶν*.

^d This seems to be a misunderstanding of Heb., "it is nothing for thee (God) to help"; LXX οὐκ ἀδυνατεῖ παρά σοι σώζειν.

^e Scripture does not mention any sign given by God.

^f So Heb. and Luc.; LXX Γεράρω; it lay in the south of Philistia, not far from the sea.

αὐτῶν,¹ ὡς πολὺν μὲν ἐκφορῆσαι χρυσὸν πολὺν δὲ
ἄργυρον λείαν τε πολλὴν ἀπαγαγέων καμήλους τε
295 καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλας.² Ἀσανος
μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰ τοιαύτην παρὰ
τοῦ θεοῦ νίκην λαβόντες καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἀνέστρεφον
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, παραγενομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπήν-
τησε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προφήτης Ἄζαριας ὄνομα.
οὗτος ἐπισχεῖν κελεύσας τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἤρξατο
λέγειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι ταύτης εἶν τῆς νίκης παρὰ
τοῦ θεοῦ τετυχηκότες, ὅτι δικαίους καὶ ὁσίους
296 ἔαντοὺς παρέσχον καὶ πάντα κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ
πεποιηκότας. ἐπιμένουσι μὲν οὖν ἔφασκεν ἀεὶ^a
κρατεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἔχθρῶν καὶ τὸ ζῆν μετ' εὐ-
δαιμονίας παρέξειν τὸν θεόν, ἀπολιποῦσι δὲ τὴν
θρησκείαν ἀπαντα τούτων ἐναντία συμβήσεσθαι
καὶ γενήσεσθαι χρόνον ἐκεῖνον, “ἐν ᾧ μηδεὶς
ἀληθῆς εὑρεθήσεται προφήτης ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ
297 ὥχλῳ οὐδὲ ἱερεὺς τὰ δίκαια χρηματίζων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
αἱ πόλεις ἀνάστατοι γενήσονται καὶ τὸ ἔθνος κατὰ^b
πάσης σπαρῆσεται γῆς, ἔπηλυν βίον καὶ ἀλήτην
βιωσόμενον.” καιρὸν δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι συνεβού-
λευεν ἀγαθοῖς γίνεσθαι καὶ μὴ φθονῆσαι τῆς εὐ-
μενείας αὐτοῖς^c τοῦ θεοῦ. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ βασι-
λεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἔχάρησαν καὶ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν
ἐποιοῦντο κοινῇ τε πάντες καὶ κατ' ιδίαν τοῦ δι-
καίου· διέπεμψε δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ
χώρᾳ τῶν νομίμων ἐπιμελησομένους.

¹ ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγὴν . . . αὐτῶν corrupta esse putat Niese.

² Niese: αὐτοῖς codd. E.

^a Gold and silver are not mentioned in Scripture.

carried off much gold and silver^a and brought away a great deal of spoil and camels, beasts of burden and flocks of sheep. And so, when Asanos and the army with him had received from God this great victory and gain, they turned back to Jerusalem. As they were approaching it, there met them on the road a prophet named Azarias.^b He bade them halt their journey, and began to speak to them, saying that they had obtained this victory from God because they had shown themselves righteous and pure and had always acted in accordance with the will of God. If, then, he said, they so continued, God would grant them always to overcome their foes and live happily, but, if they abandoned His worship, everything would turn out to the contrary and the time would come “when no true prophet will be found among your people nor any priest to give righteous judgement, but your cities shall be laid waste and the nation scattered over all the earth to lead the life of aliens and wanderers.”^c He therefore advised them to be virtuous while they still had time, and not ungraciously refuse to accept the benevolence of God. When the king and the people heard these words, they rejoiced, and all together and each privately took thought for what was right. The king also sent men throughout the country to watch over the enforcement of the laws.^d

^b So LXX; bibl. Azariah (*Azaryāhū*); Scripture adds that he was the son of Oded.

^c This unscriptural reference to the future exile is perhaps an interpretation of 2 Chron. xv. 5, “In those days (there will be) no peace to him that goes out nor to him that comes in.”

^d Here again (cf. § 290 note) Josephus passes over the Scriptural details of Asa's removal of idols and unlawful shrines.

The admonition of the prophet Azariah. 2 Chron. xv. 1.

298 (3) Καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἀσάνου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν. ἐπάνειμι δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Βασάνην¹ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν Ἱεροβοάμου υἱὸν
299 Νάβαδον καὶ κατασχόντα τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Θαρσῷ² πόλει διατρίβων καὶ ταύτην οἰκητήριον πεποιημένος³ εἴκοσι μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη καὶ τέσσαρα, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀσεβῆς ὑπὲρ Ἱεροβόαμον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, πολλὰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος κακὰ διέθηκε καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐξύβρισεν· ὃς αὐτῷ πέμψας Ἰηοῦν⁴ τὸν προφήτην προεῖπε διαφθερεῖν αὐτοῦ πᾶν τὸ γένος καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς οὓς καὶ τὸν Ἱεροβοάμον κακοῖς περιέβαλεν οἶκον ἐξολέσειν,
300 ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος οὐκ ἡμείφατο τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῷ δικαίως προστῆναι τοῦ πλήθους καὶ εὐσεβῶς, ἀπέρ αὐτοῖς πρώτον τοῖς οὖσι τοιούτοις ἀγαθά, ἔπειτα τῷ θεῷ φίλα, τὸν δὲ κάκιστον Ἱεροβόαμον ἐμιμήσατο καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπολομένης τῆς ἐκείνου ζῶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐνεδείξατο· πεῖραν οὖν ἔξειν εἰκότως τῆς ὄμοίας συμφορᾶς
301 αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὄμοιον αὐτῷ γενόμενον. Βασάνης δὲ προακηκοὼς τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβήσεσθαι κακὰ μεθ' ὅλης τῆς γενεᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς τετολμημένους οὐ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσύχασεν, ἵνα μὴ μᾶλλον πονηρὸς δόξας ἀποθάνῃ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρῳχημένων ἔκτοτε γοῦν μετανοήσας συγγνώμης παρὰ
302 τοῦ θεοῦ⁵ τύχῃ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ προκειμένων αὐτοῖς

¹ τὸ πλῆθος . . . Βασάνην] τὸν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Βασάνην MSP Lat.

² Hudson: Θαρσάλη codd.: Tersalin Lat.

³ πεποιηκὼς RO.

⁴ Schotanus: Ἰησοῦν RO: Ἰοῦν MSP: Γιμοῦ E: Gimun Lat.

⁵ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ om. RO.

(3) Such was the state of things under Asanos, the king of the two tribes. I shall now return to the people of Israel and their king Basanēs, who killed Jeroboam's son Nabados and seized the royal power. Now he lived in the city of Tharsē,^a which he had made his residence, and reigned there twenty-four years. But being more wicked and impious than Jeroboam and his son, he brought many evils upon the people and gravely outraged God, who sent to him the prophet Jēūs^b and warned him that He would destroy all his line and would utterly crush them under the same calamities as He had brought upon the house of Jeroboam, because, after having been made king by Him, he had not requited His kindness by justly and piously governing the people —a course which would, in the first place, be of benefit to those who followed it, and then pleasing to God as well—but had imitated Jeroboam, the vilest of men, and, although Jeroboam himself was dead, had revealed his wickedness as still living. Therefore, He said, Basanēs should justly experience a like ill fate since he had acted in a like manner.^c But Basanēs, although he heard beforehand what evils were destined to befall him together with his whole family because of his reckless conduct, did not restrain himself thereafter in order to avoid being thought still more wicked and so meeting death, nor seek, by repenting thenceforth at least of his past misdeeds, to obtain pardon from God; on the contrary, like those

^a Emended text; mss. Tharsalē; bibl. Tirzah (*Tīrsāh*), LXX Θερσά, tentatively identified by Albright with the modern *Tell el-Far'ah*, c. 7 miles N.E. of Nablus.

^b Variant Jesūs; bibl. Jehu (*Yehū*), LXX Εἰού, Luc. Ioū (?); Scripture adds that he was the son of Hanani.

^c Josephus greatly amplifies Jehu's speech.

The reign
of Baasha
of Israel.
1 Kings
xv. 33.

Baasha's
wickedness.

ἀθλων ἐπὰν περὶ τι σπουδάσωσιν οὐ διαλείπουσι περὶ τοῦτο ἐνεργοῦντες, οὗτο καὶ Βασάνης προειρηκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ προφήτου τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ὀλέθρῳ γένους καὶ οἰκίας ἀπωλείᾳ χείρων ἐγένετο, καὶ καθ' ἔκαστην ἡμέραν ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς κακίας τοῖς περὶ ταύτην 303 πόνοις προσετίθει. καὶ τελευταῖον τὴν στρατιὰν παραλαβὼν πάλιν ἐπῆλθε πόλει τινὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν Ἀραμαθῶνι τοῦνομα σταδίους ἀπεχούσῃ Ἱεροσολύμων τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ καταλαβόμενος αὐτὴν ὠχύρου προδιεγνωκὼς καταλιπεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ δύναμιν, ἵν' ἐκεῖθεν ὥρμημένοι τὴν Ἀσάνου βασιλείαν κακώσωσι.

304 (4) Φοβηθεὶς δὲ Ἀσανὸς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τοῦ πολεμίου καὶ λογισάμενος ὡς πολλὰ διαθῆσει κακὰ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ βασιλευομένην ἅπασαν ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν Ἀραμαθῶνι στρατός, ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλέα πρέσβεις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, παρακαλῶν συμμαχεῖν¹ καὶ ὑπομιμῆσκων ὅτι καὶ πατρῷα φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστὶν 305 αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ πλῆθος ἀσμένως ἐδέξατο καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, διαλύσας τὴν πρὸς τὸν Βασάνην φιλίαν, καὶ πέμψας εἰς τὰς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλευομένας πόλεις τὸν ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἴδιας δυνάμεως ἐκέλευσε κακοῦν

¹ Niese: συμμαχίαν codd.

who have a prize held out before them and, in their earnest effort to obtain it, do not leave off striving toward it, so too Basanēs, after the prophet had foretold what was to come, acted as if these greatest of misfortunes, the death of his family and the destruction of his house, were blessings instead, and became still worse; every day, like a champion of wickedness, he increased his labours on its behalf.^a And ^{1 Kings xv. 17; 2 Chron. xvi. 1.} finally he took his army and again attacked a certain city of no little importance, named Aramatōn,^b which was forty stades from Jerusalem,^b and, after taking it, fortified it, for he had previously determined to leave a force in it in order that they might use it as a base from which to set out and ravage the kingdom of Asanos.

(4) But Asanos, who feared the enemy's attack and ^{Asa allies himself with the Syrians against Baasha.} thought that the army left in Aramatōn might inflict great damage upon the entire country ruled by him, sent envoys to the king of Damascus ^{1 Kings xv. 18; 2 Chron. xvi. 2.} with gold and silver, requesting him to become his ally, and reminding him that there had been friendship between them since their fathers' time. This king gladly accepted the large sum of money and formed an alliance with him after breaking off friendly relations with Basanēs; and he sent the commanders of his own force to the cities of Basanēs' realm with

^a These reflections on Baasha's conduct are, of course, an addition to Scripture.

^b Bibl. Ramah, LXX 'Ραμά (v.l. 'Ραμά); elsewhere in Josephus (e.g. A. vi. 220) it is called Armatha; it is the modern *er-Rām*, c. 5 miles N. of Jerusalem. Josephus's reckoning of its distance from Jerusalem (an unscriptural detail) is therefore correct.

^c Scripture gives his name, Ben-hadad (LXX *υἱὸς Ἀδέρ*), son of Tabrimmon.

αὐτάς. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐνεπίμπρασαν τὰς δὲ δι-
ήρπασαν πορευθέντες, τὴν τε Αἰῶνα¹ λεγομένην
306 καὶ Δάνα καὶ Ἀβελλάνην καὶ ἄλλας πολλάς. ταῦτ'
ἀκούσας ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς τοῦ μὲν
οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ ὀχυροῦν τὴν Ἀραμαθῶνα ἐπάνσατο,
μετὰ δὲ² σπουδῆς ὡς βοηθήσων τοῖς οἰκείοις
κακουμένοις ἀνέστρεψεν, ὁ δ' Ἀσανος ἐκ τῆς
παρεσκευασμένης ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ πρὸς οἰκοδομίαν ὥλης
πόλεις ἀνήγειρεν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ δύο καρτεράς,
307 ή μὲν Γαβαᾶ³ ἔκαλεντο, ή δὲ Μασφά.⁴ καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα καιρὸν οὐκ ἔσχεν ὁ Βασάνης τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν
"Ἀσανον στρατείας· ἐφθάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεών,
καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Θαρσῆ⁵ πόλει, παραλαμβάνει
δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παῖς Ἡλανος. οὗτος ἄρξας
ἐπ' ἔτη δύο τελευτᾶ φονεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἐξ
ἐπιβούλῆς Ζαμβρίου⁶ τοῦ ἵππαρχου τῆς ἡμι-
308 σείας ταξεως· κατευωχηθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τῷ
οἰκονόμῳ αὐτοῦ Ὁσᾶ⁷ τοῦνομα πείσας ἐπιδραμεῖν
τῶν ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἵππέων τινὰς ἀπέκτεινε δι' αὐτῶν
μεμονωμένον τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὄπλιτῶν καὶ ἡγε-

¹ Hudson: Ἰωάνου M: Ἰωάννου ROSP: Helon Lat.

² καὶ μετὰ RO.

³ ex Lat. Niese: Γαβᾶ MSP: Χαβαᾶ RO.

⁴ ex Lat. Hudson: Μασταφᾶς RO: Μεσταφᾶς MSP.

⁵ Hudson: Ἄρση RO: Ἄρσανη MSP: Thersa Lat.

⁶ Ζαμβρίου MSPE Lat.

⁷ Ὁλσᾶ SPE: Ὁρσᾶ Hudson.

^a Emended text, cf. LXX 2 Chron. Αἰών; mss. Joannū, etc.; bibl. Ijon (*Iyyōn*), LXX 1 Kings 'Αἰν (v.l. Ναΐν); its site is unidentified.

^b Bibl. 1 Kings Abel-beth-maachah, LXX Ἀβὲλ οἴκου Μααχά—*bēth* means "house"—(v.l. Ἀδελμάθ), Luc. Ἀβελμαά; 2 Chron. Abel-maim, LXX Ἀβελμαῖν. Josephus's form seems to be a corruption of that in LXX 2 Chron.

orders to ravage them. So they set out and burnt some of the cities and sacked others, including Aiōn,^a as it was called, Dan, Abellanē^b and many others.^c When the king of Israel heard of this, he left off building and fortifying Aramathōn and returned in haste to bring help to his injured subjects. Then Asanos took the materials prepared by Basanēs for building Aramathōn, and with them erected two strong cities in the same region, one of which was called Gabaa^d and the other, Maspha.^e And after this Basanēs had no further opportunity to march against Asanos, for he was very soon overtaken by Fate and was buried in the city of Tharsē,^f whereupon his son Ēlanos^g took over his kingdom. He, ^{1 Kings}
^{xvi. 8.}

^a Located, according to Scripture, in the territory of Naphtali, N.W. of the lake of Chinnereth.

^b So LXX 2 Chron. (v.l. Γαβαῖ); bibl. Geba (of Benjamin); LXX 1 Kings, taking the name Geba as a common noun meaning "hill," has βουνὸν (Βενιαμεν).

^c So LXX 2 Chron.; bibl. Mizpah (*Mispāh*); LXX 1 Kings, taking the name Mizpah as a common noun meaning "look-out," has σκοπιάν.

^d Bibl. Tirzah, cf. § 299 note.

^e Bibl. Elah, LXX Ἡλά.

^f Bibl. Zimri, LXX Ζαμβρεῖ.

^g Heb. and Luc. "commander of half of his chariots," LXX "commander of half of his horses."

^h This form and the variant Olsa are both found in the LXX; bibl. Arza ('Ἄρσᾶ').

ⁱ According to Scripture, Zimri himself killed Elah.

μόνων· οὗτοι γὰρ ἀπαντες περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τῆς Γαβαθώνης ἐγίνοντο τῆς Παλαιστίνων.

309 (5) Φονεύσας δὲ τὸν Ἡλανον δι' ἵππαρχος Ζαμβρίας αὐτὸς βασιλεύει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Βασάνου γενεὰν κατὰ τὴν Ἰηοῦ¹ προφητείαν διαφθείρει· τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ συνέβη τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ πρόρριζον ἀπολέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἱεροβοάμου διαφθαρέντα γεγράφαμεν. ἡ δὲ πολιορκοῦσα τὴν Γαβαθώνην στρατιὰ πυθομένη τὰ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι Ζαμβρίας ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔχει τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῆς Ἀμαρῖνον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Γαβαθώνης ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν εἰς Θαρσὴν παραγίνεται τὸ βασίλειον καὶ προσβαλὼν τῇ πόλει 311 κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ. Ζαμβρίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἴδων ἥρημένην² συνέφυγεν εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τῶν βασιλείων καὶ ὑποπρήσας αὐτὰ³ συγκατέκαυσεν ἔαυτὸν βασιλεύσας ἡμέρας ἑπτά. διέστη δὲ εὐθὺς δ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Θαμαναῖον⁴ βασιλεύειν ἥθελον, οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἀμαρῖνον. νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ τοῦτον ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦντες ἀποκτείνουσι τὸν Θαμαναῖον, καὶ παντὸς βασιλεύει ὁ Ἀμαρῖνος τοῦ 312 ὄχλου. τριακοστῷ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Ἀσάνου βασιλείας ἥρξεν δὲ Ἀμαρῖνος ἔτη δώδεκα· τούτων τὰ μὲν ἔξι ἐν Θάρσῳ πόλει, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐν Σωμαρεῶν⁵ λεγομένῃ πόλει ὑπὸ δὲ Ἐλλήνων Σαμαρείᾳ καλού-

¹ Hudson: Ἰηοῦς RO: Ἰοῦς MSP.

² ex Lat. Bekker: ἥρημωμένην (ἐρημ. RO) codd.

³ Niese: αὐτὸς codd.

⁴ Θαμαναῖον OP: Θάμανον M: Θάναιον S: Thaman Lat.

⁵ Niese (duce Hudson): Μαρεῶν codd. E Zonaras.

soldiers and commanders, who were all occupied in the siege of Gabathōn^a in the Philistine country.

(5) After slaying Ēlanos, Zambrias, the commander of the horse, made himself king and destroyed the entire family of Basanēs in accordance with the prophecy of Jēūs. For it came about that, because of his impiety, his house perished root and branch in the same way as the house of Jeroboam was destroyed, as we have narrated.^b Now, when the army besieging Gabathōn learned what had befallen the king and that Zambrias had killed him and was ruling the kingdom, they, in turn, chose their commander Amarinos^c as king, whereupon he withdrew his army from Gabathōn and came to Tharsē, the royal city, attacked it and took it by storm. Zambrias, seeing the city's fall,^d fled into the inmost part of the palace and, setting it on fire, allowed himself to be consumed with it, after a reign of only seven days. Immediately thereafter the people of Israel were divided into two parties, some wishing Thamanaios^e to be their king, others, Amarinos. And, as those who wanted Amarinos to rule were victorious, they killed Thamanaios,^f and Amarinos became king of all the people in the thirtieth^g year of the reign of Asanos; he reigned twelve years, six of them in the city of Tharsē and the rest in a city called Sōmareōn,^h known to the Greeks as Samaria. So it was called

^a Bibl. Gibbethon, cf. § 288 note.

^b Bibl. Omri, LXX Ζαμβρεῖ, Luc. Ἀμβρι.

^c Emended text.

^d Bibl. Tibni, LXX Θαμνεῖ, Luc. Θαβεννεῖ.

^e Scripture says merely that Tibni died.

^f Bibl. "thirty-first."

^g Emended text; Heb. Šōmerōn (A.V. Samaria), LXX Σεμερών, Luc. Σομορών.

^h § 289.

μένη. προσηγόρευσε δ' αὐτὴν οὕτως Ἀμαρῖνος¹
ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ ὄρος ἀποδομένου αὐτῷ ἐφ' ὁ κατ-
313 εσκεύασε τὴν πόλιν Σωμάρου. διέφερε δ' οὐδὲν
τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευσάντων ἡ τῷ χείρων αὐτῶν
εἶναι· ἀπαντεῖς γὰρ ἔξήτουν πᾶς ἀποστῆσασιν ἀπὸ
τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν λαὸν τοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν ἀσεβήμασι καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο δι' ἀλλήλων αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν
ἔλθεν καὶ μηδένα τοῦ γένους ὑπολιπεῖν. ἐτελεύ-
τησε δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, διαδέχεται δ'
αὐτὸν δ' παῖς Ἀχαβος.

314 (6) Μαθεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τούτων ὅσην τὸ θεῖον
ἐπιστροφὴν ἔχει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, καὶ
πᾶς μὲν ἀγαπᾷ τοὺς ἀγαθούς, μισεῖ δὲ τοὺς πονη-
ρούς² καὶ προρρίζους ἀπόλλυσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεῖς ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ διὰ τὴν παρα-
νομίαν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ
κακῶς διαφθαρέντες ἐγνώσθησαν³ καὶ τὸ γένος
αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν δύο φυλῶν
βασιλεὺς Ἀσανος δι' εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην
εἰς μακρὸν καὶ εὑδαιμον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προ-
ήχθη γῆρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐν ἄρξας ἔτος
315 εὐμοίρως ἀπέθανε. τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ δι-
εδέξατο τὴν ἥγεμονίαν ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσαφάτης ἐκ
γυναικὸς Ἀβιδᾶς τοῦνομα γεγενημένος. τοῦτον
μιμητὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ προπάππου κατά τε ἀνδρείαν
καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἀπαντεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὑπέλαβον.
ἄλλα περὶ μὲν τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐ κατεπείγει
νῦν λέγειν.

¹ οὕτως Ἀμαρῖνος conj.: αὐτὸς Σωμαραῖος RO: αὐτὸς Σαμάραιος
MSP: αὐτὸς Σεμαρεῶνα Hudson.

² μοχθηρούς MSP.

³ εὐρέθησαν MSP: ὑρέθησαν Hudson.

by Amarinos^a after Sōmaros,^b the man who had sold him the mountain on which he built the city. Now he was in no way different from those who had reigned before him except in being worse than they, for they all sought to turn the people away from God by daily impieties, and therefore God caused them to destroy one another and leave no one of their family alive. Amarinos also died in Samaria and was succeeded by his son Achab.^c

(6) From these events one may learn how close a watch the Deity keeps over human affairs and how He loves good men but hates the wicked, whom He destroys root and branch. For many of the kings of Israel, because of their lawlessness and iniquity, one after the other in a short space of time were marked for destruction together with their families, while Asanos, the king of Jerusalem and the two tribes,^d 1 Kings xv. 24; 2 Chron. xvi. 13. because of his piety and righteousness was brought by God to a long and blessed old age and, after a reign of forty-one years, died in a happy state.^e Upon his death he was succeeded in the kingship by Josaphat,^f 1 Kings xxii. 42 (cf. LXX xvi. 28 b). his son by a wife named Abida.^g That Asanos imitated his great-grandfather David in courage and piety, all men have recognized from his deeds. But there is no great necessity to speak of this king just now.

^a Text emended, following a hint of Niese that the reading Sōmaraios, etc., of the mss. concealed the name of King Amarinos (Omri).

^b Bibl. Shemer, LXX Σαμήρ (v.l. Σεμήρ).

^c Gr. Achabos; bibl. Ahab ('Ahāb), LXX Ἀχαάβ.

^d Josephus omits the disease of the feet with which Asa was afflicted in his old age.

^e Gr. Jōsaphatēs; bibl. Jehoshaphat, LXX Ἰωσαφάθ (v.l. Ἰωσαφάτ).

^f Bibl. Azubah ('Azubāh), LXX Ἀζαεβά (v.ll. Ἀζουβά, Γαζουβά).

316 (xiii. 1) Ὁ δὲ Ἀχαβος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς κατώκει μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ἥως ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, μηδὲν καινίσας τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα γε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον καθ' ὑπερβολὴν πονηρίας ἐπενόησεν, ἀπαντα δ' αὐτῶν τὰ κακουργήματα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὕβριν ἐκμιμησάμενος καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Ἱεροβοάμοις 317 ζηλώσας παρανομίαν· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τὰς δαμάλεις τὰς ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατασκευασθείσας προσεκύνησε καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα παράδοξα προσεμηχανήσατο. ἔγημε δὲ γυναῖκα θυγατέρα μὲν Ἰθωβάλου τοῦ Τυρίων καὶ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως Ἱεζαβέλην δὲ ὄνομα, ἀφ' ἣς τοὺς ἴδιους αὐτῆς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν 318 ἔμαθεν. ἦν δὲ τὸ γύναιον δραστήριόν τε καὶ τολμηρόν, εἰς τοσαύτην δ' ἀσέλγειαν καὶ μανίαν προύπεσεν, ὡστε καὶ ναὸν τῷ Τυρίων θεῷ ὃν Βελίαν¹ προσαγορεύουσιν ὥκοδόμησε καὶ ἄλσος παντοίων δένδρων κατεφύτευσε· κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ φευδοπροφήτας τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ· καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τοιούτους περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἀνοίᾳ καὶ πονηρίᾳ πάντας ὑπερβεβληκώς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

319 (2) Προφήτης δέ τις τοῦ μεγίστου² θεοῦ ἐκ πόλεως Θεοβάνης³ τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας προσέλθων Ἀχάβῳ προλέγειν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἔφασκε

¹ Βέλ (in marg. Βελεὶ) M: Βῆλαν P: Βῆλα S: Βῆλ E Zonaras: Bahel Lat.

² μεγάλου RO.

³ Θεσσεβώνης RO.

^a Bibl. "And Ahab made an 'asērāh'" (A.V. "grove"); the 'asērāh was a tree trunk representing the Canaanite god of fertility.

(xiii. 1) Now Achab, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria and exercised the royal power for twenty-two years; in no way did he make a new departure from the kings before him except, indeed, to invent even worse courses in his surpassing wickedness, while closely imitating all their misdeeds and their outrageous behaviour to God and, in particular, emulating the lawlessness of Jeroboam. For he too worshipped the heifers which Jeroboam had made and, in addition, constructed other unheard of objects of worship.^a And he took to wife the daughter of Ithōbalos,^b the king of Tyre and Sidon, whose name was Jezabelē,^c and from her learned to worship her native gods. Now this woman, who was a creature both forceful and bold, went to such lengths of licentiousness and madness that she built a temple to the Tyrian god whom they call Belias,^d and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. And the king himself had many such men about him, and in folly and wickedness surpassed all the kings before him.^e

(2) Now there was a certain prophet^f of the most high God, from the city of Thesbōnē^g in the country a drought. of Galaditis, who came to Achab and said that God^{1 Kings xvii. 1.}

^b Bibl. Ethbaal, LXX 'Ιεθεβαάλ.

^c Bibl. Jezebel ('Iz̄ebel), LXX 'Ιεζάβελ.

^d Bibl. Baal, LXX Βάαλ; cf. § 145 note.

^e Josephus, like Luc., omits the reference to the building of Jericho by Hiel, 1 Kings xvi. 34.

^f Elijah, the prophet meant, is named at this point in Scripture. Weill raises the question whether the name may not have fallen out of Josephus's text here.

^g Cf. LXX Θεσσεβών reading, in the Heb., mittišbi "from Tishbi," instead of mittōšabē "of the inhabitants of" (Gilead).

μήθ' ὅσειν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔτεσι μῆτε δρόσον καταπέμψειν εἰς τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ φανέντος¹ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτοις ἐπομόσας ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ πρὸς νότον μέρη, ποιούμενος παρὰ χειμάρρῳ τινὶ τὴν διατριβήν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ ποτὸν εἶχε· τὴν γὰρ τροφὴν αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν κόρακες προσέφερον.
 320 ἀναξηρανθέντος δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ δι' ἀνομβρίαν εἰς Σαρεφθὰ² πόλιν οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Σιδῶνος καὶ Τύρου (μεταξὺ γὰρ κεῖται) παραγίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος· εὑρῆσεν γὰρ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκα χήραν,
 321 ἥτις αὐτῷ παρέξει τροφάς. ὃν δ' οὐ πόρρω τῆς πύλης ὁρᾷ γυναῖκα χερνῆτιν ξυλιζομένην· τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ δηλώσαντος ταύτην εἶναι τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτὸν διατρέφειν, προσελθὼν ἡσπάσατο καὶ κομίσαι ὕδωρ παρεκάλεσεν, ὅπως πύῃ, καὶ πορευομένης μετακαλεσάμενος καὶ ἄρτον ἐνεγκεῖν ἐκέλευσε.
 322 τῆς δ' ὁμοσάσης μηδὲν ἔχειν ἔνδον ἦ μίαν ἀλεύρου δράκα καὶ ὀλίγον ἔλαιον, πορεύεσθαι δὲ συνειλοχυῖαν τὰ ξύλα, ἵνα φυράσασα ποιήσῃ αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ τέκνῳ ἄρτον, μεθ' ὃν ἀπολεῖσθαι λιμῷ δαπανηθέντα³ μηκέτι μηδενὸς ὄντος ἔλεγεν, “ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦσα,” εἶπεν, “ἄπιθι καὶ τὰ κρείττω προσδοκῶσα, καὶ ποιήσασα πρώτον ἐμοὶ βραχὺ κόμισον· προλέγω γάρ σοι μηδέποτ’ ἐπιλεύψειν ἀλεύρων

¹ φάναντος RO: φήσαντος conj. Weill.

² Σαριφθὰν R: Σαριφθὰ O: Ἀρεφθὰν E.

³ δαπανηθέντας RO.

^a That is, until Elijah should appear to Ahab. Weill, on the basis of the Scriptural phrase, spoken by Elijah, “but according to my word,” conjectures that Josephus’s text may originally have read “until he himself should say so.”

^b Bibl. “eastward.”

had foretold to him that He would not give rain in those years nor send down dew upon the land until he himself should appear.^a And, having sworn to these things, he withdrew into the south country^b and made his home beside a stream^c which also gave him water to drink; as for his food, the ravens brought it to him every day. But, when the river dried up for want of rain, he came to the city of Sarephtha,^d not far from Sidon and Tyre—it lies between them—at the command of God, for He said that he would there find a widow who would provide him with food. Now when he was a little way from the city gate, he saw a labouring woman who was gathering wood. Thereupon, as God revealed to him that this was she who was to give him food,^e he went up to her and, after greeting her, asked her to fetch him some water to drink, but, when she started out, he called her back and bade her bring some bread as well. But she swore that she had nothing in the house except a handful of meal and a little oil, and said that she was setting out for home, after gathering the wood, to knead the meal and make bread for herself and her child^f; after this was eaten they must perish, consumed by hunger, for there was no longer anything left. Whereupon he said, “Even so, be of good courage and go your way in hope of better things; but first prepare a little food and bring it to me, for I prophesy to you that neither the bowl of meal

^a Bibl. “the brook Cherith, that is before Jordan.”

^b Bibl. Zarephath (*Sārep̄āth*), LXX Σαρεπτά (v.l. as in Josephus).

^c This detail of God’s prompting Elijah is unscriptural.

^d So Heb.; LXX τέκνοις “children.”

ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄγγος μηδ' ἐλαίου τὸ κεράμιον, μέχρις
 323 οὐ ἀν ὥση δ' θεός." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου
 παραγενομένη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐποίησε τὰ εἰρημένα
 καὶ αὐτῇ τε ἔσχε καὶ τῷ τέκνῳ χορηγεῖν τὴν
 διατροφὴν καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ, ἐπέλιπε δ' οὐδὲν
 αὐτοὺς τούτων, ἄχρις οὐ καὶ δ' αὐχμὸς ἐπαύσατο.
 324 μέμνηται δὲ τῆς ἀνομβρίας ταύτης καὶ Μένανδρος
 ἐν ταῖς Ἰθωβάλου τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως πράξεσι
 λέγων οὕτως· "ἀβροχία τ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ
 τοῦ Υπερβερεταίου μηνὸς ἔως τοῦ ἔχομένου ἔτους
 Υπερβερεταίου, ἵκετείαν¹ δ' αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένου
 κεραυνοὺς ἵκανοὺς βεβληκέναι. οὗτος πόλιν Βότρυν
 ἔκτισε τὴν ἐπὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Ανδαν τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ."
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δηλῶν τὴν ἐπ' Αχάβου γενομένην
 ἀνομβρίαν (κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον καὶ Ἰθώβαλος ἐβα-
 σίλευε Τυρίων) δ' Μένανδρος ἀναγέγραφεν.
 325 (3) Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ περὶ ἣς πρὸ τούτων εἴπομεν,
 ἡ τὸν προφήτην διατρέφουσα, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῇ
 καταπεσόντος εἰς νόσον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφεῖναι
 καὶ δόξαι νεκρόν, ἀνακλαιομένη καὶ ταῖς τε χερσὶν
 αὐτὴν αἰκιζομένη καὶ φωνὰς οἷς ὑπηγόρευε τὸ
 πάθος ἀφιεῖσα κατηγιάτο τῆς παρ' αὐτῇ παρουσίας
 τὸν προφήτην ὡς ἐλέγξαντα τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐ-
 326 τῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ παιδὸς τετελευτηκότος. δ'
 δὲ παρεκελεύετο θαρρεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν υἱὸν
 αὐτῷ· ζῶντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποδώσειν. παραδούσης
 οὖν βαστάσας εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἐν ᾧ διέτριβεν
 αὐτός, καὶ καταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ἀνεβόησε πρὸς
 τὸν θεὸν οὐ καλῶς ἀμείψεσθαι² τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην
 καὶ θρέψαν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἀφαιρησόμενον,

¹ ante ἵκετείαν lacunam statuit Niese.

² Niese: ἀμείψεσθαι codd.

nor the jar of oil shall be empty until God sends rain." When the prophet had said these things, she went to her home and did as he had told her; and she had enough food for herself and her child as well as for the prophet, nor did they lack anything to eat until the drought finally ended. This rainless time is also mentioned by Menander ^a in his account of the acts of Ithōbalos, the king of Tyre, in these words: "There was a drought in his reign, which lasted from the month of Hyperberetaios until the month of Hyperberetaios in the following year. But he made supplication to the gods, whereupon a heavy thunderstorm broke out. He it was who founded the city of Botrys in Phoenicia, and Auza in Libya." This, then, is what Menander wrote, referring to the drought which came in Achab's reign, for it was in his time that Ithōbalos was king of Tyre.

(3) Now the woman of whom we spoke above, who gave food to the prophet—her son fell ill so seriously that he ceased to breathe and seemed to be dead, whereupon she wept bitterly, injuring herself with her hands and uttering such cries as her grief prompted ^b; and she reproached the prophet for having come to her to convict her of sin and on that account causing the death of her son. But he urged her to take heart and give her son over to him, for he would, he said, restore him to her alive. So she gave him over, and he carried him into the chamber in which he himself lived, and placed him on the bed; then he cried aloud to God, saying that He would ill requite the woman who had received him and nourished him, if He took her son from her, and he

^a Cf. *Ap. i.* 116 note.
^b These details of the woman's grief are unscriptural.

ἔδειτό τε τὴν ψυχὴν εἰσπέμψαι πάλιν τῷ παιδὶ
 327 καὶ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν βίον. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ κατ-
 οικτείραντος μὲν τὴν μητέρα, βουληθέντος δὲ καὶ
 τῷ προφήτῃ χαρίσασθαι τὸ μὴ δόξαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ¹
 κακῷ παρεῖναι, παρὰ πᾶσαν προσδοκίαν ἀνεβίωσεν.
 ἡ δὲ εὐχαρίστει τῷ προφήτῃ καὶ τότε σαφῶς ἔλεγε
 μεμαθηκέναι ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ διαλέγεται.

328 (4) Χρόνου δὲ ὀλίγου διελθόντος παραγίνεται πρὸς
 "Αχαβον τὸν βασιλέα κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ,
 δηλώσων αὐτῷ τὸν γενησόμενον ὑετόν. λιμὸς δὲ
 τότε κατεῖχε τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν καὶ πολλὴ τῶν
 ἀναγκαίων ἀπορία, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώπους ἄρτων¹
 σπανίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γῆν μηδὲ ὅσα τοῖς ἵπποις
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήνεσι πρὸς νομήν ἔστι χρήσιμα
 329 διὰ τὴν ἀνομβρίαν ἀναδιδόναι. τὸν οὖν ἐπιμελό-
 μενον αὐτοῦ τῶν κτημάτων ὁ βασιλεὺς καλέσας
 'Ωβεδίαν, ἀπιέναι² βούλεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἐπὶ¹
 τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὕδατων καὶ τὸν χειμάρρους, ἵν' εἴ
 που παρ' αὐτοῖς εὑρεθείη πόα ταύτην εἰς τροφὴν
 ἀμησάμενοι τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἔχωσι. καὶ³ περιπέμ-
 φαντα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὸν ζητήσοντας
 τὸν προφήτην 'Ηλίαν οὐχ εὑρηκέναι· συνέπεσθαι
 330 δὲ ἐκέλευσε κάκεων αὐτῷ. δόξαν οὖν ἔξορμᾶν
 αὐτοῖς, μερισάμενοι τὰς ὁδοὺς ὁ τε 'Ωβεδίας καὶ
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπήεσαν ἔτερος ἔτέραν τῶν ὁδῶν.
 συνεβεβήκει δὲ καθ' ὃν 'Ιεζαβέλη ἡ βασίλισσα
 καιρὸν τὸν προφήτας ἀπέκτεινε τοῦτον ἐκατὸν
 ἐν τοῖς ὑπογείοις⁴ σπηλαίοις κρύψαι προφήτας καὶ

¹ αὐτῶν SP.² Hudson: ἀπεῖναι codd.³ ante καὶ lacunam statuit Niese.⁴ ὑπὸ Γάρις R: ὑπὸ γάροις O: om. Lat.

prayed God to send the breath into the child again and give him life. Thereupon God, because He took pity on the mother and also because He wished graciously to spare the prophet from seeming to have come to her for the purpose of harming her,^a beyond all expectation brought the child back to life. Then the mother thanked the prophet and said that now she clearly realized that the Deity spoke with him.

(4) After a little time ^b had passed, the prophet, in accordance with the will of God, went to King Ahab ^{Ahab sends men to find Elijah.} to inform him that rain was coming. Now at that time a famine held the whole country in its power, and there was a lack of necessary provisions so that not only did men have a scarcity of bread but, because of the drought, the earth did not yield even the grass necessary for the pasturing of horses and other beasts. So the king called Obedias,^c who was in charge of his estate, and told him that he wished him to go out to the springs of water and winter streams in order to cut any grass that they might find near them and give it to the beasts for fodder; he also said that he had sent men throughout the entire earth to look for the prophet Elijah, but they had not found him; and he commanded Obedias to accompany him. So, when they had decided to set out, Obedias and the king, dividing the roads, went each by a different road. Now it had happened at the time when Queen Jezabelē killed the prophets that Obedias hid a hundred prophets in underground

^a This explanation of God's motive is an addition to Scripture.^b Bibl. "after many days . . . in the third year."^c Bibl. Obadiah (*Obadyāhū*), LXX Ἀβδιού (v.l. Ἀβδειού).

τρέφειν αὐτοὺς ἄρτον χορηγοῦντα μόνον καὶ
 331 ὕδωρ. μονωθέντι δ'¹ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ὁβεδίᾳ συν-
 ήντησεν ὁ προφήτης Ἡλίας· καὶ πυθόμενος παρ'
 αὐτοῦ τίς εἴη καὶ μαθὼν προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν· ὁ
 δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα βαδίζειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ λέγειν
 332 ὅτι παρείη πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τί κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 πεπονθότα πρὸς τὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ζητοῦντα καὶ
 πᾶσαν ἐρευνήσαντα γῆν πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν·
 ἦ τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ὅτι μηδένα τόπον κατέλιπεν,
 εἰς δὲ οὐκ ἀπέστειλε τοὺς ἀνάξοντας εἰς λάβοιεν
 333 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ; καὶ γὰρ εὐλαβεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ἔφασκε, μὴ τοῦ θεοῦ φανέντος αὐτῷ πάλιν εἰς
 ἄλλον ἀπέλθῃ τόπον, εἴτα διαμαρτών αὐτοῦ,
 πέμψαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, μὴ δυνάμενος² εὑρεῖν
 334 ὅπου ποτ' εἴη γῆς ἀποθάνῃ. προνοεῖν οὖν αὐτοῦ
 τῆς σωτηρίας παρεκάλει τὴν περὶ τοὺς ὁμοτέχνους
 αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν λέγων, ὅτι σώσειεν ἐκατὸν προ-
 φήτας Ἰεζαβέλης πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνηρηκυίας,
 καὶ ἔχοι κεκρυμμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ τρεφομένους
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν δεδιότα βαδίζειν ἐκέλευε
 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα δοὺς αὐτῷ πίστεις ἐνόρκους ὅτι
 πάντως κατ' ἐκείνην Ἀχάβῳ φανήσεται τὴν
 ἡμέραν.

335 (5) Μηνύσαντος δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ὁβεδίου τὸν
 Ἡλίαν ὑπῆντησεν ὁ Ἀχαβος καὶ ἤρετο μετ'
¹ δ' αὐτὸν MSP. ² καὶ μὴ δυναμένου MSP.

^a The word "underground," adopted as the correct reading, is an unscriptural detail; the variant "in caves under Garis" is unintelligible. It is just possible, however, that ὑπὸ Γάρις arises from a careless reading of Heb. *mē'arāh* (or Targum *mē'arthā*) "cave"; the syllable *me* may have been taken as the Heb. prep. "from," and *'arāh* transliterated (as normally) as *Garā*, thus giving ἄπὸ Γαρά (or Γαρθά),

caves ^a and fed them, though giving them only bread and water. As Obedias, therefore, was separated from the king and was alone, the prophet Elijah ^b met him. Obedias inquired of him who he was, ^c and, when he found out, did obeisance to him. Thereupon the prophet bade him go to the king and tell him that Elijah was coming to him. The other then asked him what harm he himself had done him that he was sending him to one who was seeking to kill the prophet and had searched every land for him; did he perhaps not know that the king had not overlooked a single place to which he might send men who were to lead Elijah to his death if they caught him? Indeed, he said, he was afraid that if God appeared to Elijah a second time, the prophet might go away to another place and then, when the king sent for him, he would not be able to find him in whatever part of the world he might be, and so he himself would be put to death. He therefore urged him to look out for his safety, telling him of his zeal on behalf of Elijah's fellows in the prophetic art, ^d for he had saved a hundred prophets after Jezabelē had destroyed all the others, and had kept them hidden and fed them. But Elijah bade him go without any fear to the king, first giving him sworn assurances that he would positively appear before Achab that very day.

(5) When Obedias informed the king of Elijah's appearance, Achab went to meet him and asked him which was further corrupted to ὑπὸ Γάρις. This suggestion is advanced with great hesitancy.

^b Gr. Ἐλίας as in Luc.; Heb. 'Ēlīyāhû, LXX Ἡλειού.

^c In Scripture Obadiah recognizes Elijah immediately, but asks, for certainty (or in astonishment), "Is it thou, my master, Elijah?" (A.V. "Art thou that my lord Elijah?").

^d Lit. "fellow-craftsmen."

όργης εἰ αὐτὸς εἴη ὁ τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν κακώσας
καὶ τῆς ἀκαρπίας αἴτιος γεγενημένος. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν
ὑποθωπεύσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἄπαντα τὰ δεινὰ πεποιη-
κέναι καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ, ἔνικοὺς ἐπεισενηνοχότας¹
τῇ χώρᾳ θεοὺς καὶ τούτους σέβοντας,² τὸν δὲ ἴδιον
αὐτῶν, ὃς μόνος ἔστι θεός, ἀπολελοιπότας καὶ
336 μηδεμίαν ἔτι πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιουμένους. νῦν
μέντοι γε ἀπελθόντα³ ἐκέλευε πάντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς
τὸ Καρμήλιον ὅρος ἀθροῖσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς
προφήτας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικός, εἰπὼν ὅσοι τὸν
ἀριθμὸν εἴησαν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀλσῶν προφήτας ὡς
337 τετρακοσίους τὸ πλῆθος ὄντας. ὡς δὲ συνέδραμον
πάντες εἰς τὸ προειρημένον ὅρος Ἀχάβου δια-
πέμψαντος, σταθεὶς αὐτῶν ὁ προφήτης Ἡλίας
μεταξύ, μέχρι πότε διηρημένους αὐτοὺς τῇ διανοίᾳ
καὶ ταῖς δόξαις οὕτως βιώσειν ἔφασκε· νομίσαντας
μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἔγχώριον θεὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνον,
ἔπεσθαι τούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ παρήνει,
μηδὲν δὲ τοῦτον ἥγουμένους ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἔνικῶν
ὑπειληφότας ὡς ἐκείνους δεῖ θρησκεύειν αὐτοῖς
338 συνεβούλευε κατακολουθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους μηδὲν
πρὸς ταῦτ’ ἀποκριναμένους ἦξισεν Ἡλίας πρὸς
διάπειραν τῆς τε τῶν ἔνικῶν θεῶν ἵσχυος καὶ τῆς
τοῦ ἴδιου, μόνος ὃν αὐτοῦ προφήτης ἐκείνων δὲ
τετρακοσίους ἔχόντων, λαβεῖν αὐτός τε βοῦν καὶ
ταῦτην θύσας ἐπιθεῖναι ἔνδοις πυρὸς οὐχ ὑφασθέν-
τος, κάκείνους ταῦτὸ ποιήσαντας ἐπικαλέσασθαι
τοὺς ἴδιους θεοὺς ἀνακαῦσαι τὰ ξύλα· γενομένου

¹ ἐνηνοχότας RO: ἐπεισενηνοχότα S²P: εἰσενηνοχότα E.

² σέβοντα SP².
³ ἀνελθόντα R(O).

• 450, according to Scripture.

in anger whether it was he who had brought evil upon Elijah's contest with the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel.
1 Kings xviii. 16.
the Hebrew people and had caused the barrenness of the soil. Thereupon the prophet, without flattering him in the least, said that it was Achab himself and his family who had brought on all these misfortunes by introducing foreign gods into the country and worshipping them, while their own God, who was the only true one, they had abandoned and no longer gave Him any thought. Now, however, he bade him go off and gather all the people to him on Mount Carmel as well as his prophets and those of his wife—telling him how many there were ^a—and also the prophets of the groves, some four hundred in number. And, when at Achab's summons they had all gathered together on the afore-mentioned mountain, the prophet Elijah stood up in their midst and asked how long they would go on living in that way, divided in thought and opinion. If they believed the native God to be the only true God, he urged them to follow Him and His commandments, but if they thought nothing of Him and, instead, considered that they ought to serve the foreign gods, he advised them to go with these. Then, as the people made no answer to these words, Elijah asked that a test be made of the respective powers of the foreign gods and his own and that he, being His only prophet, while their gods had four hundred,^b be allowed to take an ox and, after slaughtering it, place it on a pile of wood without kindling a fire, and that they do the same; then they should call upon their gods and he upon his to set the wood on fire, for if this happened,

^b Josephus here seems to be referring to the 400 prophets of the asherah (A.V. "groves"), who are mentioned with the 450 prophets of Baal in the LXX 1 Kings xviii. 22.

γὰρ τούτου μαθήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς¹ τὴν ἀληθῆ φύσιν
 339 τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀρεσάσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐκέλευσεν
 Ὡλίας τοὺς προφήτας ἐκλεξαμένους βοῦν πρώτους
 τε θῦσαι καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν² ἐπικαλέσασθαι θεούς.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπήντα παρὰ τῆς εὐχῆς³ καὶ τῆς
 ἐπικλήσεως θύσασι τοῖς προφήταις, σκώπτων δὲ
 Ὡλίας μεγάλη βοῇ καλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε τοὺς
 340 θεούς· ἡ γὰρ ἀποδημεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡ καθεύδειν. τῶν
 δὲ ἀπ' ὄρθρου τοῦτο ποιούντων μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας
 καὶ τεμνόντων αὐτοὺς μαχαίραις καὶ σιρομάσταις
 κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος, μέλλων αὐτὸς ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν
 θυσίαν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ἀναχωρῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ
 ἐγγὺς προσελθόντας τηρεῖν αὐτόν, μὴ πῦρ λάθρᾳ
 341 τοῖς ξύλοις ἐμβάλῃ. τοῦ δὲ σχλού προσελθόντος
 λαβὼν δώδεκα λίθους κατὰ φυλὴν τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν
 Ἐβραίων ἀνέστησεν ἐξ αὐτῶν θυσιαστήριον καὶ
 περὶ αὐτὸν δεξαμενὴν ὥρυξε βαθυτάτην, καὶ συνθεὶς
 τὰς σχίζας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπι-
 θεὶς τὰ ἱερεῖα, τέσσαρας ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης ὑδρίας
 προσέταξε πληρωθείσας⁴ ὕδατος κατασκεδάσαι τοῦ
 θυσιαστηρίου, ὡς ὑπερβαλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δεξα-
 μενὴν ἅπασαν γεμισθῆναι ὕδατος ὡς πηγῆς⁵ ἀνα-
 342 δοθείσης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἤρξατο εὐχεσθαι τῷ
 θεῷ καὶ παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν⁶ ποιεῖν τῷ πεπλανημένῳ

¹ τότε MSP.² Niese: αὐτῶν codd. E.³ + αὐτοῖς MSPE.⁴ ὑδρίας . . . πληρ.] ἐκέλευσεν ὕδριας RO.⁵ ὡς πηγῆς Niese: πηγῆς codd.⁶ παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ex Lat. conj. Niese (aliter in ed.): καλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ codd.^a In Scripture Elijah speaks of one god.^b So Heb.; LXX omits. Josephus, however, omits

they would learn the true nature of God. When this proposal was accepted, Elijah bade the prophets select an ox and sacrifice first and call upon their own gods. But, since nothing came of the prophets' prayers and appeals after they had sacrificed, Elijah mocked them and told them to call their gods^a in a loud voice, for either they were on a journey^b or were asleep. So they did this from dawn to midday^c and cut themselves with knives and barbed lances after the custom of their country, until, when about to offer his sacrifice, he bade them retire and the others draw near to watch that he should not secretly apply fire to the wood.^d Then, when the crowd had come near, he took twelve stones, one for each tribe of the Hebrew people, and with them erected an altar, around which he dug a very deep trench; next he placed the faggots on the altar and upon them laid the victims, after which he ordered the people to take four jars filled with water from the fountain and pour them over the altar so that the water overflowed and the whole trench was filled as though from a welling spring. Having done these things,^e he began to pray to God and entreat Him to make His power manifest

Elijah's taunt about their god being busied with "thinking or conversation," if that is what the Heb. means (A.V. "either he is talking, or he is pursuing"; Targum "eases himself," which interpretation Josephus may have followed and therefore omitted the unseemly detail).

^a Bibl. "until the offering of the evening (or "late afternoon") sacrifice."

^b This explanation of Elijah's invitation to the people to draw near is an addition to Scripture. A rabbinic tradition speaks of Elijah's precautions against the tampering with the kindling wood by the prophets of Baal, cf. Ginzberg, iv. 198.

^c According to Scripture, the jars of water were filled and poured three times.

πολὺν ἥδη χρόνον λαῷ φανερὰν τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν.
καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἄφνω πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦ
πλήθους ὁρῶντος, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεσε καὶ τὴν
θυσίαν ἐδαπάνησεν, ὡς ἀνακαῆναι καὶ τὸ ὅδωρ καὶ
ψαφαρὸν γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον.

343 (6) Οἱ δὲ Ἰσραὴλῖται τοῦτ' ἴδόντες ἔπεσον ἐπὶ^a
τὴν γῆν καὶ προσεκύνουν ἔνα θεὸν καὶ μέγιστον
καὶ ἀληθῆ μόνον ἀποκάλοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
ὄνόματα ὑπὸ φαύλης καὶ ἀνοήτου δόξης πεποιη-
μένα^b. συλλαβόντες δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας
ἀπέκτειναν, Ἡλία τοῦτο παραινέσαντος. ἔφη δὲ
καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πορεύεσθαι πρὸς ἄριστον μηδὲν ἔτι
φροντίσαντα· μετ' ὀλίγον γὰρ ὅψεσθαι τὸν θεὸν
344 ὕοντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν "Ἀχαΐος ἀπηλλάγη, Ἡλίας δὲ"
ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τοῦ Καρμηλίου ἀναβὰς ὅρους
καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσηρείσατο τοῖς γόναις
τὴν κεφαλήν, τὸν δὲ θεράποντα ἐκέλευσεν ἀνελθόντα
ἐπὶ τινα σκοπῆν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποβλέπειν,
κανὸν ἴδῃ νεφέλην ἐγειρομένην ποθέν, φράζειν αὐτῷ·
μέχρι γὰρ τότε καθαρῷ συνέβαινε τῷ ἀέρι εἶναι.
345 τοῦ δὲ ἀναβάντος καὶ μηδὲν πολλάκις ὁρᾶν φήσαν-
τος, ἔβδομον ἥδη βαδίσας ἑώρακέναι μελαινόμενον
εἴπε τι τοῦ ἀέρος οὐ πλέον ἵχνους ἀνθρωπίνου. ὁ
δὲ Ἡλίας ταῦτ' ἀκούσας πέμπει πρὸς τὸν "Ἀχαΐον
κελεύων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὶν ἣ
346 καταρραγῆναι τὸν ὅμβρον. καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς Ἰεζά-

¹ Niese: αὐτοῦ codd.

² δύναμα . . . πεποιημένα] δύναματι . . . πεποιημένους RO.

to the people which had now for so long a time been in error. And, as he said this, suddenly, in the sight of the multitude, fire fell from heaven and consumed the altar, so that even the water went up in steam,^a and the ground became completely dry.

(6) When the Israelites saw this, they fell upon the earth and worshipped the one God, whom they acknowledged as the Almighty and only true God, while the others were mere names invented by unworthy and senseless opinion.^b Then they seized their prophets and killed them at Elijah's behest.^c He also told the king to go to his midday^d meal without further care, for in a little while he should see the rain sent by God. And so Achab departed, while Elijah went up to the summit of Mount Carmel and, sitting^e on the ground, leaned his head upon his knees; and he ordered his servant to go up to a certain look-out and gaze at the sea and if he saw a cloud rising in any direction to tell him of it, for until then the sky had been clear. The servant, therefore, went up and several times informed him that he saw nothing, but after the seventh time he came and told him that he had seen a spot of blackness in the sky no larger than a man's footprint.^f When Elijah heard this, he sent to Achab, bidding him go back to the city before the rain should pour down in torrents. So the king went to the city of

^a Lit. "was kindled" or "burnt up."

^b In Scripture no reference is made to the false gods.

^c It was Elijah himself who slew them, according to Scripture.

^d Unscriptural detail.

^e Or "supporting himself"; bibl. "bowed himself" (A.V. "cast himself").

^f So LXX, translating Heb. *kaph*, which may mean either "sole of the foot" or "palm of the hand" (so Targum here).

ρηλαν¹ πόλιν παραγίνεται· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀχλύσαντος καὶ νέφεσι καλυφθέντος πνεῦμά τε λάβρον ἐπιγίνεται καὶ πολὺς ὅμπρος. ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἔνθεος γενόμενος τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρματι μέχρι τῆς Ἰεζαρήλας² πόλεως συνέδραμε.

347 (7) Μαθοῦσα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἀχάβου γυνὴ Ἰεζαβέλη τά τε σημεῖα τὰ ὑπὸ Ἡλίᾳ γενόμενα καὶ ὅτι τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὄργισθεῖσα πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλους ἀπειλοῦσα δι' αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖνειν αὐτόν, ὡς κάκεῖνος τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῆς ἀπολέσειε. φοβηθεὶς δ' ὁ Ἡλίας φεύγει εἰς πόλιν Βερσούβεὲ λεγομένην (ἐπ' ἐσχάτης δ' ἐστὶν αὗτη τῆς χώρας τῶν τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς ἔχοντων τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίων γῆν) καταλιπὼν δ' ἐκεῖ τὸν θεράποντα εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἀνεχώρησεν· εὐξάμενος δ' ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ κρείττων εἶναι τῶν πατέρων, 349 ἵνα ἐκείνων ἀπολωλότων αὐτὸς ζῆν γλίχηται, κατεκοιμήθη πρὸς τινι δένδρῳ· διεγείραντος δ' αὐτὸν τινος ἀναστὰς εὐρίσκει παρακειμένην αὐτῷ τροφὴν καὶ ὕδωρ· φαγὼν δὲ καὶ συλλεξάμενος ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς ἐκείνης τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον καλούμενον ὄρος παραγίνεται, οὐδὲ Μωυσῆς τοὺς 350 νόμους παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγεται λαβεῖν. εὐρὼν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ σπῆλαιόν τι κοῦλον εἴσεισι καὶ διετέλει

¹ conj.: Ἰερέζηλa RO: Ἰεσράηλ MSP: Ἰεσράηλa Hudson.
² + Ἀξάρου MSP: + Ἰσαχάρου Cocceji.

^a Emended form (cf. §§ 355 ff.), MSS. Jerezēla, Jezraēl; bibl. Jezreel (*Yizrē'ēl*), LXX Ἰεραῆλ (v.l. Ἰεζραέλ), Luc. Ἰεζραήλ.

^b Bibl. "ran before."

^c Bibl. "a messenger"; the Armenian version of Scripture agrees with Josephus in using the plural.

^d "By their hands" is an unscriptural detail. The Greek

Jezarēla,^a and not long after the sky was darkened and overcast with clouds, a violent wind came up and a heavy rain fell. And the prophet, who was filled with the spirit of God, ran beside ^b the king's chariot as far as the city of Jezarēla.

(7) When Achab's wife Jezabelē learned of the prophetic signs given by Elijah and that he had killed their prophets, she was filled with anger and sent messengers ^c to him, threatening to kill him by their hands ^d just as he had destroyed her own prophets. In fear of this Elijah fled to the city called Bersūbee ^e —it is the furthest city in that part of the territory of the tribe of Judah which borders on the country of the Idumaeans—and, after leaving his servant there, withdrew into the wilderness. Then he prayed that he might die, saying he was no better than his fathers that he should long for life when they were gone, and lay down to sleep under a tree.^f But he was wakened by someone and, when he arose, found food and water laid before him.^g So he ate it and, after gathering strength from the food, went to the mountain called Sinai,^h where Moses is said to have received the laws from God. And he found in it a certain hollow cave, which he entered, and there may, however, mean "threatening through them to kill him."

^a Bibl. Beersheba, LXX Βηρσάβεε. Variant forms are found in earlier books of the *Antiquities*.

^b A juniper-tree (Heb. *rōtem*, LXX, transliterating, ῥαθμέν).

^c Josephus paraphrases the LXX text, "and someone touched him and said, Arise and eat"; Heb. "an angel touched him and said, etc." Both Heb. and LXX speak of a second appearance of the angel.

^d Bibl. Horeb (elsewhere in Scripture identified with Sinai). Scripture adds that Elijah reached it after a journey of forty days and forty nights.

Elijah flees
from
Jezebel
to the
wilderness.
1 Kings
xix. 1.

ποιούμενος ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν μονήν. ἐρομένης δέ τινος αὐτὸν φωνῆς ἐξ ἀδήλου τί παρείη καταλελουπώς τὴν πόλιν ἐκεῖσε, διὰ τὸ κτεῖναι μὲν τοὺς προφήτας τῶν ἔνεικων θεῶν, πεῖσαι δὲ τὸν λαὸν ὅτι μόνος εἶη θεὸς ὁ ὥν,¹ ὃν ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς ἐθρήσκευσαν, ἔφησε. ζητεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τιμωρίαν 351 ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ βασιλέως. πάλιν δὲ ἀκούσας προελθεῖν² εἰς τὸ ὕπαιθρον τῇ ἐπιούσῃ (γυνώσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως τί δεῖ ποιεῖν), προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ σεισμοῦ τε ἐπακούει καὶ λαμ- 352 πρὸν πυρὸς αὐγὴν ὄρᾷ. καὶ γενομένης ἡσυχίας φωνὴ θεία μὴ ταράττεσθαι τοῖς γυνομένοις αὐτὸν παρακελεύεται, κρατήσειν γὰρ οὐδένα τῶν ἔχθρῶν αὐτοῦ, προσέταξέ τε ὑποστρέψαντα εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποδεῖξαι τοῦ πλήθους βασιλέα Ἰηοῦν τὸν Νεμε- σαίου παῖδα, Δαμασκοῦ³ δὲ τῶν Σύρων Ἀζάηλον· ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δὲ προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι ἐκ πόλεως Ἀβέλας· “διαφθερεῖ δὲ τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς ὄχλου τοὺς μὲν Ἀζάηλος τοὺς δὲ Ἰηοῦς.”

¹ ὁ ὥν om. MSPE Lat.

² προελθεῖν ROMSE.

³ Niese: ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ codd.

^a Bibl. “and behold, the word of the Lord (came) to him.” The following verses in both texts, moreover, show that Elijah knew that it was God who spoke to him.

^b Lit. “the existing one”—a common Hellenistic Jewish rendering of the tetragram YHWH. It is found in the LXX Ex. iii. 14 where Heb. has, “I am who I am.” In this passage (1 Kings xix. 10), however, Heb. has “the Lord God of hosts,” LXX τῷ κυρὶῳ παντοκράτορι.

^c So LXX; Heb. does not specify the time.

^d Weill justly complains of Josephus’s colourless rationalizing of Scripture’s finely poetic account of the divine manifestation.

^e Josephus omits the Scriptural repetition (1 Kings xix. 13 b, 14) of Elijah’s explanation to God of his reasons for 760

made his abode for some time. But a voice which came from someone, he knew not whom,^a asked him why he had left the city to come to that spot, whereupon he said that it was because he had killed the prophets of the strange gods and had convinced the people that the only true God was the Eternal,^b whom they had worshipped from the beginning; it was for this reason that he was being sought for punishment by the wife of the king. And again he heard a voice telling him to come out into the open air on the morrow,^c for so he should learn what he must do. The next day, therefore, he came out of the cave and heard the earth rumble and saw a brilliant fiery light.^d And, when all became quiet, a divine voice exhorted him not to be alarmed by what was happening, for none of his enemies should have him in their power^e; and it commanded him to return to his own land and appoint Jehu,^f the son of Nemesaios,^g to be king of the people,^h and Azaēlosⁱ to be king of Damascus in Syria,^j while he should make Elisha,^k of the city of Abela,^l prophet in his place. “But,” said the voice, “of the impious people Azaēlos shall destroy some, and Jehu others.”^m “fleeing to the wilderness, and substitutes for it this statement of God that Elijah’s enemies should not harm him.

^a Gr. Ιēū; Heb. Yēhū, LXX Eloūs (v.l. Ἰηού).

^b Bibl. Nimshi, LXX Ναμεσσεῖ (v.l. Ναμεσθεῖ).

^c That is, of Israel. ^d Bibl. Hazael, LXX Ἀζαῆλ.

^e Emended text; mss. “Azaēlos of Damascus to be king of Syria.”

^f Gr. Ἐλισσαῖος, cf. LXX Ἐλισσαῖε (v.l. Ἐλεισσαῖε); Heb. Elishā.

^g Bibl. Abel-meholah, LXX Ἀβελμαονλά, tentatively identified by Albright with the modern Tell Abū Sifri near ‘Ain Helweh, a little W. of the Jordan in the latitude of Samaria.

^h Scripture adds, “and him that escapes the sword of Jehu, shall Elisha slay.”

353 ὁ δ' Ἡλίας ὑποστρέφει ταῦτ' ἀκούσας εἰς τὴν Ἐβραίων χώραν καὶ τὸν Σαφάτου παῖδα Ἐλισσαῖον καταλαβὼν ἀροῦντα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τινας ἄλλους ἐλαύνοντας ζεύγη δώδεκα προσελθὼν ἐπέρριψεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιον ἵματιον. ὁ δ' Ἐλισσαῖος εὐθέως προφῆτεύειν ἤρξατο καὶ καταλιπὼν τοὺς βόας ἡκολούθησεν Ἡλίᾳ. δεηθεὶς δὲ συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ τοὺς γονεῖς ἀσπάσασθαι, κελεύοντος τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοῖς εἴπετο καὶ ἦν Ἡλίου τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τοῦ ζῆν καὶ μαθητὴς καὶ διάκονος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ προφήτου τούτου τοιαῦτα ἦν.

355 (8) Νάβωθος¹ δέ τις ἐξ Ἰεζαρήλου πόλεως ἀγρογείτων ὃν τοῦ βασιλέως παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἀποδόσθαι τιμῆς ὅσης βούλεται τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγρόν, ἵνα συνάφας ἐν αὐτῷ ποιήσῃ κτῆμα, εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλοιτο χρήματα λαβεῖν ἐπιτρέποντος ἐκλέξασθαι τῶν ἀγρῶν τινα τῶν ἐκείνου, τοῦτο μὲν οὖ φησι ποιήσειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν καρπώσεσθαι² γῆν, ἦν ἐκληρονόμησε τοῦ πατρός. 356 λυπηθεὶς δ' ὡς ἐφ' ὑβρει τῷ μὴ τἀλλότρια λαβεῖν δ' βασιλεὺς οὕτε λουτρὸν προστηνέγκατο οὕτε τροφήν, τῆς δ' Ἰεζαβέλης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ πυνθανομένης ὅ τι λυπεῖται καὶ μήτε λούεται μήτε ἄριστον αὐτῷ παρατίθεται μήτε δεῖπνον, διηγήσατο αὐτῇ τὴν Ναβώθου σκαιότητα καὶ ὡς χρησάμενος

¹ Niese: Ναβώθης RO: Νάβουθος MSP Exc.: Ναβουθαῖος E: Naboth Lat.

² Exc. Suidas: καρπώσασθαι codd.

^a Bibl. Shaphat, LXX Σαφάθ (v.l. Σαφάτ).

^b Elisha's prophesying is an unscriptural detail.

^c Josephus adds the detail about Elisha's leave-taking but

When Elijah heard these words, he returned to the country of the Hebrews and came upon Elisha, the son of Saphatēs,^a as he was ploughing and some others with him, who were driving twelve yoke of oxen, and, going up to him, he threw his own mantle over him. Thereupon Elisha immediately began to prophesy,^b and, leaving his oxen, followed Elijah. But he asked to be allowed to take leave of his parents, and, when Elijah bade him do so, he parted from them and then went with the prophet^c; and so long as Elijah was alive he was his disciple and attendant. Such, then, is the history of this prophet.

(8) ^d Now a certain Naboth,^e from the city of Ahab and Naboth's vineyard.
Jezarēl,^f had a field adjoining those of the king, who
asked him to sell this field next to his own lands at any
price, in order that he might join it to them and make
them one property; or, if he did not wish to take
money for it, he would permit him to select any one
of his own fields. But the other refused to do this,
saying that he would himself enjoy the fruits of his
own land, which he had inherited from his father.
Then the king, who was aggrieved, as if at an insult,
at not getting the other's property, would neither
bathe^g nor take food; and, when his wife Jezabelē^h
inquired why he grieved and would neither bathe nor
have his midday meal or supper served to him, he
told her of Naboth's contrariness and how, in spite of

omits the Scriptural statement (1 Kings xix. 21) that Elisha slaughtered a yoke of oxen to feed his people.

^a Josephus follows the LXX in narrating the story of Naboth (Heb. ch. xxi) before the war of Ahab and Benhadad (Heb. ch. xx.), cf. §§ 363 ff. ^e Gr. Nabōthos; LXX Ναβουθαῖος.

^f Bibl. Jezreel, cf. § 346 note.

^g Unscriptural detail. Josephus, however, omits the Scriptural detail that Ahab took to his bed.

ἐπιεικέσι πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγοις καὶ βασιλικῆς ἔξουσίας
 357 ὑποδεεστέρους ὑβρισθείη μὴ τυχῶν ὅν τιξίου. ἡ
 δὲ μὴ μικροψυχεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις παρεκάλει, παυ-
 σάμενον δὲ τῆς λύπης ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη τρέπεσθαι¹
 τοῦ σώματος πρόνοιαν· μελήσειν γὰρ αὐτῇ περὶ²
 358 τῆς Ναβώθου τιμωρίας. καὶ παραχρῆμα πέμπει
 γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν Ἰεζα-
 ρηλιτῶν³ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀχάβου ὄνοματος νηστεῦσαί τε
 κελεύοντα καὶ ποιησαμένους ἐκκλησίαν προκαθίσαι
 μὲν αὐτῶν Νάβωθον (εἴναι γὰρ αὐτὸν γένους ἐπι-
 φανοῦς), παρασκευασαμένους δὲ τρεῖς τολμηρούς
 τινας τοὺς καταμαρτυρήσοντας αὐτοῦ, ὡς τὸν θεόν
 τε εἴη βλασφημήσας καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, καταλεῦσαι
 359 καὶ τούτῳ διαχρήσασθαι τῷ τρόπῳ. καὶ Νάβωθος
 μέν, ὡς ἔγραψεν ἡ βασίλισσα, οὕτως καταμαρ-
 τυρηθεὶς βλασφημῆσαι τὸν θεόν τε καὶ Ἀχαβον
 βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπέθανεν, ἀκούσασα
 δὲ ταῦτα Ἰεζαβέλη εἰσεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
 καὶ κληρονομεῖν τὸν Ναβώθον ἀμπελῶνα προίκα
 360 ἔκελευσεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀχαβος ἥσθη τοῖς γεγενημένοις
 καὶ ἀναπηδήσας ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης ὀψόμενος ἦκε τὸν
 ἀμπελῶνα τὸν Ναβώθον. ἀγανακτήσας δ' ὁ θεὸς
 πέμπει τὸν προφήτην Ἡλίαν εἰς τὸ Ναβώθου
 χωρίον Ἀχάβῳ συμβαλοῦντα καὶ περὶ τῶν πε-
 πραγμένων ἐρησόμενον ὅτι κτείνας τὸν ἀληθῆ
 δεσπότην τοῦ χωρίου κληρονομήσειεν αὐτὸς ἀδίκως.

¹ τραπέσθαι (M)SP Exc. Suidas.

² Niese (duce Hudson): Ἰσραηλιτῶν codd.

^a Amplification.

^b Unscriptural detail, but according to rabbinic tradition he was a cousin of Ahab.

his having used mild words toward him, hardly in keeping with the royal authority,^a he had been insulted by being refused what he had asked for. She, however, urged him not to be dispirited over these things but to cease grieving and turn to caring for his body as usual, for she would attend to Naboth's punishment. And she at once sent letters in Achab's name to the chief men among the Jezarēlites, ordering them to keep a fast and hold an assembly over which Naboth, since he came of an illustrious family,^b was to preside ; and, after they should have brought three^c unscrupulous men to bear witness against him to the effect that he had blasphemed both God and the king,^d they were to stone him to death and so make an end of him. Thus, as a result of the queen's letter, Naboth was accused of having blasphemed both God and Achab, and was stoned to death by the people. When Jezabelē heard of this, ^{1 Kings xxi.} _{LXX xx.}^{13.} she went in to the king and bade him take possession of Naboth's vineyard without paying for it. Thereupon Achab, who was pleased^e at what had happened, leaped from his bed and went to see Naboth's vineyard. But God was angry and sent the prophet Elijah to Naboth's field to meet Achab and ask him about what he had done and why, after killing the real owner of the field, he had himself unjustly taken

^a Bibl. "two." Ginzberg writes, vi. 312, that Josephus's reference to *three* witnesses "presupposes the older Halakah [law], according to which, in cases involving capital punishment, three witnesses (or to be more accurate, one accuser and two witnesses) are necessary."

^b Crimes forbidden by the Mosaic law, Ex. xxii. 28.

^c LXX 1 Kings xxi. 16, "and he tore his clothes and put on sackcloth"; Heb. omits the sentence at this point, but has it further on (vs. 27), after the warning sent to Ahab by God.

361 ὡς δ' ἦκε πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰπόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ὃ τι
βούλεται χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ (αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὅντα ἐπὶ^a
ἀμαρτήματι ληφθῆναι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ), κατ’ ἔκεīνον
ἔφη τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ναβώθου νεκρὸν ὑπὸ^b
κυνῶν δαπανηθῆναι συνέβη, τό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ
τῆς γυναικὸς χυθῆσεσθαι αἷμα καὶ πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ
γένος ἀπολεῖσθαι, τοιαῦτα ἀσεβῆσαι τετολμηκότος
καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους πολύτην ἀδίκως
362 ἀνηρηκότος. Ἀχάβῳ δὲ λύπη τῶν πεπραγμένων
εἰσῆλθε καὶ μετάμελος, καὶ σακκίον ἐνδυσάμενος
γυμνοῦς τοῦς ποσὶ διῆγεν οὐχ ἀπτόμενος τροφῆς
ἀνθομολογούμενός τε τὰ ἡμαρτημένα καὶ^c τὸν θεὸν
οὕτως ἔξευμενίζων. ὃ δὲ ζῶντος μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς
τὸν προφήτην εἰπεν^d ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ γένους
τιμωρίαν ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ^e τοὺς τετολμημένους μετανοεῖ,
τελέσειν δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ νίῳ τοῦ Ἀχάβου.
καὶ ὃ μὲν προφήτης ταῦτ’ ἔδηλωσε τῷ βασιλεῖ.

363 (xiv. 1) Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν "Ἀχαβον ὅντων τοιούτων
κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ὁ τοῦ Ἀδάδου νίὸς βα-
σιλεύων τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκοῦ δύναμιν ἔξ
ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας συναγαγὼν καὶ συμμάχους
τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου βασιλέας ποιησάμενος τριά-
364 κοντα καὶ δύο, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν "Ἀχαβον. ὃ δ'
οὐκ ὥν ὅμοιος αὐτῷ τῇ στρατιᾷ πρὸς μάχην μὲν
οὐ παρετάξατο, πάντα δ’ εἰς τὰς ὄχυρωτάτας

¹ ὡς Naber.² εἰπεν om. RO.³ ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ conj.: εἰπεν ἐφ' οἰς ἐπὶ RO: ἐπὶ M: ἐπεὶ SPE
Exc.

^a This confession of sin by Ahab is an unscriptural detail.
^b Dr. Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man*, etc., p. 82, has pointed out Josephus's dependence here on the Targum, which has

possession of it. And when he came to him, the king said that the prophet might do with him as he wished, for he had acted shamefully and had been taken by him in sin,^a whereupon the other said that in that very place where Naboth's body had been devoured by dogs, his own blood and his wife's should be shed and all his family should perish because he had unscrupulously committed these so impious deeds, and, in violation of his country's laws, had unjustly slain a citizen. Then Ahab began to feel grief and remorse for what he had done ; putting on sackcloth, he went with bare feet^b and touched no food and confessed his sins, seeking in this way to propitiate God. And God said to the prophet that while Ahab lived, He would put off punishing his family, since he repented of^c his violent deeds, but He would carry out His threat on Ahab's son. And so the prophet revealed these things to the king.

(xiv. 1) ^d At the same time that this state of affairs Ben-hadad
existed for Ahab, the son of Adados,^e who was king (Adados) of
Syria and Damascus, collected a force from all
parts of his country and, after making allies of the
thirty-two kings beyond the Euphrates,^f marched
against Ahab. The latter, not having an army equal
to his, did not draw up his men for battle, but shut up
all the wealth of the country in the most strongly

"barefoot," while Heb. has *'at* "quietly" (A.V. "softly") and LXX mss. omit or render "bowed down."

^e Emended text.^f Cf. § 355 note.

^a Bibl. Ben-hadad (lit. "the son of Hadad"), LXX νιὸς Αδέρ; it has been conjectured that the king's full name was Ben-hadad bir-adri.

^b Scripture does not say that the kings came from beyond the Euphrates.

πόλεις ἐγκλείσας τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινει
ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ· τείχη γάρ αὗτῃ λίαν ἵσχυρὰ περι-
εβέβλητο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δυσάλωτος ἐδόκει· ὁ δὲ Σύρος
ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν
καὶ περικαθίσας αὐτῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπολιόρκει.
365 πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα πρὸς Ἀχαβὸν ἡξίου πρεσβευτὰς
δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν αὐτῷ δηλώσει τὶ
βούλεται. τοῦ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως
πέμπειν ἐπιτρέψαντος ἐλθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον
κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἀχάβον πλοῦτον
καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς γυναικας Ἀδάδου
τυγχάνειν· ἀν δ' ὅμολογῆσῃ καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν τού-
των ὅσα βούλεται συγχωρήσῃ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξει
366 καὶ παύσεται πολιορκῶν αὐτόν. ὁ δ' Ἀχαβος τοῖς
πρέσβεσιν ἐκέλευσε πορευθεῖσι λέγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ
αὐτῶν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου πάντες κτήματά
367 εἰσιν αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα δ' ἀπαγγειλάντων πέμπει
πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν ἀνωμολογηκότα πάντα
εἶναι ἐκείνου δέξασθαι τοὺς πεμφθησομένους εἰς
τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δούλους, οἷς ἐρευνήσασι
τά τε βασίλεια καὶ τοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν
οἴκους ἐκέλευε διδόναι πᾶν δ τι ἀν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑρωσι
κάλλιστον, "τὰ δ' ἀπαρέσαντα σοὶ καταλεύψου-
368 σιν." Ἀχαβος δ' ἀγασθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρεσ-
βείᾳ τοῦ τῶν Σύρων βασιλέως, συναγαγὼν εἰς
ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἔλεγεν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτοίμως
εἶχεν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γυ-
ναικας τὰς ἴδιας προέσθαι τῷ πολεμίῳ καὶ τὰ
τέκνα καὶ πάσης παραχωρῆσαι κτήσεως· ταῦτα
γὰρ ἐπιζητῶν ἐπρεσβεύσατο πρῶτον ὁ Σύρος.

¹ αὐτῇ RO.

fortified cities, while he himself remained in Samaria, for this city was surrounded by exceedingly strong walls and seemed in all ways difficult to take. But the Syrian with his force came to Samaria, placed his army around it and besieged it. Then he sent a herald to Achab, asking that his envoys be received by him, that through them he might inform him of his wishes.^a And, when the Israelite king gave him leave to send them, the envoys came and, at their king's command, said that Achab's wealth, children and wives belonged to Adados; if Achab came to terms and allowed him to take of these what he pleased, he would withdraw his army and raise the siege. Thereupon Achab bade the envoys go and tell their king that both he and all those belonging to him were the possessions of Adados. When they reported these words to him, he again sent to Achab and demanded, since he admitted that all his belongings were Adados's, that he receive the servants who were to be sent to him the next day to search the palace and the houses of his friends and relatives, and give them whatever they might find there that was most desirable, adding, "What doesn't please them, they will leave for you."^b But Achab, who was indignant at the second message of the Syrian king, brought the people together in assembly and told them that he himself was ready, in the interests of their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the enemy and yield all his possessions, for this was what the Syrian had demanded when he sent his envoys the first time. "But now

^a This description of Samaria and Ben-hadad's request that his envoys be received are additions to Scripture.

^b This last sentence is an addition to Scripture.

369 "νῦν δ' ἡξίωκε δούλους πέμψαι τάς τε πάνταρ
οἰκίας ἐρευνῆσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐν αὐταῖς καταλιπεῖν
τῶν καλλίστων κτημάτων, πρόφασιν βουλόμενος
πολέμου λαβεῖν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἔμαυτοῦ δι'
ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἄν φεισαίμην, ἀφορμὴν δ' ἐκ τοῦ περὶ
τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀηδοῦς¹ πραγματευόμενος εἰς τὸ
370 πολεμεῖν· ποιήσω γε μὴν τὰ ὑμῖν δοκοῦντα." τὸ
δὲ πλῆθος μὴ δεῖν ἀκούειν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν,
ἀλλὰ καταφρούειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἐτοίμως
ἔχειν. τοὺς οὖν πρεσβευταῖς ἀποκρινάμενος λέγειν
ἀπελθοῦσιν ὅτι τοὺς τὸ πρῶτον ἀξιωθεῖσιν ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν ἐμμένει τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀσφαλείας
ἐνεκα πρὸς δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἀξίωσιν οὐχ ὑπακούει,
ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς.

371 (2) 'Ο δ' "Αδαδος ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ δυσχεράνας
τρίτον ἔπειμψε πρὸς "Αχαβον τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπειλῶν
ὑψηλότερον τῶν τειχῶν οἵς καταφρονεῖ χῶμα τού-
τοις ἐπεγείρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν κατὰ δράκα γῆς
λαμβάνουσαν, ἐμφανίζων αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ
372 πλῆθος καὶ καταπληγτόμενος. τοῦ δ' 'Αχάβου
μὴ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖν ἀποκριναμένου καθωπλισμένον
ἀλλὰ τῇ μάχῃ κρείττῳ γενόμενον, ἐλθόντες οἱ
πρέσβεις καὶ δειπνοῦντα καταλαβόντες τὸν βασιλέα
μετὰ τριάκοντα καὶ δύο βασιλέων συμμάχων
ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν· ὁ δ' εὐθέως τοῦτο²

¹ αἰδοῦς RO.

² post τοῦτο lacunam statuit Niese, recte videtur.

^a Josephus greatly amplifies Ahab's speech.

^b Josephus seems to have misunderstood the Heb. (and Luc.) text of 1 Kings xx. 10, which reads "the dust of Samaria will not be enough for handfuls (*še'ālîm*) for all the people at my feet (i.e. "following me")," that is, there were more men in Ben-hadad's army than there were handfuls of dust in

he insists on sending his servants to search all houses and leave none of the most desirable possessions in them, for he wishes to find a pretext for making war, and though he knows that on your account I would not spare what belongs to me, he is trying hard to make this disagreeable treatment of you an occasion for war. Nevertheless, I shall do what you think best."^a Then the people said that he ought not to listen to Adados's terms but should treat him scornfully and prepare for war. Accordingly, in reply to the envoys he told them to go back and say that for the sake of the citizens' safety he still agreed to the demands first made by Adados, but would not submit to the second demand. He then dismissed them.

(2) When Adados heard these words, he was Ahab is encouraged by a prophecy of victory over the Syrians.
greatly vexed and sent envoys to Achab a third time, threatening that his army would take each man a handful of earth and erect earthworks higher than the walls^b in which he had such sublime confidence,^c in this way displaying to him the great number of his force and seeking to strike terror into him. But Achab replied that the time to boast was not when arming oneself but after coming off victorious in battle.^d And, when the envoys came to the king, they found him dining with the thirty-two kings who were his allies, and reported this answer to him.

Samaria. The LXX, reading *šā'ālîm* "foxes" instead of *še'ālîm* "handfuls," has *el ēkποιήσει ὁ χοῦς Σαμαρείας ταῖς ἀλώπεξιν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τοὺς πεζοὺς μοῦ*, which makes no sense.

^c On this meaning of *καταφρονεῖν* with the dative of A. vii. 61 note.

^d So Targum; Heb. "Let not the one who girds on (his sword) boast like the one who takes it off," LXX *μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ κυρτὸς ὡς ὁ ὁρθὸς* "let not the crooked man boast like the erect man."

προσέταξε καὶ περιχαρακοῦν τὴν πόλιν καὶ χώματα
βάλλεσθαι καὶ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολιπεῖν πολιορκίας.
 373 ἦν δὲ Ἀχαβος τούτων πραττομένων ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ δεινῇ
σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ· θαρρεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν φόβων ἀπο-
λύεται προφήτου τινὸς αὐτῷ προσελθόντος καὶ
φήσαντος αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ὑπισχνεῖσθαι ποιήσειν τὰς
τοσάντας τῶν πολεμίων μυριάδας ὑποχειρίους.
 374 πυθομένω δὲ διὰ τίνων ἂν ἡ νίκη γένοιτο, “διὰ
τῶν παιδῶν,” εἶπε, “τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἡγουμένου
σοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ἔκείνων.” καλέσας δὲ τοὺς
τῶν ἡγεμόνων υἱούς, εὑρέθησαν δὲ ὡς διακόσιοι
καὶ τριακονταδύο, μαθὼν τὸν Σύρον πρὸς εὐωχίαν
καὶ ἄνεσιν τετραμμένον, ἀνοίξας τὰς πύλας ἔξ-
 375 ἐπεμψε τοὺς παιδας. τῶν δὲ σκοπῶν δηλωσάντων
τοῦτο τῷ Ἀδάδῳ πέμπει τινὰς ὑπαντησομένους,
ἐντειλάμενος, ἂν μὲν εἰς μάχην ὥσι προεληλυθότες,
ἴνα δῆσαντες ἀγάγωσι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἂν δὲ εἰρηνικῶς,
 376 ὅπως ταύτῳ ποιῶσιν. εἶχε δὲ ἔτοιμην Ἀχαβος
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν. οἱ δὲ
τῶν ἀρχόντων παιδεῖς συμβαλόντες τοῖς φύλαξι
πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄχρι
τοῦ στρατοπέδου διώκουσιν. ἵδων δὲ τούτους
νικῶντας ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς ἔξαφίησι
 377 καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἄπασαν. ἡ δὲ αἰφνιδίως
ἐπιπεσοῦσα τοῖς Σύροις ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ
προσεδόκων αὐτοὺς ἐπεξελεύσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

^a The text is uncertain; there is probably a lacuna in the MSS.

^b So LXX; Heb. "place yourselves (in position), and they placed themselves against the city," Targum "prepare yourselves, and they lay in ambush against the city."

^c Ahab's anxiety is an unscriptural detail.

He at once gave orders ^a to build a stockade around the city and throw up earthworks ^b and not leave any way of besieging it untried. While these things were being done, Ahab was in a terrible state of anxiety together with all his people.^c But he took heart and was relieved of his fears when a certain prophet came to him and told him that God promised to deliver these many myriads of the enemy into his hand. And, when he asked through whom the victory would be won, the prophet said, "Through the sons of the governors,^d with you to lead them because of their inexperience."^e So he summoned the sons of the governors, who were found to number some two hundred and thirty-two,^f and, when he learned that the Syrian was giving himself up to feasting and taking his ease, he opened the gates and sent the youths out. And when the look-outs reported this to Adados, he sent out some of his men to meet them, with instructions that, if the others came out to battle, they should bind them and bring them to him; and even if the enemy came out peaceably, they should do the same thing. But Ahab had still another army waiting within the walls. Then the ^{Ahab's} sons of the nobles engaged the guards and killed ^{victory over} Ben-hadad. ^{1 Kings xx.} ^(LXX xxi.) many of them, while the rest they pursued as far as their camp. And when the Israelite king saw his men winning the victory, he released all of his second army as well. Thereupon they suddenly fell upon the Syrians and defeated them, for these had not expected them to come out against them, and for

^a Bibl. "the young men of the rulers of the provinces."

^b "Because of their inexperience" is an addition to Scripture.

^c Josephus omits the numbering of the Israelite army.

γυμνοῖς καὶ μεθύουσι προσέβαλλον, ὥστε τὰς πανοπλίας ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων φεύγοντας καταλιπεῖν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα διασωθῆναι μόλις ἐφ' 378 ἵππου ποιησάμενον τὴν φυγήν. Ἐξ αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ὁδὸν διώκων τοὺς Σύρους ἦνυσεν ἀναιρῶν αὐτούς, διαρπάσας δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ (πλοῦτος δ' ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου), τά τε ἄρματα τοῦ Ἀδάδου καὶ τοὺς ἵππους λαβὼν ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου παρασκευάζεσθαι φήσαντος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἔτοιμην ἔχειν, ὡς τῷ ἐπιόντι πάλιν ἔτει στρατεύσοντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Σύρου, ὁ μὲν Ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τούτοις ἦν.

379 (3) Ο δὲ Ἀδάδος διασωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μάχης μεθ' ὅσης ἡδυνήθη στρατιᾶς συνεβούλευσατο τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις, πῶς¹ ἐπιστρατεύσηται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις. οἱ δ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅρεσιν οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν γνώμην συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς· τὸν γὰρ θεὸν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις δύνασθαι τόποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νῦν ὑπ' αὐτῶν νεικῆσθαι· κρατήσειν δὲ ἔλεγον ἐν πεδίῳ ποιησα- 380 μένους τὴν μάχην. συνεβούλευον δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας οὓς ἐπηγάγετο συμμάχους ἀπολῦσαι πρὸς τὰ οἴκεῖα, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν αὐτῶν κατασχεῖν, ἀντ' ἐκείνων σατράπας καταστήσαντα· εἰς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀπολωλότων τάξιν στρατολογῆσαι δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἄρματα. δοκιμάσας οὖν ταῦτα εἰρήσθαι καλῶς οὕτως διεκόσμησε τὴν δύναμιν.

¹ Naber: πῶς ἀν codd.

^a "A long way" is an unscriptural detail.

^b This spoil is not mentioned in Scripture.

that reason were unarmed and drunk when they were attacked, so that they fled from the camp, leaving all their armour behind, and the king barely saved himself by making his escape on horseback. Achab went a long way^a in pursuit of the Syrians, and slew them. Then, after plundering their camp, in which there was no little sum of wealth and also a large quantity of gold and silver,^b and taking the chariots and horses of Adados, he returned to the city. But the prophet told him to prepare himself and hold his force in readiness, for the Syrian would again attack him in the following year; and so Achab attended to these things.

(3) Now Adados, after escaping from the scene of battle with as much of his force as he could save, took counsel with his friends concerning how he should again take the field against the Israelites. And they were of the opinion that he should not engage them in the hills, on the ground that their god had most power in such places, and for that reason they had recently been defeated. But, they said, they would conquer them if they fought the battle in the plain. They also advised him further to send back to their homes the kings whom he had brought along as allies, but to retain their armies and appoint satraps^c in their places, while, to fill the ranks of those who had been killed, he should levy a force from their own country, as well as horses and chariots. Thereupon he approved of these words as well spoken, and arranged his force accordingly.

^c σατράπαι is the LXX word translating Heb. *pahōth* "provincial governors" or "commanders" (A.V. "captains"); *pahōth* is an Assyrian loan-word, while σατράπης is a Persian loan-word.

Ben-hadad
again pre-
pares for
war with
Ahab.
1 Kings xx.
(LXX xxii.)
23.

381 (4) Ἀρξαμένου δὲ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν
ἥγεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐβραίους, καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς πόλει
τινὶ, Ἀφεκὰ δ' αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν, ἐν μεγάλῳ στρα-
τοπεδεύεται πεδίῳ. Ἄχαβος δ' ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ
μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο· σφόδρα
δ' ἦν ὀλίγον αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τὸν πο-
382 λεμίους ἀντιπαραβαλλόμενον. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου
προσελθόντος αὐτῷ πάλιν καὶ νίκην τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ
διδόναι φήσαντος, ἵνα τὴν ιδίαν ἴσχυν ἐπιδείξηται
μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πεδίοις
ὑπάρχουσαν, ὅπερ οὐκ εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς Σύροις,
ἐπτὰ μὲν ἡμέρας¹ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύκοτες ἡσύχαζον,
τῇ δὲ ὑστάτῃ τούτων ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον προελθόντων
ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παραταξα-
μένων εἰς μάχην ἀντεπεξῆγε καὶ Ἄχαβος τὴν
383 οἰκείαν δύναμιν. καὶ συμβαλὼν καρτερᾶς τῆς
μάχης γενομένης τρέπεται τὸν πολεμίους εἰς
φυγὴν καὶ διώκων ἐπέκειτο.² οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀρμάτων καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπώλοντο, ἴσχυσαν δ'
ὀλίγοι διαφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀφεκὰ πόλιν αὐτῶν.
384 ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
πεσόντων ὅντες δισμύριοι ἐπτακισχίλιοι. διεφθά-
ρησαν δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἀλλα μυριάδες δέκα.
ὅ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Σύρων Ἀδαδος φεύγων μετά
τινων πιστοτάτων οἰκετῶν εἰς ὑπόγειον οἴκον
385 ἐκρύβη. τούτων δὲ φιλανθρώπους καὶ ἐλεήμονας
εἶναι φησάντων τὸν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέας

¹ Niese: ἡμέραις codd.

² + κτείνων MSPE Zonaras.

* Bibl. Aphek. There were several Palestinian cities of this name; the location of the city here mentioned is uncertain.

(4) At the beginning of spring Adados marched Ben-hadad encounters with his army against the Hebrews and, after coming Ahab's force at to a certain city which is called Apheka,^a encamped Aphek. in a great plain. And Achab met him with his force 1 Kings xx. and encamped over against him, although his army (LXX xxi.)^b was a very small one in comparison with the enemy.^b But the prophet came to him again and said that God would give him victory in order that He might show His power to exist not only in the hills but also in the plains, which was what the Syrians did not believe. And for seven days both armies remained quiet in their camps, facing each other, but, when on the last day the enemy came out of their camp at dawn and drew themselves up for battle, Achab also led his force out against them. Then, after engaging them in a battle which was stubbornly fought, he put the enemy to flight and followed hard in pursuit. And they were killed by their own chariots and by one another,^c although a few succeeded in escaping to their city Apheka. But these too perished when the walls fell upon them—twenty-seven thousand of them. And in that battle another hundred thousand were slain. Adados, the Syrian king, fled with some of his most faithful servants and hid in an underground chamber.^d But when these told him that the Israelite kings were humane and merciful and that

tain; it is thought by some scholars to have been in the Plain of Esdraelon, by others it is identified with the modern *Fiq*, c. 5 miles E. of the lake of Galilee, on the road to Damascus.

^b Scripture puts it much more picturesquely, "and the Israelites pitched before them like two little flocks of kids, and the Syrians filled the country."

^c Unscriptural details.

^d Heb. "chamber in chamber," i.e. into an inner chamber or hiding-place, LXX εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον.

καὶ δυνήσεσθαι τῷ συνήθει τρόπῳ τῆς ἱκετείας χρησαμένους τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ¹ παρ' Ἀχάβου λαβεῖν, εἰ συγχωρήσειεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀφῆκεν· οἱ δὲ σάκκους ἐνδυσάμενοι καὶ σχοινία ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιθέμενοι (οὗτας γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἱκέτευον οἱ Σύροι), πρὸς Ἀχαβον παρεγένοντο καὶ δεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀδαδον σώζειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον, εἰς ἀεὶ δοῦλον αὐτοῦ τῆς χάριτος γενησόμενον. ὁ δὲ συνήδεσθαι φήσας αὐτῷ περιόντι καὶ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεπονθότι, τιμὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν ἦν ἄν τις ἀδελφῷ παράσχοι κατεπηγγείλατο. λαβόντες δὲ ὄρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν φανέντα προάγουσι πορευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου ἐν ᾧ ἐκέκρυπτο καὶ προσάγουσι τῷ Ἀχάβῳ ἐφ' ἄρματος καθεξομένῳ· ὁ δὲ προσεκύνησεν αὐτὸν.

387 Ἀχαβος δὲ διδοὺς² αὐτῷ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀναβιβάζει ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα καὶ καταφιλήσας θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἀτόπων προσδοκᾶν, Ἀδαδος δ' εὐχαρίστει καὶ παρ' ὅλον τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ἀπομημονεύσειν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ὡμολόγει καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ἃς ἀπήνεγκαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς, ἀποδώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ Δαμασκὸν ὥστε ἐξελαύνειν εἰς αὐτήν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ εἰς Σαμάρειαν εἶχον τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀνήσειν.

388 γενομένων δ' αὐτοῖς ὄρκων καὶ συνθηκῶν πολλὰ δωρησάμενος αὐτῷ Ἀχαβος ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν ἴδιαν βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς Ἀδάδου τοῦ

¹ αὐτῶν MSP.² δὲ διδοὺς Niese: δ' ἐπιδοὺς codd.: δὲ δοὺς E.^a Bibl. "thy servant Ben-hadad says, may my life be spared."^b Scripture says nothing of an oath given by Ahab; Josephus also omits the difficult phrase (1 Kings xx. 32) which

by using the customary form of supplication they could obtain his life from Achab, if he would allow them to go to him, he let them go. So they dressed in sackcloth and put ropes around their necks—this was the manner in which the ancient Syrians appeared as suppliants—and, going to Achab, told him that Adados begged him to spare his life and would always be his servant in return for his kindness.^a And the king, after saying that he rejoiced at Adados's surviving and not having suffered any harm in the battle, promised that he would show him the same honour and goodwill that one would accord a brother. So, when they had received his oath not to do Adados any wrong when he appeared,^b they departed and brought him forth from the chamber in which he had hidden and brought him to Achab, who was seated in a chariot. He then did obeisance to him, but Achab gave him his right hand and let him come up into the chariot and, after embracing him, bade him take heart and not be apprehensive of any outrage, whereupon Adados thanked him and promised to show himself mindful of his beneficence all the days of his life,^c and offered to give back the Israelite cities which the kings before him had taken away, and to throw Damascus open to them so that they might travel there, just as his fathers had been able to go to Samaria. Then, after they had made sworn covenants, Achab presented him with many gifts^d and sent him away to his own kingdom. So ended

seems to mean that Ben-hadad's servants seized upon Ahab's words, "he is my brother" as a good omen. Possibly, however, Josephus takes this expression as an oath.

^c The preceding is an amplification of Scripture, which says merely that Ahab brought Ben-hadad up into his chariot.

^d The gifts are an unscriptural detail.

Σύρων βασιλέως στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἀχαβον καὶ τὸν
Ισραηλίτας τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

389 (5) Προφήτης δέ τις τοῦνομα Μιχαίας προσ-
ελθών τινι τῶν Ισραηλιτῶν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν
κεφαλὴν πλήξαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσειν κατὰ βού-
λησιν τοῦ θεοῦ. τοῦ δὲ μὴ πεισθέντος προεῖπεν
αὐτῷ παρακούσαντι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων
λέοντι περιτυχόντα διαφθαρήσεσθαι. συμβάντος
τούτου τάνθρωπῳ, πρόσεισιν ἐτέρῳ πάλιν ὁ προ-
390 φήτης ταῦτὸ προστάσσων. πλήξαντος δ' ἐκείνου
καὶ θραύσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ κρανίον, καταδησάμενος
τὴν κεφαλὴν προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγων αὐτῷ
συνεστρατεῦσθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ φυλακῆ τινα
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων παρὰ τοῦ ταξιάρχου, φυγόντος
δ' αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παραδεδωκότος
ἀποθανεῖν· ἀπειλῆσαι γὰρ αὐτόν, εἰ διαφύγοι ὁ
391 αἰχμάλωτος, ἀποκτείνειν. δίκαιον δὲ φήσαντος
Ἀχάβου τὸν θάνατον εἶναι, λύσας τὴν κεφαλὴν
ἐπιγινώσκεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μιχαίας ὁ προφήτης ὃν.
ἐκέχρητο δὲ σοφίσματι πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ γενομένῳ
392 πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντας λόγους· εἶπε γὰρ ὡς ὁ θεὸς
ἀφέντ' αὐτὸν διαδράναι τὴν τιμωρίαν "Ἄδαδον τὸν
βλασφημήσαντα εἰς αὐτὸν μετελεύσεται καὶ ποιήσει
αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ὑπὸ¹
τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ. παροξυνθεὶς δ' Ἀχαβος πρὸς
τὸν προφήτην τὸν μὲν ἐγκλεισθέντα φυλάττεσθαι

the expedition of Adados, the king of Syria, against Achab and the Israelites.

(5) Now a certain prophet, whose name was ^{A prophet rebukes Ahab for releasing Ben-hadad.} Michaias,^a came to an Israelite and bade him strike him on the head, for it was in accordance with the will of God that he should do so. And, when he refused, the prophet warned him that for disobeying the commands of God he should meet a lion and be killed. This was what happened to the man. So the prophet went to another and gave him the same order and, when the man struck him and cracked his skull, he bound up his head ^b and, going to the king, told him that he had served in his army and had had one of the captives turned over to him by his officer ^c for guarding but the prisoner had escaped, and he was in danger of being put to death by the officer who had turned the man over to him and had threatened to kill him if the prisoner escaped. Achab then said that the punishment of death was a just one, whereupon he unbound his head and was recognized by the king as the prophet Michaias.^d He had employed this trick, in dealing with him, as a way of introducing what he was going to say, which was that God would punish him for having allowed Adados, who had blasphemed Him, to escape punishment, and would cause him to die at Adados's hands, and Achab's people to die at the hands of his army. Incensed at the prophet, Achab ordered him to be locked up and

^a The prophet is not named in Scripture, but Josephus, like the rabbis, very reasonably supposes it is Micaiah, mentioned as Ahab's adversary in 1 Kings xxii. 8, cf. § 403.

^b Heb. "disguised himself with a bandage (A.V. "ashes") on his eyes," LXX κατεδήσατο τελαμῶν τὸν ὄφθαλμον αὐτοῦ "bound a bandage around his eyes."

^c Bibl. "a man."

^d See p. 782 note a.

ἐκέλευσε, συγκεχυμένος δ' αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς Μιχαίου λόγοις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.¹

- 393 (xv. 1) Καὶ Ἀχαβος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν· ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα Ἰωσάφατον, ὃς αὐξήσας τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ δυνάμεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὑπηκόων χώρᾳ καταστήσας οὐδὲν ἥττον ταῖς ὑπὸ Ἀβίᾳ² τοῦ πάππου καταληφθείσαις³ τῆς Ἐφραΐμου κληρουχίας Ἱεροβοάμου βασιλεύοντος τῶν δέκα φυλῶν, φρουρὰς ἔγκαθίδρυσεν ἀλλ' εἶχεν εὔμενές τε καὶ συνεργὸν τὸ θεῖον, δίκαιος ὅν καὶ εὐσεβὴς καὶ τί καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἤδη ποιήσει καὶ προσηγένετο θεῷ ζητῶν. ἐπίμων δ' αὐτὸν οἱ πέριξ βασιλικαῖς⁴ δωρεαῖς, ὡς πλοῦτον τε ποιῆσαι βαθύτατον καὶ δόξαν ἄρασθαι μεγίστην.
- 395 (2) Τρίτῳ δ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκέλευε τὴν γῆν περιελθόντας ἀπαντα τὸν λαὸν τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς⁵ διδάξαι κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους καὶ φυλάσσειν τούτους καὶ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἥσθη πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος οὐτως, ὡς μηδὲν ἄλλο φιλοτιμεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἀγαπᾶν ὡς τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ νόμιμα. οἵ τε προσχώριοι διετέλουν στέργοντες τὸν Ἰωσάφατον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην
- 396

¹ οἰκεῖαν Bekker.

² ταῖς ὑπὸ Ἀβίᾳ conj.: Ἀβίᾳ RO: ὑπὸ Ἀβίᾳ MSP: quam Abia Lat.: ταῖς ἐπὶ Ἀβίᾳ Naber.

³ P: καταλειφθείσαις MS: καταλειφθείσης RO.

⁴ βασιλεῖς MSPE Lat.

⁵ ἐπ' αὐτῆς Niese: ἐπ' αὐτῇ R: περὶ αὐτὸν M: ὑπ' αὐτὸν SPE Lat.

^a Josephus here anticipates the later account of Ahab's treatment of Micaiah, 1 Kings xxii. 26. Scripture does not tell what became of the unnamed prophet mentioned in ch. xx.

kept under guard^a; he himself, greatly troubled by Michaias's words, returned to his house.

(xv. 1) Such, then, was the condition of Achab. The reign of Jehosaphat (Josaphat) of Judah. 2 Chron. xvii. 1. But I shall now return to Josaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who increased his kingdom and stationed forces in the cities of the country inhabited by his subjects; no less did he establish garrisons in those cities of the territory of Ephraim which had been taken^b by his grandfather Abias^c when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes. Moreover he had the favour and assistance of the Deity since he was upright and pious and daily sought to do something pleasing and acceptable to God. And those around him honoured him with kingly presents,^d so that he amassed very considerable wealth and acquired the greatest glory.

(2) Now in the third year of his reign he summoned the governors of the country and the priests,^e and ordered them to go throughout the land and teach all the people therein, city by city, the laws of Moses, both to keep them and to be diligent in worshipping God. And so much were all the people pleased with this that there was nothing for which they were so ambitious or so much loved as the observance of the laws.^f The neighbouring peoples also continued to cherish Josaphat and remained at peace with him.

^b Emended text.

^c Bibl. "Asa, his father." Josephus consistently (cf. § 284) follows the variant account, 2 Chron. xiii. 19, according to which it was Abijah who captured the Ephraimite cities from Jeroboam.

^d Variant "the kings around him honoured him with presents"; bibl. "all Judah brought presents."

^e Scripture also mentions Levites.

^f The remarks on the people's observance of the laws are an addition to Scripture.

ἄγοντες· οἱ δὲ Παλαιστῖνοι τακτοὺς ἐτέλουν αὐτῷ φόρους καὶ Ἀραβὲς ἔχορήγουν κατ' ἕτος ἄρνας ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους καὶ ἑρίφους τοσούτους. πόλεις τε ὡχύρωσε μεγάλας ἄλλας τε καὶ βάρεις¹ καὶ δύναμιν στρατιωτικὴν καὶ ὅπλα πρὸς τοὺς 397 πολεμίους² ηὐτρέπιστο. ἦν δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς στρατὸς ὅπλιτῶν μυριάδες τριάκοντα, ὃν Ἐδναῖος τὴν ἥγεμονίαν εἶχεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ μυριάδων εἴκοσι. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἥγεμὼν κακ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς εἶχε τοξοτῶν πεζῶν μυριάδας εἴκοσι, ἄλλος δὲ ἥγεμὼν Ὁχόβατος³ ὄνομα μυριάδας ὅπλιτῶν ὀκτωκαΐδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῷ βασιλεῖ προσένειμε πάρεξ ὃν εἰς τὰς ὁχυρωτάτας διέπεμψε πόλεις.

398 (3) Ἡγάγετο δὲ τῷ παιδὶ Ἰωράμῳ τὴν Ἀχάβου θυγατέρα τοῦ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλέως Ὁθλίαν⁴ ὄνομα. πορευθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ εἰς Σαμάρειαν φιλοφρόνως Ἀχαβος ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τὸν ἀκολουθήσαντα στρατὸν ἐξένισε λαμπρῶς σίτου τε καὶ οἴνου καὶ θυμάτων ἀφθονίᾳ, παρεκάλεσε τε συμμαχῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως, ἵνα τὴν ἐν 399 τῇ Γαλαδηνῇ πόλιν Ἀραμαθὰν ἀφέληται· τοῦ γὰρ

¹ βαρεῖς ROME.² καὶ ὅπλα . . . πολεμίους] πρὸς πολέμους RO.³ Ὡχόβατος RO.⁴ Γοθολίαν SP Lat.^a Bibl. 7700 rams and 7700 he-goats.^b βάρεις is the Luc. rendering of Heb. *bîrānîyôth* “strongholds”; LXX *oikήσεις* “dwellings.” Scripture adds “store-cities.” ^c Bibl. Adnah, LXX Ἐδναᾶς, Luc. Αἰδηᾶς.^d Bibl. 280,000.^e Bibl. Jehohanan (*Yehôhânan*), LXX Ἰωανάν (*v.l.* Ἰωνάν).^f According to Scripture, Eliada was commander of the 200,000 archers from Benjamin. Josephus also omits the 200,000 men under Amasiah.

And the Philistines paid him the appointed tribute, while the Arabs every year supplied him with three hundred and sixty lambs and as many kids.^a He also fortified large cities, among which were strongholds,^b and prepared a force of soldiers and weapons against his enemies. From the tribe of Judah there was an army of three hundred thousand heavy-armed soldiers, of which Ednaios^c had command, and two hundred thousand^d under Joannēs,^e who was at the same time^f commander of two hundred thousand archers on foot from the tribe of Benjamin. Another commander named Ochobatos^g put at the king's disposal a host of a hundred and eighty thousand heavy-armed soldiers. These did not include the men whom the king had sent to the several best fortified cities.

(3) Now Josaphat married his son Joram^h to the daughter of Achab, the king of the ten tribes, her name being Othlia.ⁱ And, when some time afterward he went to Samaria, Achab gave him a friendly welcome and, after splendidly entertaining the army which had accompanied him, with an abundance of grain and wine^j and meat, invited^k him to become his ally in a war against the king of Syria in order to recover the city of Aramatha in Galadēnē,^l for it had

^a Bibl. Jehozabad (*Yehôzâbâd*), LXX Ἰωζαβᾶδ.^b Cf. A. ix. 27. He is not named at this point in Scripture.^c Variant Gotholiah; bibl. Athaliah, cf. A. ix. 140 note. She is not named at this point in Scripture.^d Unscriptural details.^e Heb. “persuaded by guile,” LXX ἥγάπα, a corruption of ἥπάτα “deceived,” Luc. ἔπεισε “persuaded.”^f Called Aramatē in § 411; bibl. Ramoth in Gilead, LXX 1 Kings Ρεμαθ Ιαλαάδ, 2 Chron. Ραμώθ τῆς Γαλααδείτιδος. identified by Dalman with the modern *Tell el-Husn*, c. 20 miles E. of the Jordan in the latitude of Beth-shean (*Beisân*), on the Roman road leading to Bozrah.

πατρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον τυγχάνουσαν ἀφηρῆσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου πατέρα. τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσαφάτου τὴν βοήθειαν ἐπαγγειλαμένου (καὶ γὰρ εἶναι δύναμιν αὐτῷ μὴ ἐλάττω τῆς ἐκείνου) καὶ μεταπεμψαμένου τὴν δύναμιν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων εἰς Σαμάρειαν, πρεξελθόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως οἱ δύο βασιλεῖς καὶ καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἴδιου θρόνου ἐκάτερος τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διένεμον.

400 Ἰωσάφατος δ' ἐκέλευσεν εἴ τινές εἰσι προφῆται καλέσαντ' αὐτοὺς ἀνακρῖναι περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Σύρον ἐξόδου, εἰ συμβουλεύουσι κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῷ ποιῆσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν· καὶ γὰρ εἰρήνη τε καὶ φιλία τότε τῷ Ἀχάβῳ πρὸς τὸν Σύρον ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη διαμείνασα, ἀφ' οὗ λαβὼν αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἀπέλυσεν ἄχρις ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας.

401 (4) Καλέσας δὲ Ἀχαβος τοὺς αὐτοῦ προφῆτας ὥσει τετρακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὅντας ἐκέλευσεν ἔρεσθαι τὸν θεόν,¹ εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ στρατευσαμένῳ ἐπὶ Ἀδαδον νίκην καὶ καθαίρεσιν τῆς πόλεως, δι'

402 ἦν ἐκφέρειν μέλλει τὸν πόλεμον. τῶν δὲ προφητῶν συμβουλευσάντων ἐκστρατεῦσαι, κρατήσειν γὰρ τοῦ Σύρου καὶ λήψεσθαι ὑποχείριον αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, συνεὶς ἐκ τῶν λόγων Ἰωσάφατος ὅτι ψευδοπροφῆται τυγχάνουσιν, ἐπύθετο τοῦ Ἀχάβου εἰ καὶ ἔτερός τις ἐστι προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ, "ἴνα ἀκριβέστερον μάθωμεν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων."

403 ὁ δὲ Ἀχαβος εἶναι μὲν ἔφη, μισεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν κακὰ προφητεύσαντα καὶ προειπόντα ὅτι τεθνήσεται

¹ τοῦ θεοῦ ROS.

^a This earlier capture of Ramoth by the Syrians is not mentioned in Scripture.

^b Josephus takes literally Jehoshaphat's expression in

first belonged to his father but had been taken away from him by the Syrian's father.^a Thereupon Josaphat willingly offered his aid—he too had a force, not smaller than Achab's^b—and, when he had sent for his force to come from Jerusalem to Samaria,^c the two kings went out of the city, each sitting upon his throne, and distributed pay to their respective armies.^d And Josaphat bade him call the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning the expedition against the Syrian, whether they advised them to take the field at that time. For ^{1 Kings xxii. 1.}

there was, indeed, peace and friendship then between Achab and the Syrian, which had lasted three years, from the time when Achab had taken him captive and released him until that very day.

(4) So Achab called his prophets, who were some ^{The false prophets} four hundred in number, and bade them inquire of ^{foretell} God whether, if he marched against Adados, He ^{victory} would grant him victory and the overthrow of the ^{for Ahab.} 1 Kings xxii. 6; 2 Chron. xviii. 5. city on which he was about to wage war. And, when the prophets advised him to take the field, saying that he would defeat the Syrian and have him in his power as before, Josaphat, who saw by their words that they were false prophets,^e asked Achab whether there was some other prophet of God, "in order that we may know more clearly what is going to happen." Achab then said that there was one, but he hated him because he had prophesied evil and had foretold that he

1 Kings xxii. 4 = 2 Chron. xviii. 3, "I am as thou art and my people as thy people," which meant that he put his force wholly at Ahab's disposal.

^c Josephus supplies this information, missing in Scripture.

^d The payment of the troops is an unscriptural detail.

^e Scripture does not have this detail, but Targum speaks of them as "false prophets."

νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως καὶ διὰ ταῦτα
ἐν φυλακῇ¹ νῦν αὐτὸν ἔχειν· καλεῖσθαι δὲ Μιχαίαν,
νιὸν δὲ εἶναι Ἰεμβλαίου². τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσαφάτου κελεύ-
σαντος αὐτὸν προαχθῆναι, πέμψας εὐνοῦχον ἄγει
404 τὸν Μιχαίαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ
ὅ εὐνοῦχος πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους προφήτας νίκην τῷ
βασιλεῖ προειρηκέναι. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔξοντας αὐτῷ κατα-
ψεύσασθαι³ τοῦ θεοῦ φήσας, ἀλλ’ ἐρεῦν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ
περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸς εἴπῃ, ὡς ἦκε πρὸς τὸν
“Αχαβον καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ τάληθὲς οὗτος ἐνωρκίσατο,
δεῖξαι τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ φεύγοντας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας
ἔφη καὶ διωκομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων καὶ διασκορπι-
ζομένους ὑπ’ αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ὅρη, καθάπερ ποιμένων
405 ἥρημαμένα ποίμνια. ἔλεγέ τε σημαίνειν τοὺς μὲν
μετ’ εἰρήνης ἀναστρέψειν εἰς τὰ ἴδια, πεσεῖσθαι
δ’ αὐτὸν μόνον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. ταῦτα φήσαντος τοῦ
Μιχαία, πρὸς Ἰωσάφατον ὁ “Αχαβος” ἀλλ’ ἔγωγε
μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἐδήλωσά σοι τὴν τάνθρωπου,”
φησί·⁴ “πρὸς με διάθεσιν, καὶ ὅτι μοι τὰ χείρω
406 προεφήτευσε.” τοῦ δὲ Μιχαία εἰπόντος ὡς προσ-
ῆκεν αὐτῷ πάντων ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
προλεγομένων, καὶ ὡς παρορμήσειαν αὐτὸν οἱ
ψευδοπροφῆται ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐλπίδι

¹ Σύρων . . . φυλακῇ] Σύρου ἐν φρουρᾷ δὲ R.O.

² Ὁμβλαίου R: Ἡμβλαίου O: Ἰεμβλέου MS: Obaei Lat.

³ καταψεύδεσθαι MSP.

⁴ φησί cod. Vat. apud Hudson: om. rell.

^a The prophecy of Ahab's death is unscriptural.

^b Unscriptural detail, cf. § 392 note.

should be conquered by the Syrian king and meet his death,^a for which reason he was now keeping him in prison^b; his name, he added, was Michaias^c and he was the son of Jemblaios.^d But, when Josaphat asked that he be produced, Achab sent a eunuch to bring Michaias.^e On the way the eunuch informed him that all the other prophets had foretold victory to the king. Thereupon the prophet said that it was not possible for him to tell falsehoods in God's name, but he must speak whatever He might tell him about the king. And, when he came to Achab and the king adjured him to speak the truth to him, he said^f that God had shown him the Israelites in flight, being pursued by the Syrians and dispersed by them upon the mountains like flocks of sheep that are left without their shepherds. He also said that God had revealed that his men should return to their homes in peace, but he alone should fall in battle.^g When Michaias had spoken these words, Achab said to Josaphat, “Did I not tell you a little while ago how this fellow feels toward me and that he has prophesied evil things for me?” But Michaias answered that it was his duty to listen to all things uttered by God, and that they were false prophets who had led him on to make war in the hope of victory, and that he

^a Bibl. Micaiah (*Mikāyehū*), LXX *Μιχαῖας*.

^b Bibl. Imlah (*Yimlāh*), LXX *Ἰεμλαδ* (v.l. *Ἰεμβλαδ*).

^c Scripture at this point (1 Kings xxii. 11=2 Chron. xviii. 10) introduces the symbolic action of Zedekiah, which Josephus narrates later in § 409.

^d Josephus omits Micaiah's first ironical reassurance, 1 Kings xxii. 15=2 Chron. xviii. 14.

^e The prophecy of Ahab's death is an amplification of the Scriptural phrase, “And the Lord said, These (Ahab's men) have no master.”

νίκης, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ πεσεῖν αὐτὸν μάχόμενον, αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν ἐπ' ἐννοίᾳ, Σεδεκίας δέ τις τῶν ψευδο-
 προφητῶν προσελθών, τῷ μὲν Μιχαΐᾳ μὴ προσέχειν
 407 παρήνει· λέγειν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἀληθές· τεκμηρίω
 δ' ἔχρησατο οἰς Ἡλίας προεφήτευσεν ὁ τούτου
 κρείττων τὰ μέλλοντα συνιδεῖν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον
 ἔλεγε προφητεύσαντα ἐν Ἰεζαρῆλᾳ πόλει ἐν τῷ
 Ναβώθου ἄγρῳ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ κύνας ἀναλιχ-
 μήσεσθαι προειπεῖν, καθὼς καὶ Ναβώθου τοῦ δι'
 408 αὐτὸν καταλευσθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου. “δῆλον
 οὖν ὅτι οὗτος ψεύδεται, τῷ κρείττονι προφήτῃ
 τάνατία λέγων, ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν τριῶν φάσκων τεθ-
 νῆξεσθαι. γνώσεσθε δ' εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθής καὶ
 τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν· εὐθὺς γὰρ
 ῥαπισθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ βλαψάτω μου τὴν χεῖρα, ὥσπερ
 409 Ἰάδος¹ τὴν Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ βασιλέως συλλαβεῖν
 θελήσαντος ἀπεξήρανε δεξιάν· ἀκήκοας γὰρ οἶμαι
 πάντως τοῦτο γενόμενον.” ὡς οὖν πλήξαντος αὐ-
 τοῦ τὸν Μιχαΐαν μηδὲν συνέβη παθεῖν, “Ἄχαβος
 θαρρήσας ἀγειν τὴν στρατιὰν πρόθυμος ἦν ἐπὶ τὸν
 Σύρον· ἐνίκα γὰρ οἶμαι τὸ χρεῶν καὶ πιθανωτέρους
 ἐποίει τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας, ἵνα λάβῃ
 τὴν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ τέλους. Σεδεκίας δὲ σιδήρεα

¹ Ἰάδος SPE: Iadon Lat.

• Josephus substitutes this reply of Micaiah for the Scriptural verses (1 Kings xxii. 19-25 = 2 Chron. xviii. 18-22) describing his heavenly vision of the lying spirits put by God into the mouths of the false prophets.

^b So most mss. of LXX; bibl. Zedekiah (*Šidqîyâhû*).

^c Zedekiah's allusion to Elijah's prophecy (cf. § 361) is unscriptural. It is noteworthy that rabbinic tradition also makes a connexion, though a different one, between the two

alone must fall in battle.^a So Achab had cause for thought, but a certain Sedekias,^b one of the false prophets, came to him and urged him not to pay any attention to Michaias, for he did not speak a word of truth. And as proof of this he instanced the prophecies of Elijah, who was better able than Michaias to foresee the future, for, he said, when Elijah had prophesied in the city of Jezaréla in Naboth's field, he had foretold that the dogs would lick up Achab's blood just as they had licked the blood of Naboth who had been stoned to death by the crowd at his bidding. “It is clear, then,” said Sedekias, “that this man is lying, since he contradicts a greater prophet in saying that within three days you shall meet death.”^c But you shall know whether he is really a true prophet and has the power of the divine spirit; let him right now, when I strike him, disable my hand as Jadaos caused the right hand of King Jeroboam to wither when he wished to arrest him. For I suppose you must have heard that this thing happened.”^d Accordingly, when he struck Michaias and suffered no harm as a result, Achab took courage and was eager to lead his army against the Syrian. It was Fate, I suppose, that prevailed and made the false prophet seem more convincing than the true one, in order to hasten Achab's end.^e incidents by saying that it was Naboth's spirit that had misled Ahab's prophets into foretelling a victory for him, cf. Ginzberg iv. 187.

^a The reference to Jadaos (bibl. Jadon; cf. § 231) is not found in Scripture, according to which Zedekiah, after striking Micaiah, asks, “Which way went the spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee?”, LXX 1 Kings, “What sort of spirit of the Lord speaks in thee?”

^b These remarks on Ahab's confidence and the working of Fate are additions to Scripture.

ποιήσας κέρατα λέγει πρὸς Ἀχαβον ὡς θεὸν αὐτῷ σημαίνειν τούτοις ἀπασαν καταστρέψεσθαι¹ τὴν 410 Συρίαν.² Μιχαίαν δὲ μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας εἰπόντα τὸν Σεδεκίαν ταμιεῖον ἐκ ταμιείου³ κρυβόμενον ἀμεύψειν ζητοῦντα φυγεῖν τῆς φευδολογίας τὴν δίκην, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπαχθέντα φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς Ἀχάμωνα τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντα καὶ χορηγεῖσθαι μηδὲν ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος αὐτῷ περισσότερον.

411 (5) Καὶ Ἀχαβος μὲν καὶ Ἰωσάφατος ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβόντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἥλασαν εἰς Ἀραμάθην πόλιν τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὴν στρατείαν⁴ ἀντεπίγαγεν αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν καὶ 412 οὐκ ἀπωθεν τῆς Ἀραμάθης στρατοπεδεύεται. συνέθεντο δὲ ὁ τε Ἀχαβος καὶ Ἰωσάφατος ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὸν Ἀχαβον τὸ βασιλικὸν σχῆμα, τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα τὴν αὐτοῦ στολὴν ἔχοντα στῆναι ἐν τῇ παρατάξει, κατασοφιζόμενοι⁵ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιχαία προειρημένα. εὗρε δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρεὼν 413 καὶ δίχα τοῦ σχήματος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀδαδος ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιᾷ διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρεῖν, μόνον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν. οἱ δὲ Σύροι τῆς συμβολῆς γενομένης ἴδόντες τὸν Ἰωσάφατον ἐστῶτα πρὸ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τοῦτον εἰκάσαντες εἶναι τὸν

¹ ex Lat. Niese: καταστρέψασθαι RO: καταστρέψαι MSP.

² Σεδεκίας . . . Συρίαν spuria esse putat Niese.

³ ταμιεῖον ἐκ ταμιείου Dindorf: ταμεῖον ἐκ ταμείου codd. E Zonaras.

⁴ ed. pr.: στρατιὰν codd.

⁵ Niese: κατασοφιζόμενος ROE: κατασοφιζόμενον MSP Lat. (vid.).

Then Sedekias made horns of iron and told Achab that God had revealed to him that with these he should subdue the whole of Syria.^a But Michaias said that within a few days Sedekias would change his hiding-place from one secret chamber to another^b in seeking to escape punishment for his lying words. Thereupon the king ordered him to be led away to Achamōn,^c the governor of the city, for imprisonment and that he should be supplied with nothing but bread and water.

(5) And so Achab and Josaphat, the king of Jerusalem, marched with their forces to the city of Aramatē^d in Galaditis. When the Syrian king heard of their march, he, in turn, led his army against them and encamped not far from the city of Aramatē. Now Achab and Josaphat had agreed that Achab should take off his royal garments and that the king of Jerusalem should take his place in the line of battle with the other's robe on^e; by this trick they thought to escape the fate foretold by Michaias. But Fate found him even though he was without his garments. For Adados, the Syrian king, had given orders that they should slay no one else but only the king of the Israelites. So, when the battle was joined and the Syrians saw Josaphat standing before the lines, they thought that he was Achab, and

^a Cf. § 403 note.

^b So LXX renders the Heb. idiom "chamber in chamber," cf. § 384 note.

^c Bibl. Amon, LXX Ἀμών (v.l. Σεμήρ, Ἐμμήρ).

^d Cf. § 399 note.

^e So LXX; according to the Heb. text, Jehoshaphat wears his own robes.

Defeat and
death of
Ahab.
¹ Kings
xxii. 29;
² Chron.
xviii. 28.

414 "Αχαβον ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ περικυκλωσά-
μενοι ὡς ἔγγυς ὅντες ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ὅντα τοῦτον,
ἀνεχώρησαν ὀπίσω πάντες, ἀρχομένης δ'¹ ἡσυ
ἄχρι δείλης ὄψιας² μαχόμενοι καὶ νικῶντες ἀπέκ-
τεναν οὐδένα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντολήν,
ζητοῦντες τὸν "Αχαβον ἀνελεῖν μόνον καὶ εὑρεῖν οὐ
δυνάμενοι. παῖς δέ τις βασιλικὸς τοῦ Ἀδάδου
Ἀμανὸς ὄνομα τοξεύσας εἰς τὸν πολεμίους τι-
τρώσκει τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τοῦ θώρακος κατὰ τοῦ
415 πνεύμονος. "Αχαβος δὲ τὸ μὲν συμβεβηκὸς οὐκ
ἔγνω ποιῆσαι τῷ στρατεύματι φανερὸν μὴ τρα-
πείησαν, τὸν δ' ἡνίοχον ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτρέψαντα τὸ
ἄρμα ἐξάγειν³ τῆς μάχης· χαλεπῶς γὰρ βεβλῆσθαι
καὶ καιρίως. ὁδυνώμενος δὲ ἔστη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος
ἄχρι δύνοντος ἥλιου καὶ λιφαυμῆσας⁴ ἀπέθανε.

416 (6) Καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν Σύρων στράτευμα νικτὸς
ἡδη γενομένης ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν,
καὶ δηλώσαντος τοῦ στρατοκήρυκος ὅτι τέθνηκεν
"Αχαβος ἀνέζευξαν εἰς τὰ ἴδια, κομίσαντες δὲ τὸν
417 Αχάβου νεκρὸν εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἔκει θάπτουσι. καὶ
τὸ ἄρμα ἀποπλύναντες ἐν τῇ Ἰεζαρήλα κρήνῃ (ἥν
δὲ καθημαγμένον τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως φόνῳ) ἀληθῆ
τὴν Ἡλία προφητείαν ἐπέγνωσαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κύνες
ἀνελιχμήσαντο⁵ αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, αἱ δὲ ἔταιριζόμεναι
ἐν τῇ κρήνῃ τὸ λοιπὸν λουόμεναι τούτῳ διετέλουν.

¹ πάντες . . . δ'] ἀπὸ τε ἀρχομένης RO Lat.

² δύτις om. RO Lat.

³ ἐκτρέψαντα . . . ἐξάγειν] ἐπιστρέψαι . . . καὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν MSP.

⁴ Niese: λειφαυμῆσας RO: λιποθυμῆσας MSP: λειποθυμῆσας
E: factus exsanguis Lat.

⁵ Hudson: ἀνελιχμήσαντο codd.: ἀπελιχμῆσαν E.

^a Josephus omits the Scriptural detail that Jehoshaphat was recognized when he cried out.

rushed upon him, but, on surrounding him and coming close, they saw that it was not he,^a and all of them turned back. From early dawn until late afternoon they fought, and the victorious Syrians, in accordance with the king's command, killed no one, seeking to slay only Achab and not being able to find him. But one of the king's pages, named Amanos,^b in shooting arrows at the enemy, wounded the king through his breastplate in the lung.^c Achab, however, decided not to let his army see what had happened lest they should be put to flight,^d and ordered his driver to turn the chariot and carry him off the field of battle, for he had been gravely and even mortally wounded. But, though he was in great pain, he remained upright in his chariot until the setting of the sun and then, with the blood drained out of him, expired.

(6) And so, as night had now fallen, the Syrian army retired to its camp and, when the herald announced^e that Achab was dead, they returned to their own country, first carrying the body of Achab to Samaria and burying it there. And when they washed his chariot, which was stained with the king's blood, in the spring of Jezarēl, they acknowledged the truth of Elijah's prophecy, for the dogs licked up his blood ; and thereafter the harlots used to bathe

^b Targum of 2 Chron. identifies Ahab's slayer, unnamed in Scripture, with Naaman the Syrian (cf. 2 Kings ch. v.), to whom Josephus must here be referring.

^c So LXX; Heb. "through the joints (or "fastenings") of his breastplate."

^d This explanation of Ahab's reason for withdrawing is unscriptural.

^e So the LXX; Heb. "and a shout passed through the camp."

The fulfillment of Elijah's prophecy.
1 Kings xxii. 36.

ἀπέθανε δ' ἐν Ἀραμάθῃ Μιχαία τοῦτο προειρη-
 418 κότος. συμβάντων οὖν Ἀχάβῳ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο
 προφητῶν εἰρημένων μέγα δεῖ τὸ θεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι
 καὶ σέβειν καὶ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν πανταχοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀλη-
 θείας μὴ τὰ πρὸς ἥδονὴν καὶ βούλησιν πιθανώτερα
 δοκεῖν, ὑπολαμβάνειν δ' ὅτι προφητείας καὶ τῆς
 διὰ τῶν τοιούτων προγνώσεως οὐδέν ἔστι συμ-
 φορώτερον, παρέχοντος οὕτω τοῦ θεοῦ τί δεῖ φу-
 419 λάξασθαι, λογίζεσθαι τε πάλιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν
 βασιλέα γεγενημένων στοχαζομένους προσῆκε τὴν
 τοῦ χρεὼν ἴσχυν, ὅτι μηδὲ προγνωσκόμενον αὐτὸν
 διαφυγεῖν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρχεται τὰς ἀνθρωπί-
 νας ψυχὰς ἐλπίσι κολακεῦνον χρησταῖς, αἷς εἰς τὸ
 420 πόθεν αὐτῶν κρατήσει περιάγει. φαίνεται οὖν καὶ
 "Ἀχαβος ὑπὸ τούτου τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπατηθείς, ὥστε
 ἀπιστῆσαι μὲν τοὺς προλέγοντοι τὴν ἦτταν, τοῖς δὲ
 τὰ πρὸς χάριν προφητεύσασι πεισθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν.
 τούτον μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς Ὁχοζίας διεδέξατο.

^a Bibl. Ahaziah (*Aḥazyāhū*), LXX Ὁχοζίας.

in the pool in this blood. But he died in Aramathē, as Michaias had foretold. Now, since there befell Achab the fate spoken of by the two prophets, we ought to acknowledge the greatness of the Deity and everywhere honour and reverence Him, nor should we think the things which are said to flatter us or please us more worthy of belief than the truth, but should realize that nothing is more beneficial than prophecy and the foreknowledge which it gives, for in this way God enables us to know what to guard against. And further, with the king's history before our eyes, it behoves us to reflect on the power of Fate, and see that not even with foreknowledge is it possible to escape it, for it secretly enters the souls of men and flatters them with fair hopes, and by means of these it leads them on to the point where it can overcome them. It appears, then, that by this power Achab's mind was deceived so that while he disbelieved those who foretold his defeat, he believed those who prophesied things that pleased him, and so lost his life. And so his son Ochozias ^a succeeded him.

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ε

a'.¹ Ὡς Ἰησοῦς ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἐβραίων πολεμήσας πρὸς Χαναναίους καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν διέφθειρε τὴν δὲ γῆν κατακληρούχησας διένειμε τὰς φυλὰς.

b'.² Ὡς ἀποθανόντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παραβαινούντες οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται τοὺς πατρίους νόμους μεγάλων ἐπειράθησαν συμφορῶν, καὶ στασιασάντων ἡ Βενιαμίν διεφθάρη φυλὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν ἔξακοσίων.

γ'.³ Πῶς μετὰ ταύτην τὴν κακοπραγίαν ἀσεβήσαντας αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς Ἀσσυρίοις ἐδούλωσεν.

δ'.⁴ Ἡ διὰ Κενίζου τοῦ Ἀθνιήλου⁵ παιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίᾳ γενομένη ἄρξαντος ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα λεγομένου δὲ παρά τε Ἑλλησι καὶ Φοίνιξι κριτοῦ.

ε'.⁶ Ὄτι πάλιν ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν ἐδούλευσε Μωαβίταις ὀκτωκαΐδεκα ἔτη καὶ ὑπό τυνος Ἰουδοῦ⁷ τῆς

¹ Numeros om. MSPL.

² Bernard: Ἀενιήλου ROML: Ναθαναήλου S: Ναθαήλου P.

³ Niese: Ἰουδοῦ ROL: Ἡονδοῦ MS: Ἰουδοῦ, *i. ex ἡ corr.* P: Aod Lat.

⁴ Bibl. Othniel, the son of Kenaz; cf. A. v. 182 note.

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK V

In this edition SECTION	PAGE	
I	2	
(i) How Jēsūs (Joshua), the commander of the Hebrews, fought against the Canaanites, and how, after defeating them, he destroyed them, while their land he divided by lot and distributed among the tribes	132	60
(ii) How, upon the death of their commander, the Israelites transgressed against their fathers' laws and experienced great misfortunes, and how, as a result of civil war, the tribe of Benjamin was destroyed excepting six hundred men	179	82
(iii) How, after this disaster, God, because of their impiety, made them subject to the Assyrians	182	82
(iv) The deliverance wrought for them by Kenizos, the son of Athniēlos, ^a who ruled forty years, and by the Greeks and Phoenicians is called a "judge"		
(v) How our people were again subject to the Moabites for eighteen years, and how they were delivered from this		

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V

δουλείας ἀπηλλάγη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπ' ἔτη κατασχόντος ὄγδοήκοντα.

5'. Ὡς Χαναναίων αὐτοὺς καταδουλωσαμένων ἐπ' ἔτη εἴκοσιν ἡλευθερώθησαν ὑπὸ Βαράκου καὶ Δεβώρας, οἱ ἥρξαν αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

ζ'. Ὄτι πολεμήσαντες Ἀμαληκῖται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐνίκησάν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκάκωσαν ἔτη ἑπτά.

η'. Ὡς Γεδεὼν αὐτοὺς ἡλευθέρωσεν ἀπὸ Ἀμαληκιτῶν καὶ ἥρξε τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

θ'. Ὄτι μετ' αὐτὸν πολλοὶ γενόμενοι διάδοχοι τοῖς πέριξ ἔθνεσιν ἐπολέμησαν ἵκανῳ χρόνῳ.

ι'. Περὶ τῆς Σαμψῶνος ἀνδρείας καὶ ὅσων κακῶν αἵτιος Παλαιστίνοις ἐγένετο.

ια'. Ὡς οἱ νιὸι Ἡλὶ τοῦ Ἱερέως ἐσφάγησαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Παλαιστίνους μάχῃ.

ιβ'. Ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἀκούσας τὴν συμφορὰν βαλῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου ἀπέθανεν.

ιγ'. Ὡς νικήσαντες ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς Ἐβραίους οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβον.

ιδ'. Ὡς οἱ ἀπὸ Κενίζου¹ ἥρξαντες πάντες κριταὶ ἐκλήθησαν.²

¹ Κενίζου SP.

² Caput XIV om. Lat.

^a The Amalekites are mentioned only incidentally as allies of the Midianites in *A.* v. 210 ff.

^b These were Abimelech, Jair, Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon and Abdon.

^c This table omits special mention of the stories of Ruth, §§ 318-337; and Samuel, §§ 341-351.

^d "Tumbled" in *A.* v. 359.

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION	PAGE
subjection by a certain Jūdēs (Ehud), who held power for eighty years	188 86
(vi) How, after the Canaanites had held them subject for twenty years, they were delivered by Barak and Debora, who ruled over them for forty years	198 90
(vii) How the Amalekites, ^a after making war on the Israelites, conquered them and ravaged their country seven years	210 94
(viii) How Gedeōn (Gideon) delivered them from the Amalekites and ruled over the people for forty years	213 96
(ix) How the many rulers who succeeded him ^b fought with the surrounding nations for a considerable length of time	233 106
(x) Concerning the prowess of Samson and the many evils which he caused the Philistines	276 124
(xi) ^c How the sons of Eli the priest were slain in battle with the Philistines	338 150
(xii) How their father, on hearing of this mishap, threw himself ^d from his seat and died	352 156
(xiii) ^e How the Philistines, on defeating the Hebrews in this battle, also took their ark captive	357 160
(xiv) ^f How all those who ruled after Kenizos were called "judges"	353 158

^a Section xiii properly belongs before section xi.

^b Section xiv is obviously out of place; originally it must have belonged to section iv.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V-VI

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν τετρακοσίων ἑβδομήκοντα.¹

BIBLION 5

α'. Φθορὰ Παλαιστίνων καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἔξ
όργης τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωτευθεῖσαν ὑπ'
αὐτῶν κιβωτόν, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὴν
τοῖς Ἑβραίοις.

β'. Στρατεία Παλαιστίνων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ νίκη
Ἐβραίων Σαμουὴλον στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν τοῦ
προφήτου.

γ'. Ὡς Σαμουὴλος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενῆς ὥν
τὰ πράγματα διοικεῖν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ ἐνεχειρισεν.

δ'. Ὡς οὐ καλῶς προϊσταμένων ἐκείνων τῆς
ἀρχῆς, τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ' ὄργης ἡττήσατο βασιλεύεσθαι.

ε'. Σαμουὴλον πρὸς τοῦτο ἀγανάκτησις καὶ
βασιλέως αὐτοῖς ἀνάδειξις Σαούλου τούνομα, κελεύ-
σαντος τοῦ θεοῦ.

ϛ'. Σαούλου στρατεία ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμανιτῶν ἔθνος
καὶ νίκη καὶ διαρπαγὴ τῶν πολεμίων.²

ζ'. Ὡς στρατευσάμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραί-
ους οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ἡττήθησαν.

η'. Σαούλου πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας πόλεμος καὶ
νίκη.

¹ + εξ (ος' P) SPEL Lat.

² Numeros om. SP.

³ πολεμίων ἡ (καὶ P) τῶν πόλεων SP.

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

This book covers a period of four hundred and
seventy ^a years.

BOOK VI

SECTION PAGE

(i) The destruction of the Philistines and of their land through God's wrath over their capture of the ark, and in what manner they sent it back to the Hebrews	1	164
(ii) The Philistines' expedition against them, and the victory of the Hebrews under the command of the prophet Samuel	19	174
(iii) How Samuel, being infirm be- cause of his great age, placed the govern- ment in the hands of his sons	32	180
(iv) How, because of their misgovern- ment, the people in anger demanded a king as ruler	35	182
(v) Samuel's indignation at this (de- mand), and how he appointed over them a king named Saul, at God's bidding . .	36	184
(vi) Saul's expedition against the Am- monite nation, and his victory and the despoiling of the enemy	68	200
(vii) How the Philistines again marched against the Hebrews and were defeated	95	214
(viii) Saul's war with the Amalekites and his victory over them	131	232
" Variant "seventy-six."		803

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI

θ'. "Οτι παραβαινοντος Σαούλου τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ προφήτου Σαμουῆλος ἀλλον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα κρύφα Δαυίδην¹ ὄνομα κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ θεοῦ.

ι'. 'Ως καὶ πάλιν ἐπεστράτευσαν τοῖς 'Εβραίοις οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ἔτι Σαούλου βασιλεύοντος.²

ια'.³ Μονομαχία Δαυίδου τότε⁴ πρὸς Γολίαθον τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ ἀναίρεσις τοῦ Γολιάθου καὶ ἥττα τῶν Παλαιστίνων.⁵

ιβ'. 'Ως θαυμάσας Σαούλος⁶ τὸν Δαυίδην τῆς ἀνδρείας συνώκισεν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα.

ιγ'. "Οτι μετὰ ταῦτα ὑποπτον αὐτῷ τὸν Δαυίδην γενόμενον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσπούδασεν ἀποκτεῖναι.

ιδ'. 'Ως πολλάκις καὶ Δαυίδης κινδυνεύσας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου διέφυγε καὶ Σαούλον δὶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν οὐ διεχρήσατο.

ιε'. 'Ως στρατευσαμένων Παλαιστίνων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Εβραίους ἥττήθησαν οἱ 'Εβραῖοι τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Σαούλος ἀπέθανε μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν μαχόμενος.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἑτῶν λβ'.

¹ Δαυείδην Μ: Δαβιδην RO: David Lat.

² Σαούλου βασιλεύοντος] Σαμουῆλον προφητεύοντος P.

³ Caput XI decimo adiungunt SP.

⁴ τότε om. SP.

⁵ + κρατερά SP.
⁶ Σαούλος (Σαούλον RO) post θυγατέρα tr. ROM.

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION	PAGE	
(ix) How, upon Saul's transgressing the prophet's injunctions, Samuel secretly chose another king, named David, in accordance with the decision of God .	156	244
(x) How the Philistines yet another time marched against the Hebrews while Saul was still king	170	250
(xi) The single combat on that occasion of David and Goliath, the bravest of the Philistines, and the slaying of Goliath and defeat of the Philistines .	184	258
(xii) How Saul, in admiration of David's prowess, gave him his daughter in marriage	196	264
(xiii) How after this David became suspect to him, and how the king sought eagerly to kill him	205	268
(xiv) How on several occasions David was in danger of being put to death by Saul, and how he twice refrained from taking Saul's life, when he was in his power	213	272
(xv) ^a How the Philistines again marched against the Hebrews and the Hebrews were defeated in battle, and how Saul their king died fighting, together with his sons	325	328

This book covers a period of thirty-two years.

^a This table omits special mention of the relations of David and Jonathan, the sojourn of David among the Philistines, and Saul's visit to the witch of Endor.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VII

BIBLION Z

α'.¹ Ως Δαυίδης μὲν τῆς μιᾶς φυλῆς ἔβασι-λευσεν ἐν Γιβρῶνι² τῇ πόλει, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου πλήθους ὁ Σαούλου πᾶς.

β'. "Οτι τούτου φονευθέντος ἔξ ἐπιβουλῆς φίλων, ἅπασαν τὴν βασιλείαν Δαυίδης παρέλαβεν.

γ'. Ως πολιορκήσας Ἱεροσόλυμα Δαυίδης καὶ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἔξέβαλε μὲν ἔξ αὐτῆς τὸν Χανανίους, ἐνώκισε δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν Ἰουδαίους.

δ'. "Οτι στρατεύσαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν δὶς Παλαιστίνους ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐνίκησεν.

ε'. 'Η γενομένη πρὸς Εἴρωμον τὸν Τυρίων βασιλέα³ Δαυίδου φιλία.

σ'. 'Ως τοῖς πέριξ ἔθνεσι στρατεύσας Δαυίδης καὶ χειρωσάμενος, φόρον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ⁴ τελεῖν.

ζ'. 'Η γενομένη πρὸς Δαμασκηνοὺς Δαυίδῃ μάχη καὶ νίκη.

η'. Πῶς ἐπὶ τὸν Μεσοποταμίους στρατεύσας ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

θ'. "Οτι τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῷ στασιασάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔξεβλήθη τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

¹ Numeros om. SP.

² Χεβρῶν P: Hebron Lat.

³ + καὶ codd.

⁴ Niese: αὐτῷ codd.: eis Lat.

^a The conspirators were fellow-tribesmen of Saul's son, but were not his "friends," according to Scripture and Josephus.

^b This section properly belongs before section iv.

^c The Mesopotamians are only incidentally mentioned as allies of the Ammonites in *A.* vii. 117 ff.

^d This table omits special mention of the story of David

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK VII

SECTION	PAGE
(i) How David reigned over one tribe in the city of Gibrōn (Hebron), while Saul's son reigned over the rest of the people	7 360
(ii) How, after the latter was slain by the treachery of his friends, ^a David took over the entire kingdom	46 382
(iii) How David, after laying siege to Jerusalem and capturing the city, drove out the Canaanites from it, and how he settled the Jews in it	61 390
(iv) How, after the Philistines had twice marched against him, he defeated them at Jerusalem	71 396
(v) ^b The friendship formed between Eirōmos (Hiram), king of Tyre, and David	66 392
(vi) How David, after marching against the surrounding nations and subduing them, ordered them to pay him tribute	96 410
(vii) The war waged by David against the Damascenes, and his victory	100 412
(viii) How he marched against the Mesopotamians ^c and conquered them	117 422
(ix) ^d How, after those of his own house rebelled against him, he was driven out of his kingdom by his son, and (fled) to the country across the Jordan	194 462
and Bathseba, of Amnon and Tamar, and the exploits of David's warriors.	807

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VII-VIII

ι'. Ως στρατεύσας Ἀψάλωμος¹ ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα Δαυΐδην ἀπώλετο σὺν τῷ στρατῷ.

ια'. Πῶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν πάλιν κατῆλθε καὶ ζήσας² εὐδαιμόνως ἔτι³ περιών Σολόμωνα τὸν νιόν ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.

ιβ'. Τελευτὴ Δαυΐδου καταλιπόντος τῷ παιδὶ πολλὴν ὅλην ἄργυρον τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ λιθίας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἑτῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

BIBLION H

*α'.*⁴ Ως Σολόμων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἀνεῖλε.

β'. Περὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέσεως καὶ τοῦ πλούτου.

γ'. Ὅτι πρῶτος τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναὸν ὁκόδομησεν.

δ'. Ως τελευτήσαντος Σολόμωνος ὁ λαὸς ἀποστὰς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥοβοάμου, τῶν δέκα φυλῶν τῶν ὑπηκόων τινὰ Ἱεροβόαμον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, τῶν δὲ δύο φυλῶν ὁ νιός αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν.

¹ Ἀβεσάλωμος MS¹P: Ἀβεσσάλωμος S²: Abessalon Lat.

² ἔζησεν MSP: dum vixisset Lat.

³ ὡς ἔτι MSP novum caput indicantes, cui ιβ' ascribit M.

⁴ Numeros om. MSP.

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION	PAGE	
(x) How Absalom marched against his father David, and perished together with his army	232	482
(xi) How David was again restored to the throne, and how, after a prosperous reign, ^a while still alive he named his son Solomon king	258	496
(xii) The death of David, and how he left to his son a great mass of silver and gold and stone for the building of the temple	335	540

This book covers a period of forty years.

BOOK VIII

SECTION	PAGE	
(i) How Solomon, on succeeding to the throne, slew his enemies	1	572
(ii) Concerning his wisdom and insight and his wealth	42	592
(iii) How he was the first to build a temple in Jerusalem	61	602
(iv) ^b How, after Solomon's death, the people revolted from his son Roboamos (Rehoboam) and named one of his subjects, Jeroboam, as king of the ten tribes, while Solomon's son reigned over the two tribes	212	684

^a Lit. "after living happily"; the variant reads "and he lived happily," and begins a new section with the words, "How, while he was still alive, he named, etc."

^b This table omits special mention of the relations of Solomon and Hiram of Tyre, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, and Solomon's trade and conquests.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VIII

ε'. Ὡς Ἰσακος¹ Αἴγυπτίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὰ Ιεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχών τὴν πόλιν, τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετήνεγκε.

σ'. Στρατεία Ιεροβοάμου τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὸν νῦν τὸν Ροβοάμου καὶ ἥττα.

ζ'.² Ὄτι τὴν Ιεροβοάμου γενεὰν Βασίνης τις ὄνομα διαφθείρας αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν.

η'. Αἴθιόπων ἐπιστρατεία τοῖς Ιεροσολύμοις βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν Ἀσάνου³ τοῦ Ἀβία παιδός, καὶ διαφθορὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

θ'. Ὡς τῆς Ἀβεσσάρου⁴ γενεᾶς διαφθαρείσης ἐβασιλεύσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν Ἀμαρις⁵ καὶ ὁ νῦν αὐτοῦ Ἀχαβος.

ι'. Ὡς Ἀδαδος⁶ Δαμασκοῦ καὶ Συρίας βασιλεὺς δἰς ἐπ' Ἀχαβον στρατευσάμενος ἥττήθη.

ια'. Ἀμμανιτῶν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπ' Ιωσαφάτην τὸν Ιεροσολύμων βασιλέα ἥττα.

ιβ'. Ὡς Ἀχαβος ἐπὶ Σύρους στρατευσάμενος ἥττήθη τῇ μάχῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπώλετο.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος⁷ ἕτη ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα καὶ τρία.

¹ Σούσακος δ MSP: Sosach Lat.

² Caput VII sexto adiungunt MSP.

³ Σαούλου RO: Ἀσανοῦ SP: Asaph Lat.

⁴ Basan Lat.

⁵ Ἀμαρεις R: Ἀμάρης O: Haber Lat.

⁶ Ἀδερ MSP. ⁷ + αὐτη RO.

^a This section properly belongs before section vii.

^b No such form appears either in Josephus or the LXX. Basanēs (Baasha) is meant.

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This book covers one hundred and sixty-three years.

^c The passage in Josephus dealing with Josaphat does not mention this war.

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